Our Prodigal Politicians

Hungry Club
1-6-59

Statement.

I thought of reading these sentences to you because they seemed to me to connect with the memorable address you heard at your last meeting. You will recall that Tillman Cothran spoke to you on the South's capacity for leadership in national and world affairs today. His talk was a description of how the South "has seceded from reality" in these bitter times. I want to speak further along that line. I want to discuss with you how the South has in recent years wasted its political influence, and how it has failed in its obligation to the nation.

In the past, this was not so. Although it has been always true that most of our history books are written by New Englanders and other Yankees, even they have not been able to obscure or even to detract from the really amazing, almost unbelievable, contributions of Southerners to the founding and early government of the republic. During the Revolution, the Constitutional Convention, and the first administrations of the new government, Southern leadership was brilliant and indispensable. Of our first twelve Presidents, six came from Virginia and two from Tennessee; as a matter of fact, one of the four non-Southerners was born and educated in Virginia. But since 1848 - since, in other words, the time that race began to dominate Southern politics, and to determine the attitudes of the South toward the rest of the country, and the nation's attitude toward the South - no Southerner has been elected President.

A. Johnson

Wilson

Lincoln

Eisenhower

None nominated by one of the major parties since 1848.

Breckinridge

Thurmond

(Lyndon Johnson)

Since 1860, only three Vice Presidents (or two?)

Johnson

Garner

Barkley

Nominations?

Robinson

Sparkman

Kefauver

Supreme Court

20 appointments since 1930

by the broadest definition of the South, only five

Alabama

Kentucky - 2

South Carolina

Texas

Only in Congress - and there, as I shall discuss later, declining.

"Anyone who sees anything great or powerful, immediately has the feeling that - 'If the owner only knew how to use his great and noble possession, how happy would he be, and what great results would he achieve!'" (Plato)

Indeed, when one contemplates the history of the Southern states since about 1848, and when one does it without romanticizing or without ancestry-worship, a startlingly clear fact emerges, I think. It is that few people anywhere have had as little reason as have had Southerners over the years to be grateful to their statesmen. At every critical juncture, they, or the majority

of them, have been wrong, and have led the South into confusion and unhappiness. They were wrong about the westward extension of slavery, about secession, about the extinction of the Republican party in the South; and they are wrong now and have been for a long time about Negro rights. And for all their mistakes, the people of the South have paid. As a region, the South has traditionally been willing to follow and respect those whom it acknowledges as leaders. The South has been loyal, loyal even long after death, to its statesmen. Some may therefore think it irreverent for me to criticize. But when one problem has dominated a region for over a century, and when that problem remains unsolved, - when the influence of a region in national politics steadily has declined, - then I think it is not mistaken to say that our statesmen have failed.

What have been the effects of this politics of race, and how has it wasted away the South's "once-great capacity to supply statesmen for the country" ?

In the first place, it has fastened on in the one-party system, only now perhaps beginning to yield to change. So preoccupied has the South been with the race question, that it could not risk the competition of parties, could not permit the break of Southern solidarity against the rest of the world. And so we have mired ourselves deep in the stultifying moods of the solid South where all men were Democrats and only asses were Republicans - but of the iniquities of the one-party system I need not recount further; you are all sadly familiar with them, and I shall touch upon them again later on.

The politics of race has, in the second place, made us more than usually vulnerable to capture by unscrupulous, or ignorant, or simply wild men. Let us be honest and fair about this. The South has had no monopoly of demagogues or intriguers; every section of the country has produced them, and sometimes

sent them off to Washington to shame the rest of us. But if we are honest and fair, we shall have to concede that the South has grown - and shipped to Washington - a bumper crop. You can supply the names. Southern politics has in the past produced, and continues to produce, statesmen of dignity, intelligence, and depth. This is, in fact, part of the wastage. For no matter how able such men were or are, they are caught - trapped - on the race question; they are the South's sacrificial offering to its own foolishness. At the same time, the race issue lies always at hand, tempting the man who has nothing to offer except the loudness with which he can yell "nigger". The race issue is a standing invitation - "Come unto me, all you who are unscrupulous and hunger after office, and I shall make you win."

In the third place, the politics of race has resulted in the political isolation of the South. I have already mentioned that because of it, neither party will entrust a Southerner with its presidential nomination. Even lesser prizes are out of reach. If my count is correct, President Eisenhower - 20 Cabinet - only two - both Texas. And Democratic administrations bring almost as few rewards: Truman - 27 - only 4, and one of these Texas and another Kentucky. F.D.R. - 26 - only five and one of these Texas and another Stettinius. But even a greater loss than the loss of office has been the South's forfeiture of the respect, the confidence, the good will, the trust of the country as a whole.

The signs are becoming increasingly clear-cut that our Southern politicians' great fortress is now crumbling. I refer, of course, to the Southern bloc vote in Congress. It is from a position of Congressional strength that the South has resisted civil rights legislation. But consider now these facts (and if

my "facts" happen to be, mostly figures, and if you are one of those persons who dislikes figures, blame not me, but Mr. Cochrane, for inviting a Director of Research to speak to you.)

1860 243 seats
61 confederates - 25%
24 Del., Ky., Md., Mo.
85 - 35%

1950 435 seats

106 - Confederate States - 24 %
14 - Ky., Okla.
120 - 28 %

And in 1960, - estimates - no loss

But

1910 - 50 Ala., Ark., Ga., Miss., S.C., Tenn., each lost - Total 8

La. and Va. - same

Fla., N. C., Tex. - each gained - Total 10
(2 N.C.)

Deep South - loss of 6

1960 - Ala. - 1

Ark. - 2

Ga. - 1

Miss.- 1

N. C.- 1

6

La., S.C., Tenn., Va. - same

Fla. plus 4

Tex. plus 2

6

Deep South - loss of three, or 9 since 1910

More important, Senate:

isolation of 22

less Texas 2 - 20

Less Tenn. 2 - 18

Less Fla. 2 - 16

Indeed, 22 are seldom solid

only on Douglas closure

Hawaii - 14-7 (2 N.C., 2 Texas, Holland, Kefauver, Long) Gore no vote

Public works veto - 21-1 (Byrd)

But the real . . .

Electoral votes: 128 (Texas 24) of 531

Calif., ~~Ill.~~ Pa., N. Y. equal ~~114~~ 119

All these figures show that the string is running out. Southern political organizations having for a hundred years and more failed to solve the regions most serious internal problem; having squandered the South's one great influence in national affairs; having by their short-sightedness made it almost impossible for a Southerner to be elected President, or to be appointed to the Supreme Court, - these politicians come home as the prodigal son, but not yet or probably for a long while ~~ready~~ honest enough to confess their extravagance. A thrifty public will have to open its own eyes to the waste they have indulged in.

Whatever breaks the grip of a politics of race on the South is good and healthy. And there are hopeful signs. It is, for example, probably beneficial in the long-run (and for a Democrat this is a hard thing to say) that the solid South was broken - indeed, shattered - in the last two Presidential elections. Now if the Republicans would only act like a political party between Presidential elections, we might finally head out of the oppressiveness of our one-party system. It is, likewise, encouraging that presidential ambitions begin anew, after having been so long suppressed, to stir in ~~the~~ Southern breasts. A Kefauver in 52 and 56, a Johnson in 60 -: only disappointment may meet their efforts, but their states will never be quite the same again, and they will be beckoning examples. When Southern leaders begin to get serious hopes for the Presidency, the politics of race will be doomed: for no man can be nominated today or tomorrow by either the Democrats or the Republicans whose credentials on this issue are not nationally acceptable. Or, to take another example, when the bloc vote of the South is lessened by the defection of Texas, or by a Kefauver of Tennessee, it means more than an individual action; it is a rupture of the control which Southern politicians have exerted over the life and development of a whole region, to the South's harm, and the nation's loss.

Speech Hungry Club 1959 - Spring

Proposed Study

file

HUMAN RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH

One of the most depressing facts about the South is its inability to hold on to its talented people. This loss of talent is neither new nor is it disappearing. Southerners of ability - both white and Negro - leave the region in discouragingly large numbers, and the South is deprived of the leadership and stimulus which they could offer. In the process, millions of dollars of the limited funds which Southern states have for education are spent on educating youth who pocket their diplomas and move away.

On the other hand, the South can be justifiably proud in being, as it has been for decades, a reservoir of talent and leadership for the whole country. Although in recent decades especially the South has benefitted from the many Northerners who have moved here, and brought with them managerial and professional skills, the South is still the nation's creditor.

This picture of simultaneous regional loss and regional contribution can be, and in part has been, shown statistically or described in sociological terms. But the essentially human quality of the picture can be lost - or, at least, not found - in doing so. To reach that essence, and to add to an understanding of the present day South and its people, are the purposes of the following proposals.

Loss of Southern talent

By examination of the alumni records of several representative graduate and professional schools, colleges, and high schools, the extreme dimensions of the draining-off of Southern brains and talent could be shown. Through a systematic searching of Who's Who and other more specialized biographical dictionaries, a selection could be made of prominent, productive men and women, of both races, who have left the South.

Negro achievement

The average white Southerner hardly knows an educated Negro; the white Northerner is in about the same situation. Consequently, the white man's image of the Negro is taken from those Negroes in menial occupations whom he does know, and this image operates consciously or unconsciously to affect his ideas about race relations and his attitudes toward desegregation. One way of correcting this image is to call attention to Negro achievement. The glamorous cases - Ralph Bunches and Marian Andersons - do not need publicity. What is more important is to reveal the thousands of Negroes who have filled responsible roles in society. A feasible and valid way of doing so is through the use of alumni records of Negro colleges to gather an overall view and individual cases for special treatment.

Contribution of the rural South

For no better reason, perhaps, than to illustrate the resources of human wills, an effort should be made to show how the country and small town have sent out men and women to achieve distinction in the professions, arts, and business. To do this thoroughly would be impossible. To do it by illustrative cases would be sufficient. Some of the stories of persons, white and Negro, who have come off the farm to assume positions of important leadership are inspiring, and the Negro stories in particular could have great value if, by planned distribution, they could be brought to the attention of rural audiences.

Scarcity of opportunities for Negroes

Important as have been Negro achievements, the career opportunities are still severely limited. Despite scholarly and official reports,

the conscience of Americans is not yet aware and challenged. By case studies and interpretation of statistical data, this social wrong can b be put in its proper terms; i. e. the denial of individual fulfillment.

The exhaustion of human resources in the rural South

Hodding Carter once wrote an article titled "The Shrinking South" (Look, March 4, 1959) in which he told of the desertion of the country and of the farm-supported small town where "all we got is time." Almost any Southerner can tell a tale of some town of his acquaintance which is dying. Statistics give the same account: over half the counties of Georgia, for example, have lost population in the past decade. The rural Southerner, Negro and white, is caught up in an economic shift which is probably desirable and irreversible. Yet his situation is hard: he is forced out of a culture which he knows and which gives him self-confidence, and into the urban content. He becomes, often, the educational, criminal, and welfare problem of the Southern or Northern city in which he re-settles. Sensitive, sympathetic portrayal of the rural migrants and the cultures from which they come might, if skillfully distributed, do much to add to the understanding of their needs and capabilities, and to allay the resentment which urban centers widely feel toward the "hill-billies" (for whether they come from the plains or the piney woods they get this name) and the Negroes moving into their care.

These studies could be published in two or three pamphlets, circulated selectively to press, church groups, and schools. The studies and pamphlets would be in part prepared by the SRC staff, and in part by outside writers and researchers.

to GA TEACHERS + EDUCATION ASSOC., APRIL 1960

EXCELLENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

I am flattered to be here, invited by you to speak on the awesome subject: Excellence in the Affairs of Higher Education. I must confess, though, that I am not used to having so many presidents and deans as a captive audience; my more usual experience, where presidents and deans are concerned, has been as a part of the audience--sometimes, I am afraid, a "captive" part. But I take comfort in the fact that there are among you a few just plain professors; they will know what I am going through. I have always enjoyed a comment which I heard William Anderson, now Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, make some years ago. "I don't," said the white haired old gentleman, "look up to deans. I don't look down on deans. I just look at 'em." And if the good deans who are here today will pardon me for telling that story, I will add that it seems to me to express perfectly the ideal that all of us involved in the civil rights struggle are dedicated to: the great, democratic demand that each man "count as one and no man as more than one." The theme of this meeting is a fitting reminder that all of us have an obligation, as well as a right, to pursue to the full that excellence which is within us.

In one of the articles in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences you will find it said that three men more than any others have shaped the American university: Andrew Dickson White, the first president of Cornell; Charles Eliot, Harvard's president from 1869 - 1909; and Daniel Coit Gilman, the first president of the Johns Hopkins. Each of these imparted to our universities one of their characteristic features. White built a university on the principle that it should teach every department of knowledge; and at Cornell today you will indeed

find everything, or almost, from the distinguished Susan Line Sage School of Philosophy to the Stattler School of Hotel Administration. Other American universities have emulated this catholic approach. Eliot at Harvard decided that not only should a university teach everything, but a student had the right to study anything; so he introduced the elective system. And Gilman built the Johns Hopkins on the belief that the most important part of the university was its graduate school, and the education of undergraduates was of secondary value; this too remains a basic principle, if not widely admitted, of the American university.

I believe a new evaluation would have to add, as the fourth sculptor of American universities, the name of Robert Hutchins, who in a stormy career at the University of Chicago managed to criticize each of our three founding principles, and to force some modification of each. Against the Cornell idea, Hutchins insisted that some subjects belonged to culture and some to trade schools. He attacked the elective system, because he believed that educators had a responsibility to decide what adolescents ought to study. And against the John Hopkins principle, which held that research and not teaching was the first business of a university, Hutchins established in his own faculty rewards and positions of high status for the great teachers, as well as the great researchers.

Hutchins' criticisms have--and I think this is clearly so--been effective, and have altered our theory and practice of higher education. So if I may draw from all this, I would say that we now conceive of excellence in higher education to mean these things:

--a school that is discriminating (I did not say "discriminatory") in what it teaches, avoiding both the stagnation of a hide-bound curriculum and the temptation to forget the difference between liberal and vocational education;

--a school that has its own well-considered view of what constitutes an educated man or woman, and the courage to require each of its students to study, not what he wants to study, but what the faculty in its judgment thinks he ought to study in order to fill his responsibilities as one of the educated men of his society;

--a school that rejoices whenever, through the grace of God, good scholars or good teachers come its way, and which gives them all honor.

(Parenthetically, let me say that I think we all have heard and read enough on the question of which is more "important," teaching or research. I give you my personal observation, for what it is worth: although I have known some great scholars who were horrible teachers, especially of undergraduates, I have never known a good teacher who was not also an acceptable scholar, continuously engaged in his own studies. I do not believe it is possible for a man to teach well unless he is unceasingly sharpening the edge of his mind, not only by "keeping up with his field," but by helping it to push a bit ahead through his own research.)

These principles of excellence we need to keep clear and bright in our gaze as we contemplate the practical problem facing our colleges and universities. For, as you all know, it is precisely the sort of problem which will tempt the schools to forget excellence. Put quite simply, the problem is one of an increasing horde of students to be accommodated by inadequate facilities and undermanned faculties. And yet--glory be!--there is at the same time and throughout the land a preoccupation with quality education such as the memory of man cannot recall.

During the next few years--right now, in fact--American colleges and universities ~~are~~ will be competing among themselves for good faculty, and good young instructors

and assistant professors in particular. Ph.D. requirements have been tightened. The young Ph. D's coming out now and in the next few years will be, even more than we of the 40's and 50's, trained to the appreciation of research. They will look for a campus where there are opportunities to carry on research; where there is an atmosphere encouraging to scholarship; where fruitful scholarship is rewarded and honored.

* * *

Now, what has this to do with Negro colleges and universities? In the first place, of course, "Negro" institutions shouldn't be, anymore than "white" institutions should be. In the second place, whatever should be the case, "Negro" colleges and universities do exist and are likely to continue for some time, for three reasons: the endurance of prejudice; the unavoidable slowness of any transition; the institutional inertia which, within the Negro campuses themselves, will impede any change. In the third place, though "Negro" schools will continue for a time, they will do so not against a background of massive segregation but against a background of fairly rapid desegregation of schools of higher education in the South as well as the North. With these facts in mind, I want to call your attention to three statements which I have seen in my recent reading.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University, is authority for the statement that only two of the Negro private institutions--Howard and Atlanta--are properly "universities." Dr. Wright went on to say:

> The Negro private college can no longer be expected to carry the major burden of the higher education of Negroes. It does not now have, nor can it expect in the future to have, the resources for this enormous task. If it is to survive, it must be selective both as to its program and especially as to its students. It must make quality its watchword. In brief, this college must offer higher education which is adequate for the years ahead and should do so on a completely integrated basis. This means that the objectives of this institution must increasingly be those of comparable American colleges, i. e., comparable with respect to size and general character. The practices, programs and evaluation procedures must also be those of the best smaller American colleges. Unless the Negro private college is developed on this philosophy, it is not likely to survive.

Such an institution, operating in the Southern region, on an integrated basis, could be of incalculable value to the nation. It would doubtless be among the very few truly liberal institutions of the region, particularly in matters relating to the problems of race--problems with which so much of the world is now concerned.

There appears to be little basis for assuming that these institutions will or can be other than primarily liberal arts and teacher education. /1

Dr. Wright added, "There is little if any hope that all can survive as first-rate American colleges." To which I would add that there is, unfortunately, room for second rate schools, but little need.

I think Dr. Wright is altogether correct. If I may abstract his conclusion it goes like this:

a. The future of the Negro college is to develop as a sound liberal arts college, for which, in this country, the models would be places like Amherst (men), Swarthmore (coed), Bryn Mawr (women). The quality of such schools is not likely to be equalled but should never be ignored; it is all right to work in the shadows, but only if one chooses big shadows, and keeps looking up.

b. More than any other region of the country, the South sorely needs good liberal arts colleges.

c. The Negro colleges should direct their policies toward attracting an integrated faculty and student body.

In short, the Negro college which can fit itself for general service to scholarship and teaching will be the proof that integration is not only a moral imperative but a practical value.

Another statement which I want to mention is one which, apparently, brought down a great bit of criticism on its author's head. Mr. B. L. Hunton, a school official in the District of Columbia and himself a Negro, was quoted by the press in March of this year as saying that only four Negro colleges--he named them--I shall not--had special programs for superior students; he said further that if

1. "The Future of the Negro Private College: Philosophy and Program," The Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1958, pp. 408, 412-413.

the others could not provide honors work for their top students they should either (a) pool faculties and facilities through consolidations; (b) become junior colleges; or (c) close their doors. I am not in a position to know whether Mr. Hunton's appraisal of the colleges was or was not accurate. I shall only say that it seems to me the point is beyond argument, that a true college must be equipped and prepared to serve the needs and develop the potential of the exceptional, as well as the average, student.

There is no compromising with quality, and when we attempt it we throw away something of our educators' conscience--and what we have to begin with isn't inexhaustible. There are good colleges,--and there are finishing schools. Some youngsters cannot benefit from college (or give benefit to a college), and do need a finishing school: but let's keep the two things clear and separate. For that matter, does anyone need four years of finishing school? Wouldn't two (junior college) be enough?

Every college exercising the privilege of confering degrees upon its graduates must act as if ~~the~~ its students had to have an education as deep and strict and rich as any students anywhere; as if the conditions of work for its faculty had to be as dignified[2] and accommodating as those anywhere. To quote Dr. Wright again, the Negro college "must make quality its watchword."

My third and final statement is one which drew much attention at its publication. It is the Wall Street Journal's report of July 15, 1959, headlined, "Negro Colleges Train Too Many Teachers, Too Few Technicians." You know that complaint too well for me to recount it here. You know well, too, the historical, economic, and social reasons which have led to this over-training of teachers.

2. In fact, my observation is that the Negro community now generally accords more dignity to its scholars than white scholars typically receive.

You know better than I that other social and economic reasons now make both unnecessary and unwise the continuation of this old preoccupation.

* * * *

A friend with a college-seeking son recently asked me which of two Southern universities I thought ~~best~~ better; I told him. He asked me what it had that the other one hadn't, and I said I didn't know. But what it had had was something the other one never had been blessed with: a long period of exciting development under a liberal president. I doubt that any school is truly good until it has in its heritage at least one such iconoclastic, tradition shaking period, from the stimulus of which later, duller periods can feed. The times ahead for Negro colleges literally cry out for educational pioneers, who will lay new foundations for and by the "new Negro," of whom we hear so much. I hope your schools will be among those pioneers.

Phi Delta Kappan article on schools

File Lead Articles, 1960

only copy

Two elementary schools of New Orleans admitted four first graders on November 14 to formerly all white classes; 137 Negro children had applied for transfers, but only five met the placement criteria, and one of these changed her mind. Desegregation was in compliance with a federal court order of last May; the case had been filed in September, 1952.

The two schools selected are near each other, and the neighborhoods they serve are racially mixed; also, the attendance areas are adjacent or nearly so to St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes, both of which are fervently segregationist in their political leadership. Initial reaction to desegregation was riotous, but the opposition soon turned to other tactics. A white boycott of the desegregated schools has been completely effective at one of them; at the other, the remarkable bravery of a few parents has kept some white children in attendance. The rest are either out of school (Louisiana has repealed its compulsory attendance law.), or in hastily organized private classes, or are making the short journey to St. Bernard, where they have been welcomed by the public school system.

In the meantime, federal marshalls escort any children--white or Negro--who wish to attend school. The local police have striven to keep order, but have not been instructed to take the measures necessary to end the harassment. The school board has not asked of the court the sweeping injunction which in Clinton, (Tenn.) and Hoxie (Ark.) had been issued to end interference. The

federal executive has applied little or no influence. Local business leaders have been generally silent, and in fact turned out in force at a testimonial dinner to honor the segregationist chieftain of St. Bernard and Plaquemines. The Mayor has been meticulously non-partisan. The legislature continues to pass new laws designed to break down the desegregation order. Included among these are measures which withhold funds, including salaries.

These facts are not recited to condemn, but to indicate the immensity of the problem of desegregation in the Deep South. It is suggested that they show how absolutely necessary it is that desegregation be preceded by good planning and preparation.

About one-third of New Orleans's children, including about half of those who are white, are in Catholic schools. In 1956, the hierarchy intimated that integration was near; in 1959, it announced that integration would occur "not later than" in the public schools; on November 15, 1960 the timing was revised to "only when public school integration has been effectively carried out." As in the public schools, the Catholics will start desegregation with the first grade.

L. W. D.

12-12-60

LWD File

LWD article on p. 56 file! - 1965

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The Negro Educational Review

Special Issue on the Student "Sit-Ins"

The Negro Educational Review
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Legislatures and Students

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

THE SIT-INS provoked a new wave of legislative resistance in the South. Fortunately for the South, it has not been as massive as the earlier one which rolled over the region after the 1954 and 1955 decisions of the Supreme Court; nor have all the southern states been reached by it.

This latter fact may be only temporary. Every state legislature which met in 1960 did pass laws to regulate the sit-in activities. One can only hope that the legislatures convening in 1961—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas—will have had time to escape the conditioned reflex which seems to impel southern governments to take some action whenever new racial problems arise. All states presently have on their books adequate laws to protect the peace and to restrict trespass. New and pretentious legal restraints create only new deterrents, psychological as well as political and legal, to policies which can help solve the South's racial troubles.

The active legislatures have been those of Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, and later pages of this paper will indicate what they have done. North Carolina is a special case: in 1953, it gave itself two laws (General Statute Numbers 14-134, 14-126) which penalize entering the lands of another after being forbidden, and these have been used in the sit-in controversy. Arkansas, while not meeting in 1960, had acted in 1959.

The most elaborate and comprehensive of the new laws are those of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia. Neither of these states seems to have accomplished anything more than did Georgia, whose statute is quite simple, as well as brief (Act 497, February 18, 1960). A criminal trespass is committed by a person when he fails to leave the premises of another when requested; in practice, this requires that the request be made in the hearing of a law enforcement officer. The trespass is a misdemeanor, which

under Georgia law is punishable by a maximum fine of $1,000 or six months in jail or 12 months in a public works camp or all three; no other state has provisions for quite so harsh a sentence.

Virginia legislated almost as quickly after the initiation of sit-ins as did Georgia. Her laws, all of which were labelled emergency measures, were enacted February 25. Chapters 97, 98, and 99 of the 1960 Acts create three distinct misdemeanors, each punishable by a fine up to $1,000 or 12 months imprisonment, or both. Chapter 97 makes it a crime to enter or remain on the lands, premises, etc., of another, knowing that such has been forbidden, either orally or in writing or by posted sign. The other two statutes make it a crime to solicit, encourage, etc., another or others to enter or remain where one knows he or they have been forbidden; and to conspire, confederate, or combine to do so. Chapter 98, the solicitation statute, also covers acts which prevent or seek to prevent service being rendered "to any person not so forbidden."

The Louisiana acts, part of incoming Governor Davis' massive program of segregation defense, became law on June 22, 1960. The legislature was concerned not only with the sit-ins, but also with schools, voting, and in fact just about every aspect of racial mania. Some of the new laws were clearly directed at the sit-in movement; others may have had more than one object. Altogether, seven acts plus one constitutional amendment would seem to have bearing on sit-ins and to have been motivated by them, at least in part. It is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine up to $500 or six months imprisonment or both, to do any of the following:

> interfere with the conduct of business while in or at a store, restaurant, hotel, lunch counter, bowling alley, barber shop, beauty parlor, etc.; (Act No. 70)
>
> enter or remain in or on a structure, bridge, "watercraft or any other movable" after being forbidden either orally or in writing or by posted sign; (Act No. 78)
>
> incite, solicit, urge, etc., another or others to enter or remain in or on a structure, bridge, etc., knowing that such person is forbidden there; (Act No. 79)
>
> refuse to identify oneself to an officer on his demand, while he is enforcing the above; (Act No. 79)
>
> willfully obstruct "the free, convenient and normal use" of public streets, highways, etc., or entrances or corridors of public buildings; (Act No. 80)

Bona fide labor organizations and their lawful activities are exempted from all of the acts.

Act No. 69 makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine up to $200 or four months imprisonment or both, to provoke a breach of peace, or to do any of the following under circumstances such that a breach may be occasioned: (1) crowd or congregate with others on streets, highways, etc., in public buildings, hotels, stores, restaurants, lunch counters, movies, beauty parlors, swimming pools, etc.,* and refuse to disperse when ordered by authorized persons; (2) insult, disturb, interfere with, etc., another or others; (3) cause a disturbance on a public carrier; (4) refuse to leave the premises of another when requested. If any of these actions result in a breach of peace or riot, and the injury or death of another person, it becomes a felony, known as "aggravated battery," and is punishable by imprisonment up to two years. Labor unions are exempted.

Act No. 76 amends and strengthens the law relative to resisting an officer, and sets the punishment for an offender at $300 maximum fine, or six months in jail, or both. *This is also the only act of the group not labelled emergency legislation.* Act No. 77, dealing with the crime of "criminal mischief," carries the severest penalty: $500 fine or one year imprisonment or both. The statutory definition of the crime is amended to include taking temporary possession of any part of a place of business, or remaining there after being ordered to leave.

A rather puzzling constitutional amendment was approved by the voters in November, 1960. Article X, Section 5 of the Louisiana Constitution empowers parochial and municipal corporations and public boards to levy taxes for public purposes. The amendment (Act No. 630 of the 1960 session) adds a section which provides that when any facility, that was segregated at the time its supporting tax was authorized, is ordered integrated by "any commission, board or other authority," the governing

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*Only the acumen of a Louisiana legislator, perhaps, would suffice to understand why cafeterias and swimming pools are included in Act No. 69, but not Act No. 70 *supra*; and why drug stores, bowling alleys, and barber shops are in Act No. 70 but not No. 69. "Drive-ins" are covered by Act No. 69; "drive-in theatres" by "recreational area or place, or any other place of business engaged in selling or serving members of the public"; and No. 70 extends to any lawful business "which engages in selling articles of merchandise or services or accommodation to members of the public, or engages generally in business transactions with members of the public." So the situation would seem well in hand, although the hand may have been rather hasty when drafting its decrees.

No. 70, 69, how extend "any or

authority of the political sub-division shall recall the appointment of all members of the commission or board, and declare the facility no longer to be "a function of the government." School boards are specifically exempted. According to the press, the Amendment is aimed at such facilities as golf courses and swimming pools, and presumably the administrative body would be recalled if a federal court were the "other authority" ordering integration.

But strangest of all has been the behavior of the solons of Mississippi. Even an observer who has become accustomed to the instinctive predilection of southern legislatures to react in panic and irrationally to defend what they like to call the "southern way of life" is startled momentarily. For Mississippi had done the job, one would have thought, in 1956. Chapter 257 of that year established a proprietor's right to select his customers (prudently exempting public utilities), and declared it to be trespass, punishable by a fine up to $500 or six months in jail or both, to enter or remain on the premises of another when forbidden. Chapter 256 set the same penalty for creating a disturbance or a breach of the peace in any "public place of business of any kind whatsoever" by loud talk, threats, "or any other conduct."

Mississippi's law-makers evidently still felt insecure, for on March 23, 1960, three additional measures were signed into law, each carrying a punishment up to $500 fine, six months in jail, or both. Chapter 244 makes it unlawful wilfully to obstruct "the free, convenient and normal use" of streets, passageways, etc., by hindering traffic thereon. Chapter 246 is one of the usual prohibitions of entering or remaining on premises, etc., after having been forbidden orally or in writing or by posted sign. Chapter 245 is the companion measure, dealing with those who incite, solicit, encourage, etc., others to enter or remain, knowing that such others are forbidden.

A year before the North Carolina sit-ins began, Arkansas enacted a new trespass law, perhaps influenced to do so by the sit-ins which began in 1958 in its neighboring state, Oklahoma. Act 14 of the 1959 session makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than $50.00 nor more than $500 or 30 days imprisonment or both, to remain on the business premises of another after having been ordered to leave; or to cause, encourage, etc., others to do so. The Arkansas statute is interesting on several grounds. First, it does not apply to the premises of common carriers.

Second, it does not contain the prohibition usual in the states discussed above against entry, knowing that such is forbidden; it applies only to refusal to leave when requested, although the "encouraging" section does reach entry as well as remaining. Third, it spells out the duty of law enforcement officers to remove trespassers on the request of the owner or manager, thus making somewhat more explicit what attorneys for students who have been arrested in several states regard as the main Constitutional defect of the trespass laws, *viz.* that they embody "state action." Finally, this is declared to be emergency legislation, and the justification is the legislature's finding that the rights of business establishments to choose their clientele "are not clearly prescribed by law and that this Act is immediately necessary to clarify those rights and privileges"; with this finding in view, it would seem arguable that if legislative history showed, despite any disclaimers within the text of the statute, that restriction of Negroes was the intent of the law there would be substantiation of the claim that enforcement represents state action.

The South Carolina statute, approved May 16, 1960, is somewhat different from the others, in that it provides that any person who enters a dwelling house, place of business, etc., within six months after being warned away is guilty of trespass; so too is any person not warned but who refuses to leave on request. As in Arkansas, all peace officers are directed to enforce this law. The wording seems unclear on one important point, and that is whether each person must be warned individually or whether a single warning can extend to a class of persons. The punishment is a maximum of $100 or 30 days.

Brief mention may suffice for ordinances in several cities.* Montgomery (Ala.) on March 22, 1960, enacted Ordinances Numbers 10-60, 11-60, and 12-60 which relate to trespass, the holding of parades, and disturbing the peace. Danville (Va.), by two ordinances of April 4, 1960, restricted the use of the public library to card holders (subsequently, in September, difficult requirements for card issuance were established), and the use of municipal recreational facilities to residents of the neighborhoods in which they were located. A Dallas (Tex.) ordinance of January 30, 1961, prohibits congregating or loitering when forbidden by the police;

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*This summary does not purport to be exhaustive.

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according to the press, the measure is aimed at both sit-in demonstrators and mobs opposing school desegregation. A hurtful boycott led to a Savannah (Ga.) ordinance in May, 1960, against mass picketing in front of stores, and the use of force, intimidation, etc., to further boycotts. Greenville (S.C.) in July, 1960, set a 9 P.M.-6 A.M. curfew for all youth under 21. New Orleans (La.) in September, 1960, instituted a license system for parades or street processions.

Legislation is not the only form by which the rules of a modern society are set. Other modes of regulation have, accordingly, been employed in response to the sit-ins. State Boards of Education in Tennessee in April and in Georgia in May adopted stricter disciplinary policies for the case of students at state supported colleges or universities arrested and convicted on charges involving personal misconduct. The State Board of Louisiana in October set new, strict rules for class attendance. The Greenville (S.C.) Public Library segregated its patrons by sex, after abandoning racial segregation in September: three tables in the reading room for women, four for males—probably discriminatory!

The enforcement of existing statutes has been as vigorous and probably as effective in combatting sit-ins as has been the new legislation. Students have been arrested on a miscellany of charges in the various states: breach of peace, loitering, conspiracy to interfere with trade, incitement to riot, and others. Sometimes, old laws have been found more useful, for the purposes of the police, than the new. When merchants in Savannah (Ga.) showed a reluctance to prefer charges under the trespass law, the local police started in April arresting under a state unlawful assembly statute. In Memphis (Tenn.) students were arrested in May under a state law, and made bond; charges were quickly brought under a city ordinance which authorizes holding without bail if the city is in a "state of tenseness." *The Commercial-Appeal* (May 18) described it, gently, as a "rarely used" ordinance.

Selected at random, a column from the Tampa (Fla.) *Tribune* of December 9 illustrates sufficiently the variety of attacks employed by officials against the sit-ins. A St. Petersburg dispatch reports a department store's obtaining of a temporary injunction to halt picketing. From Tallahassee, came news of an assault by white youths on Negro pickets. The staff writer added: "Police roared to the scene with city officials just a bit too late to catch the youths. This is the third day in a row that Negroes

have picketed the store and the third day in a row that police have arrived just a little bit late to stop incidents." In Jacksonville, the head of the NAACP Youth Council was taken into custody by Juvenile Court, on charges of contributing to the delinquency of a minor, by persuading him to take part in a sit-in; when it was ascertained that the Council leader was himself under 17, charges were dropped.

Official reaction to the sit-ins has occasionally favored us with a bit of humor. One that did, not only drew a smile, but a lesson as well, a lesson about self-delusion and white man's conceit. When a few Negro college students in February, 1960, sat in the "white" gallery of the Georgia House of Representatives, they were promptly evicted. The authority asserted was the House rules. When the students and newsmen asked for specific citation of the rule, chagrined functionaries discovered there was none requiring or authorizing a segregated gallery. They next asserted that state law controlled; but investigation turned up no applicable statute. Thereupon, the Speaker proclaimed that segregation in the gallery would be enforced under "the old, old law of Georgia custom."

Not all the legislative response, of course, has been of this defensive, harassing nature. Since the sit-ins began, Kentucky has created a commission on human relations, and the legislature of a second border state—West Virginia—has one under consideration; one important border city—Baltimore—has strengthened its anti-discrimination ordinance. In Florida and Oklahoma, human relations committees were established by the governors and have done good work, though a gubernatorial change in Florida has ended the venture there. In Louisville (Ky.), the Aldermen in February, 1960, rejected a proposed anti-discrimination ordinance, on the ground that enactment would exceed their powers; the gain here occurred when, in March, the state Attorney-General formally ruled that the power existed.

In truth, no southern state has ever found itself powerless to legislate in the field of race relations. Now as in the past, the only question is as to whether that power is used for oppression and obstruction, or for the strengthening of the peace and good will of the community.

File LWD articles — 1961 !

Dunbar

Unexpectedly Encouraging

The Face of Desegregation Today

Here is an analysis of the spotty record of school desegregation in the South, prepared by the research director of the Southern Regional Council. Despite pupil placement and token desegregation, massive resistance and the growth of private schools—and now the New Orleans riots—history will not wait. "The pace of integration will be quickened by the determination of Negro Southerners, expressed by sit-ins, litigation, and other means, to have done quickly with the incubus of segregation."

By LESLIE W. DUNBAR

FOLLOWING the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, it became evident that there were, broadly speaking, two levels of control over the integration process. One was political and the other professional. Where integration was supported, however minimally, by political power it has proceeded steadily. This has been the case in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. The absence of political obstruction has left school boards and professional educators free to meet the problems with whatever skills and values they possess. In most places these have been of high quality. Integration in these states has not always been smooth and there have been disappointments. There are still problems, some of which, particularly faculty integration, are likely to be thorny for years to come. But, basically, the educators have had the responsibility and professional insights have guided the change.

To a lesser degree this has been the experience also in Delaware and west Texas, where the state governments did not support integration but were, in Delaware always and in Texas prior to 1957, effectively neutral.

In east Texas and in the other states of the old Confederacy, professional control over the reform of the schools has been of secondary importance. The state governments dictated first that there would be noncompliance with the Court's interpretation of the Constitution. Even when they have yielded to federal authority, these states have dictated the terms on which the schools would drop racial restrictions. There were small exceptions to this pattern in remote sections of Arkansas and there has been the one important exception of Tennessee to the second phase of the pattern. In that state, once the agreement to desegregate has been exacted, state and local governments have generally allowed the professionals to lead the way. But even in Tennessee the word which describes the event is "desegregation," not "integration"; that is, there has been a limited, controlled admission of selected Negro children to some white schools. As of fall, 1960, this had resulted in fewer than 800 Negro children in classes with whites in forty different localities. These children have been admitted under arrangements which often have seemed educationally dubious.

Several events of this fall are notable. The schools of Houston were desegregated. This was the first important desegregation in east Texas, it involved the South's largest school system, and it exposed the unwillingness of the state government to apply the sanctions authorized by state law to obstruct change. Two Miami schools enrolled Negroes, representing the first more or less bona fide desegregation in Florida. With hardly a disturbing ripple, Knoxville, Raleigh, Richmond, Roanoke, and Fairfax County (Va.) joined the ranks of populous centers which have complied. No violence or disorder erupted in these or any other desegregated areas when schools opened in August and September; it was the first year this had been so.

Subsequent events in New Orleans have brought a renewal of turbulence. In a report of August 19, 1960, the Southern Regional Council remarked with regret "that New Orleans, rather than Atlanta, will be the first city of the Deep South to meet the test of desegregation. Unlike Atlanta, where the problem has been under vigorous

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January 1961, Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. XLII, No. 4

citizen discussion since at least January, 1959, New Orleans has steadily, almost determinedly, ignored the likelihood that it would be affected." This foreboding has been justified by the behavior of the Louisiana state government and the New Orleans mob, which came into being on November 14 when the first Negro students entered formerly all-white schools. In the same report of last August, the council said that if "the imminent crisis in New Orleans is not overcome, or even if New Orleans treads the bitter path of Little Rock between 1957-59, the prospects will be gloomy for the South and for national self-respect."

At the time of this writing (mid-November), no one can feel the shape of New Orleans' future. The alternatives, however, seem predictable. If municipal law enforcement remains firm, and if appellate courts uphold the resolute stand of the federal district court, there will be grudging and gradual acceptance of desegregation, combined probably with some experimentations with newly formed private schools. If, on the other hand, law enforcement wavers or appellate courts cannot sustain the adamant insistence of the lower court that there be open, desegregated public schools, the situation will crumble into chaos perhaps more appalling than that from which Little Rock finally extricated itself. In either event, the rest of the South will take instruction.

And that is the essential point. Over the years, each success in defending segregation has encouraged other efforts at resistance. Each retreat before federal authority has led other southern state and local governments to adopt more tractable policies. If the authority of the Constitution is sustained in New Orleans, the prospects for orderly desegregation in 1961 in Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Dallas will be good. If resistance in New Orleans achieves even a partial success, there can be no optimism about 1961.

(EDITOR'S NOTE—Since writing the above, Dr. Dunbar has prepared the following supplementary report on the New Orleans situation, bringing the story up to December 13.)

Two elementary schools of New Orleans admitted four first graders on November 14 to formerly all-white classes; 137 Negro children had applied for transfers, but only five met the placement criteria and one of these changed her mind. Desegregation was in compliance with a federal court order of last May; the case had been filed in September, 1952.

The two schools selected are near each other, and the neighborhoods they serve are racially mixed; also, the attendance areas are adjacent or nearly so to the St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes, both of which are fervently segregationist in their political leadership. Initial reaction to desegregation was riotous, but the opposition soon turned to other tactics. A white boycott of the desegregated schools has been completely effective at one of them; at the other, the remarkable bravery of a few parents has kept some white children in attendance. The rest are either out of school (Louisiana has repealed its compulsory attendance law), are enrolled in hastily organized private classes, or are making the short journey to St. Bernard, where they have been welcomed by the public school system.

In the meantime, federal marshals escort any children, white or Negro, who wish to attend school. The local police have striven to keep order but have not been instructed to take the measures necessary to end the harassment. The school board has not asked the court for a sweeping injunction of the kind which in Clinton, Tenn., and Hoxie, Ark., ended interference. The federal executive has applied little or no influence. Local business leaders have been generally silent and in fact turned out in force at a testimonial dinner to honor the segregationist chieftain of St. Bernard and Plaquemines. The mayor has been meticulously nonpartisan. The legislature continues to pass new laws designed to break down the desegregation order. Included among these are measures which withhold funds, including salaries.

These facts are not recited to condemn, but to indicate the immensity of the problem of desegregation in the Deep South. It is suggested that they show how absolutely necessary it is that desegregation be preceded by good planning and preparation.

About one-third of New Orleans children, including about half of those who are white, are in Catholic schools. In 1956 the hierarchy intimated that integration was near; in 1959 it announced that integration would occur "not later than" in the public schools; on November 15, 1960, the timing was revised: integration will occur "only when public school integration has been effectively carried out." Catholic schools, like the public schools, will start desegregation with the first grade.

THE principal tool for controlling the entrance of Negro students into white classrooms has been the so-called pupil placement laws. As used in Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia these laws have in fact made a nonsegregated education for Negro children a privilege rather than a Constitutional right, and have awarded it only to the few who satisfy stipulated criteria. Considering the cultural barriers as well as the still large differences of quality between white and Negro schooling, it makes sense to proceed selectively. The essential question, however, is whether placement is guided by professional criteria or by a political motive of curtailing desegregation as strictly as the law will allow. It would seem to a layman who has watched this struggle closely that two types of placement are educationally valid. One occurs where, as in St. Louis and Washington, the entire school program is reorganized on a non-racial basis and students are assigned to various achievement groupings. The other occurs where, as in Nashville, a good-faith decision is made to begin desegregation at the first grade, or, as in San Antonio, to begin it at curriculum breaking points (first grade, junior high, senior high).

Judicial decisions of the past year, however, in both the Fourth and Fifth Circuits have narrowed the grounds on which placement laws can be administered for discriminatory ends. It can be expected, therefore, that school districts will tend either to abandon the clumsy procedures of placement or put them to the work of serving educational aims.

The product of placement in Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia, as well as in Houston and in all likelihood next year in Atlanta, is what has come to be called "token desegregation." To quote again from the Southern Regional Council's report:

> Its intention is to placate both law and community custom. Its success has caused some of the old adherents of massive resistance to see it as an even more effective method of avoiding the law. It was a matter of some note in the South, for example, when the widely syndicated columnist John Temple Graves and the editor of the Charleston *News and Courier,* Thomas Waring, moved to this position; as Mr. Graves one time stated it:
>
> > An unhappy handful of colored children, not to be more and wanting out, is to be preferred over closing our schools.
> >
> > Taking the same position, Tom Waring said at Selma last night he was not accepting even token integration willingly but "if it is forced on some of us we should neither despair nor commit rash acts in our anger. . . . If a few Negro children are forced into scattered white schools, that does not mean they will be there indefinitely. Once the pressure groups find that massive integration is being denied them by the courts, their incentive will be dulled. It will become ever more difficult to recruit Negro parents willing to let their children become martyrs for a dubious cause. . . . "
>
> Massive resistance has, at least for some, a quality of heroic defiance; this new strategy, which in effect proposes that the spirits of Negro children and their parents be wrenched till they break, seems patterned after the anxious cunning of Br'er Rabbit.
>
> These small beginnings toward desegregation have been approved by many in the belief that the main necessity was to take a first step, and in the expectation that once a community got over that it would advance steadily toward ending segregation. There is by now less reason to believe this. Where a desegregation plan has (as, e.g., in Nashville) a built-in principle that almost insures growth, there can be reasonable confidence that segregation will come to an orderly end. But plans which, as in the so-called Pupil Placement laws, require school boards to pass on individual applications will proceed no faster than the disposition of officials, the stresses of politics, and the fortunes of litigation permit. The process can be forced by organized effort in the Negro community to multiply the number of applications, and this is . . . beginning to occur.

The classic illustration of token desegregation is North Carolina. So successful has the state been in minimizing desegregation that traditionalists in other southern states have noted wistfully that it alone had, prior to 1960,[1] methodically desegregated one step ahead of federal compulsion. The first three cities in North Carolina to make the change were Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem; the record has been as follows:

Negroes in Classes with Whites

	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61
Charlotte	4*	4	1	2
Greensboro	6	5	5	5
Winston-Salem	1	4	7	9**
	11	13	13	16

* One of these withdrew after harassment.
** In addition, Winston-Salem has admitted several Negro students to city-wide advanced placement classes and to industrial crafts centers.

Educators could well ponder seriously the probable psychological and social effects of token in-

[1] In September, 1960, a federal court required desegregation in Yancy County. This was the first court-ordered desegregation in the state.

PDK Desegregation Committee

The Phi Delta Kappa follow-up committee on desegregation will meet this month at the request of its chairman, Truman M. Pierce, dean of the School of Education at Auburn University, Alabama. Other members are Peter F. Oliva, University of Florida, Gainesville, and Benjamin Carmichael, superintendent of schools, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The committee was named to call attention to problems of desegregation on which the fraternity might act. It succeeds the PDK Commission on the Study of Educational Policies and Programs in Relation to Desegregation, which concluded its program last year.

Copies of the commission-sponsored guidebook, *Action Patterns in School Desegregation*, are still available upon request from Phi Delta Kappa headquarters.

tegration on the Negro students involved; on the white students; and on the whole community, which must year after year maintain its preoccupation with the issue. Indeed, in a broader context, there is reason for realistic concern over the future of the generation of white youth who have been growing up in the South since 1954. It would seem unlikely that youngsters reared in the foul and dirty political atmosphere of recent years, dominated by the preachment of law defiance and repeatedly punctuated by violence, can mature without encasing a measure of these years' bitterness and recklessness into their natures.

Second in interest only to the fate of token desegregation is the outcome of the private school experiment in Virginia. Prince Edward County has completely abandoned its public schools, its Negro children are in their second year of nonschooling, and education of white children has been assumed by a private corporation. In Charlottesville and in Front Royal, dual school systems—public and private—now operate. The private system seems well established, especially in Charlottesville. In Norfolk there has been the least successful venture, probably because a private system requires a more wholehearted coordination than is natural to a metropolitan center. As of now, it would appear likely that the Charlottesville schools may endure, but that they will tend to assume the character of ordinary private schools; what may happen to the others is altogether conjectural, as is the question of transference of the private school idea to other states (though attempts at it will certainly be made in the lower South). In Virginia, the financial lifeblood is the provision of state tuition grants to the students; the constitutionality of this plan has not yet been tested.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Virginia private schools is the manner in which they serve to combine other conservative convictions. Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, in a forthcoming report[2], describes conservative educational philosophy and practices which are almost as close to the heart of these schools as is desire for segregation.

ROOM FOR OPTIMISM

SCHOOL desegregation remains entangled in the politics and emotions of southern life. These factors make the posture of resistance sternest in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The writer may prove guilty of inexcusable optimism, but Georgia appears, during 1960, to have turned its face toward readiness to comply. This would seem to be true not only in Atlanta but of decision-makers within and without the state government. In North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia movement toward widespread desegregation should grow each year; all three states have reached a point where change can and probably will proceed faster than the law compels. In Arkansas, Florida, and east Texas the expectation is that this will not be so for another year or more.

And everywhere, from Tennessee to Mississippi, the pace of integration will be quickened by the determination of Negro Southerners, expressed by sit-ins, litigation, and other means, to have done quickly with the incubus of segregation.

[2] Prepared for the Southern Regional Council.

Court Suit on Religion in the Schools

► A Dade County, Florida, court is taking testimony in a case which questions eight different religious practices in the public schools of Miami. The suit was brought by Jewish parents who object to classroom Bible readings, prayers and grace, religious hymns, religious holiday observances, religious symbols, baccalaureate programs, religious censuses, and religious tests for teachers. The case will be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, if necessary, the American Jewish Congress declares.

Russian Merit Rating for Students

"At the university level about 80 per cent of Soviet students receive government stipends based on scholastic achievement, the higher the mark the higher the reward, or up to an equivalent of $1,200 per year," according to Nikolai Nazarov in "Schooling of Future Scientists," *USSR Magazine*, No. 1 (28), p. 38.

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 21, 1961

To: Members of the Southern Regional Council
From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Three months ago I took office, and since then I have been able to see and talk with many of you, though unhappily not all. This letter is intended to acknowledge the heavy trust you have accorded me, and my wish that I and all our staff will during the next year get to know each of you better and that you will become more closely associated with our work.

Let me carry that thought a little further. One of Harold Fleming's finest achievements was that he pulled together and put to work a competent staff, one which, I hope, represented you as you would like to be. Our objective now should be both to maintain and improve the quality and effectiveness of the staff, and to bring you into more active participation with it in policy and program planning. This is not said merely as a pleasantry. I think the natural development of the Council requires that now, after a solid staff has been built, there be a re-emphasis of the founding idea of the Council, as an active body of southern liberals, involving themselves directly in the planning, fulfillment, and evaluation of programs. I believe two things are true: the South needs a parliament of liberals, deliberating and speaking, and you are it; secondly, a good staff will know how to draw strength, not enfeeblement, from a vigorous Board.

If this development occurs, the Council will be an increasingly useful servant of its ideals and its region, and the country which embraces them both. There will be much to do. I think, in fact, that the period of the Council's greatest value is here at hand. Our organization performed a magnificent service by keeping alive during the hard times of 1954-58, making its voice heard, and keeping the facts straight. An organization such as ours will find, however, its largest opportunities in the fluid situation we presently have, and in the move forward which the South will surely make in the next decade. We have now the opportunity to lead. We are not on the defensive any longer.

Even though the problems are as rough as ever in a few states (and may well get worse), we do now live and work in a greatly changed South. We need to be alert to that fact. We need to forsake defensive thinking and speaking. We need to hasten our pace and lengthen our stride. We need to learn the practical wisdom of impatience.

In other ways, too, the role of the Council is changing. Now as in the past, Negroes are the prime movers in the reform of the South. The Negro movement has, however, become much more complex during the past 18 months: new organizations and methods and men have appeared. I think the Council can and should welcome this, for the movement has gained a larger popular following, and its virility and dedication have been boosted. At the same time, we have now an administration in Washington which not only is sympathetic, but is keenly desirous of itself supplying initiative in the civil rights struggle.

The Council has, over the years, had the confidence and respect of its allied agencies. I think I can report to you that respect and confidence have never been higher than they are now.

We have much to do. I have the humbling knowledge that if, a year from now or two years from now, the Council is as effective as it was when Harold Fleming passed direction to my hands, I and my colleagues shall have failed. For Harold gave us momentum, and we have to maintain it. The state councils and our field

activities in general should be strengthened. Our publications should be more ambitious, and our research more thorough.

The people to accomplish these things are here. I would like to use this letter to announce three recent staff appointments. James A. Moss, on July 10, became Director of Research. Dr. Moss' most recent appointment was on the sociology faculty of Union College. His research and writings in racial relations have been sustained, numerous, and highly regarded. He will shortly leave us, for a month, to deliver this year's lectures on American racial relations at the Salzburg Seminar in Austria.

Margaret Boozer joined the staff July 3 as Research Assistant. During a varied career she has, among other activities, taught sociology at Little Rock Junior College; done editorial work for the Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church,U.S., and, most recently, taught Latin in the DeKalb County (Ga.) high schools. We welcome her and James Moss with real pleasure.

Margaret Long, on July 5, became Director of Information. Mrs. Long has been a staffer on newspapers in Atlanta, Richmond, Macon (Ga.), Chattanooga, and Columbus (Ga.), as well as for the Associated Press. Her most recent affiliation was as a columnist for the Atlanta Journal, where her writing in promotion of civil rights won for her this year the Florina Lasker award of the American Civil Liberties Union. She has written two novels and numerous magazine articles. We welcome her warmly.

With staff people such as these, joined with our veterans, the Council is well prepared to meet its responsibilities.

LWD/sm

File
Staff: L. W. Dunbar
Speeches - 1961"

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE*

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

I do not need to tell an assembly of college students that the question of whether disobedience to law is ever allowable is an old issue in our civilization's political and intellectual history. You have encountered it in the Old Testament story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and their refusal to bow down before King Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol. You have met it again in Sophocles's great play, Antigone. You have, I trust, read and pondered the Crito, and sat beside Socrates as he debated whether an Athenian citizen could rightfully escape from the commands of his city. You have found the controversy in the heat of the politics and political theory of the late Middle Ages and of the Reformation period as well, when momentous problems of church-state relationships and religious toleration shook our Western culture. You have seen the question posed anew by Abolitionists in this country prior to the Civil War, and given literary definition by Thoreau. You have come across it once more in the history of Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance against British rule in India. You have seen its shadow lie across the present day church-state conflicts in the Communist satellite countries. In short, whenever political power and moral values have crossed, and have found each other unyielding, the question of civil disobedience has come to the forefront. When it becomes hard for men to know how to obey the Biblical order--Render unto Ceasar the things that are Ceasar's, and unto God the things that are God's--, when men come to think that they cannot obey God without disobeying Ceasar, then they must re-examine their loyalty to the state.

It was inevitable that Negro Americans' fight for civil rights should, sooner or later, embroil them in the old dilemma. As long as Negroes fought through the courts or through the halls

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* Convocation address at Earlham College, February 7, 1961

of legislatures, obedience to law was not questioned. When, in the Winter of 1960, the sit-in movement began, there quickly emerged the ancient issue, the right of an individual to disobey the law. Negro youth have knowingly and openly violated trespass and other laws, and have persisted in their violation; they have been convicted and have gone to jail. They have done this deliberately, because they believed the law to be unworthy.

The intellectual and spiritual mentor of these students has been, more than any other living person, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King has written:

> We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail, we will try to persuade with out acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.
>
> The way of nonviolence means a willingness to suffer and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail. If such is the case the resister must be willing to fill the jail houses of the South. It may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive.[1]

Dr. King has recognized that Civil disobedience will cause community discord, but he believes that as long as those who disobey do so non-violently that there will be built-in controls which will prevent mutual destruction.[2] He has derived the right to resist and to disobey from what he usually speaks of as the moral law of the universe. "I say obey the law when the law is right, when the law is just and when the law is in line with the moral law of the universe. When conscience tells someone

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1. M. L. King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (Harper & Bros.: N.Y.), 1958, p. 216. For an enlargement of this idea that civil disobedience is a form of persuasion, see the address by Harris Wofford, "Civil Disobedience," reproduced in mimeograph form by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.
2. M. L. King, Jr., "The Burning Truth in the South," The Progressive, May, 1960.

that a law is unjust, then I think a righteous man has no alternative but to conscientiously disobey that law. ...The individual who disobeys the law in a loving spirit and accepts the consequences is dignifying the law."[3]

I believe no feeling person can fail in sympathy and admiration for the pluck and the vitality of these ideals, as they have been carried into practice by thousands of Negro (joined by a few white) students engaged in sit-ins or other protests. Dr. King has exposed himself to the law's punishment, as have other Negro adults in various southern places. This magnificent surge of the human spirit, thrusting outward for liberty, has attracted interest and respect throughout the world. But to applaud the students has meant giving approval to their frequent practice of civil disobedience. We are a civilization too jealous of its dignity, too much aware of how necessary is respect for law, to give this approval lightly.

That approval has been granted, however, and by a number of altogether staid organizations. Student associations also have, as one would expect and hope, been quick to support the sit-in movement. Several of these have discussed and passed resolutions regarding the propriety of disobedience. I talk to you, therefore, about a subject to which American students have already addressed themselves.

Among the organizations which have recently taken stands is the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., meeting last May at Cleveland in its 172nd General Assembly. The Presbyterians, as a body of believers whose faith was nurtured in controversies over the rights of conscience, acted appropriately. The resolution which they passed is thoughtful and complete; it raises most of the questions, and gives us a basis for thinking about them. It seemed to me, therefore, that one way of approaching this subject

3. M. L. King, Jr., quoted by Claude Sitton, "Dr. King, Symbol of the Segregation Struggle," New York Times Magazine, January 22, 1961.

would be by reading this resolution and commenting on it as I do so.

The resolution begins this way:

> Acknowledging that Christians have historically upheld the just authority of the state as being constituted by God for His own glory and the public good so long as the state has not commanded anything contrary to the law of God;

Here we have stated what I would assume is the orthodox Christian view: the state and its authority are ordained by God. There have been many references lately to Thoreau, and the thought seems to be that he is the intellectual father or grandfather of the idea of civil disobedience. I think this is questionable. On the whole, Thoreau regarded the state as a great nuisance, perhaps needful but certainly of no positive benefit. When he taught civil disobedience, he was simply exhorting his compatriots to refuse to tolerate the state when it became unbearably obnoxious. He had none of the profound respect for the state which is evidenced in the Presbyterians' statement. And yet the fact is that civil disobedience has, throughout Western history, been far oftener advocated and practiced by persons wedded to their view, than by those who, like Thoreau, have been contemptuous of the state. Moreover, Thoreau was neither a teacher of nor a believer in non-violence, and this makes it all the harder to understand why he has been adopted as a sort of patron of the sit-in movement.

We can note, therefore, that civil disobedience has historically been taught by the churches, which at the same time have taught that the state is an expression of God's will. I will not go so far as to agree that the state is divinely established. I do agree, however, that the state and the community of men and women and institutions which it represents is a great good for all of us. By keeping us together, by educating us and enabling us to find fields of growth and service, the state is the means whereby we can become civilized persons. You will remember Socrates's final decision: he owed a debt to Athens which he must pay. I think, and I would say to you, that we ought to be mindful as he

was of the goodness inherent in the state, and that we ought to be as reluctant as he to set an example to others of disobeying its laws.

The resolution of the Presbyterians goes on:

> Affirming that some laws and customs requiring racial discrimination are, in our judgment, such serious violations of the law of God as to justify peaceful and orderly disobedience or disregard of these laws;

I must confess that I don't know what this means. Are there some violations of the law of God which are serious enough to justify violent disobedience? Is racial discrimination a lesser sort of immorality, against which only peaceful resistance is allowable? Or does the statement imply that peaceful disobedience is the only kind ever permissible, whatever the wrong may be? These are not mere quibbles, for they suggest some of the real--and unresolved--ideological questions of the sit-in movement. Always, Dr. King and some others have insisted that non-violence is more than a technique, more than a method of combatting a specific evil. "Non-violence is not," said the National Student Conference last April, "just a lack of violence but the requirement that one respect the dignity of all men and stand up for that dignity within himself. It is a movement of human beings against injustice." One theology student, writing in the Student Voice,[4] has said the sit-in movement will not be true to itself unless the participants see that they have a responsibility for all exploited and all exploiters everywhere. Not even the most practical minded of men disputes the importance which the sit-ins have already attained. If the movement does spread the philosophy of non-violence as a way of life, it will indeed have been a giant among social movements. On the other hand, there have been those who have said that non-violence is simply the most useful weapon for this particular fight and some have advocated the slogan "Jail, Not Bail" because jail is costly to the state, and bail (or fines)

4. Brewster Kneen, "Nonviolence and Vision," Student Voice, October 1960.

would be costly to the students. I mention this because it is worth remembering that the sit-in movement is made up both of persons who may disobey the law because they refuse to cooperate with what they regard as evil in any form; and of others who may disobey because they are fighting one particular battle, that against racial injustice.

But to return to the Presbyterian resolution:

> Believing that current student demonstrations against racial segregation, while in some cases conflicting with local laws or customs, seem to be consistent with our Christian heritage, the Federal Constitution, and the moral consensus of our nation;

I think this indicates the basic practical problem. Does approval extend to disobedience of the federal Constitution, or doesn't it? Suppose the legality of the trespass laws which inhibit and punish sit-ins is upheld by the Supreme Court? Will the students still disobey those laws, and will their actions be approved? Dr. King was asked this question on a recent television program, and replied that the situation would be the same: that whatever the Supreme Court said, the moral law of the universe would have to be followed. But this raises the question of the right of segregationists to resist the Supreme Court's ruling that segregated public schools are discriminatory and unconstitutional. For nearly seven long years, we have called on the southern states to comply with the law, to bow to the Constitution. Should not the same obligation be urged on the Negro students?

These are, of course, hypothetical questions; the Supreme Court has not ruled, and when it does may decide in favor of the students' right to sit-in and otherwise demonstrate. Nevertheless, the questions are important because they inquire about the seriousness of the motives and the language of the leaders and participants of the movement. The Presbyterians happily find that Christianity, the Constitution, and the moral consensus of the nation are all in agreement. I think this is what most of us, in our present society, like to assume. Are we really prepared for the possibility that Christianity and the Constitution, as

interpreted by the Courts, may be on opposite sides; or, beyond that, that Christianity rightly understood may not be the same as the moral consensus of the nation? Let me remind you that some have faced these questions. Some years ago, for example, the Supreme Court said that religious instruction during the school day, and on the property of the public school, was unconstitutional. Yet such instruction continues to be given (most widely, I understand, in the mid-West); evidently there are many persons who think the Court has violated the moral consensus of the nation, and choose therefore to disobey it.

Now, of course, neither of the comparisons I have made--the resistance of southern statesor the continued offering of religious instruction--exactly fits the case of the Negro demonstrators. Indeed, they differ greatly. The southern resistance has been under the umbrella of state power, and has resembled rebellion--or, at least, organized defiance--more than civil disobedience. The school boards who violate the Constitutional barriers between church and state do so, probably invariably, with community acquiescence. The conduct of the Negroes, on the other hand, is characterized by other qualities. They act openly, with no attempt at concealment. They accept the consequences, by peacefully submitting to arrest. They act in dissent from the prevailing opinion, official and lay, of their localities.

And yet what these differences amount to is only this, that they put the case of civil disobedieance on its true grounds. If, in other words, the question be raised as to the possible propriety of Senator Byrd's or Governor Patterson's resistance, one never has to meet the philosophical problem of civil disobedience. Theirs is too cheap a performance, and is exposed for what it is without need to consider the honorable issue of positive law vs. higher loyalties.

But, nevertheless, the students cannot rely on their honesty and dignity alone. If disobedience is <u>never</u> permissible, as some have followed Hobbes[5] in thinking, then it makes no difference

5. Hobbes did allow the right of disobedience in one situation, viz., when to obey would endanger one's own life.

how manly is the act. Nor does it, if the argument against disobedience is the widely held belief that it is illegitimate in a political order such as ours, where political and judicial means exist to work for the change of laws. The case for civil disobedience has to be an ethical one. Because of this, those who choose to believe in it must act ethically and openly; i.e., must conduct themselves as the segregation fighters have. But wrong ends can never be justified by attractive means; nor can differences in means wholly distinguish actions whose ends are similar. The basic issue raised by civil disobedience is the effect which it has on men's always tenuous commitment to the rule of law; and on their habit of trust in other men's intentions, which is the only alternative to a police state.

There is another argument advanced against the Negroes' actions which goes this way: "When one is in opposition to the whole political order of which he is a part, then civil disobedience is justified as a tactic. When, on the other hand, a person is in basic assent with his political order, then it is unconscionable for him to pick and choose what he will and will not obey." The immediate rebuttal is that, under the complications of the American federal system, southern Negroes can be at the same time loyal to the national system without acknowledging allegiance to their states, and that it is the laws of the latter which they resist. I believe this is a valid contention. Federalism makes the states, in some particulars, our legal masters, and thus requires of us loyalties to them as well as to Washington. Assuming that civil disobedience is sometimes justified, there is no reason why it is not against a federal unit, in areas where it and not the national government is in control.

On the other hand, what if--to return to the question--the Supreme Court may affirm the Constitutionality of the trespass laws? I am hopeful that enough momentum toward desegregation now exists so that the movement will not be slowed by such a ruling. But if the issue does arise, and the laws of declared Constitutionality are regularly disobeyed, then I believe the Negro spokesmen will have to do more to reassure the country than to invoke simply

the "moral law of the universe." They shall need, I think, to explain carefully to their countrymen how their position is essentially akin to that of the conscientious objector, which the morality of the country has traditionally respected. The conscientious objector refuses personally to obey a legal summons; he does not interfere with or hinder other people, nor does he precipitate the law's wrath. Those who combat segregation must explain to the country that in this area conscience may sometimes require doing, as well as refusal to do.

After these statements of belief, the Presbyterians' resolution concludes:

> The 172nd General Assembly ...
>
> Assures students of our common cause with those who for the sake of conscience participate in such responsible non-violent demonstrations;
>
> Urges them to continue to recognize the dangers to the civil order enherent in conflict with established authority.

This is, I think, the sum of the matter. Here is the age-old Christian tension between loyalty to God and loyalty to the social order. Nothing more need have been said. Nor is it only a Christian tension, for it was present in Western civilization before the Gospels.

The idea of civil disobedience was born when men began to feel that they possessed and were possessed by souls to which they had to be true. From this realization came the theory which we call natural law, and came also the idea of the free, responsible individual and his natural rights. This has brought its hardships as well as its glories, its pains and burdens as well as its satisfactions. For if the old idea of the free, responsible individual means anything, it means this: that each of us, every day, when confronted by the commands of the law, asks "will I" or "won't I" obey. It is a daily plebiscite. This is an awful weight, a crushing responsibility if we take it seriously. And we have seen men flee from that responsibility, seekescape from that freedom, yearn desperately to give it up, and to find security in the comfortable, protective embrace of a social and political order

which fashions all one's values.

Nor is there any aid for the individual. There are no doctrines which justify civil disobedience. If there were, we would have a contradiction in terms. For the responsibility is solely the individual's, and the only authority to which he can turn is his own conscience. It is he[6] who must decide that his conscience directs so clearly and forcefully that he can presume to speak for God before other men. You have all heard a minister say that he had received "the call." Even though "the call" may seem, to some of us, to have reached occasionally an unlikely pair of ears, there is still a deep wisdom behind the conviction that only a man called--chosen--by God is entitled to speak His words to other men. And with the same seriousness, those who violate man made law in order to obey conscience have the responsibility, first, to understand what a weighty responsibility it is to appear as God's interpreter and, second, to see clearly that they are constrained to act.

I cannot, therefore, justify the acts of southern students in disobeying the law, for I think no man can. I think no man can, for even to attempt to do so is an invasion of the autonomy of the individual, who himself has the choice to make. It is he who must undergo the tension, weighing in the scales the legitimate claims of the social order and the directives of his own conscience. All that another can do is give material aid and comradely comfort.

I read recently a poem, brief and anonymous, which I would like to speak to you:

For no man escapes
    When freedom fails,
The best of men rot
    In filthy jails;
And they who cried
    "Appease, Appease"
Are hanged by men
    They tried to please.

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6. For suggesting this thought, I am indebted to my friend John Yungblut, director of Quaker House, Atlanta.

This much one man can say to another. If he cannot advise him when to obey and when not to obey the law, if he cannot even endorse his decision when it is acted on, he can at least say to him this: The civilization that we have and enjoy and boast of, with its freedom, its gentleness, its richness of knowledge, rests on the shoulders of an amazingly few individuals who, in their time, saw what there was to do and chose to do it. That when freedom fails, no man does escape. That those of us who live today in freedom do so because some men--some few men--have interposed their lives and their security for the rest of us, and have been the atonement of humanity.

Finally, I would like to tell you that I came across the little poem which I recited a few minutes ago in the monthly newspaper of the Citizens Council,[7] which some of you I am sure know of as the organization of white southerners dedicated to fight against racial equality. In reading it to you, I meant to be neither cute nor critical. I like what the poem says, even if my adversary writes it. Indeed, I like it all the better on that account. We ought never to forget that political controversies take place among human beings--on both sides. I think we need to do more than love the souls of our enemies. This is not so hard. More difficult is it to respect our enemies, and yet that is what we need to do. I believe with Camus that we are not free to judge. We need to accept our brothers, even though to do so is harder than to love them, or to be their keepers. We need to try to stand in their shoes for a few moments, and to see through their eyes. We need to accept their right to be what they are. If a man resists what other men want, if he even go so far as to disobey their laws, he will weaken the human community if he does it in the spirit of judgment. He ought not to say, "I act, I disobey because my brothers are wrong to command as they do;" he ought rather to say, in the spirit of Martin Luther, "I disobey because I--this I which possesses me and directs me--cannot do otherwise. God help me."

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7. Citizens Council, September 1960

And when he has taken this step, he will, with, as a hallowed text puts it, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, be zealous to re-assure his fellow countrymen of his cause and his motives.

The sit-in participants are not the only ones today who practice civil disobedience. There are people who on principle refuse to answer some questions of the census takers; biology instructors in Tennessee who teach the theories of evolution despite state law; Amish folk and some other sectarians who refuse in various states to observe compulsory school attendance laws; a gentleman in Tacoma who disbelieves in parking meters and after 23 arrests and 34 days in jails continues to withhold his nickel. Moreover, there are visible the first signs of what may become a new, prevalent mood of disobedience. For, besides the sit-ins, we see here and abroad people--brave people--violating the law by sailing into a nuclear weapons test area, by hindering the construction of new submarines, and by other means. These are small pin pricks on the back of Leviathan. But they are expressive of the horror shared by many throughout the world over the radical immorality of our political situation. Power, like fire, is a good and necessary servant but a dangerous master. But national power, which ought to be the servant of our societies, has become that to which everything must be subordinated. The nations sacrifice all, if need be, to make their power great. This is mad; this is stupid; this is degrading of humanity. To some extent, this lust of power has always dominated. But today the game is more serious, and the absurdity of the probable outcome more apparent. And so a few have attempted to persuade us of this absurdity by sailing into forbidden seas, or by interfering with armaments construction. Their civil disobedience has been interposed between us and our folly; they are gadflies for our times, as Socrates was for his. Perhaps in years to come, men may look back on them, and on the sit-in demonstrators of the South, as ones among those lonely few whose shoulders have held up the freedom of all of us. And thus, while I have sought to warn you against presumption, I end by reminding you that the line is thin and shadowy between, on the one hand, presumption and moral conceit, and, on the other, courage and moral leadership.

I am Leslie W. Dunbar, and I am executive director of the Southern Regional Council with offices in Atlanta.

On February 9, 1962, an editorial broadcast over this station stated that members of the Southern Regional Council board are "known communists." This is categorically untrue. On March 2, 1962, a WSFM editorial said "no known communists were in the Southern Regional Council"; the speaker added, however, that he "felt that communist affiliation is a continuing thing" in the Council. This also is categorically false.

There is no need to defend the distinguished and patriotic men and women who comprise the Southern Regional Council. Nor shall I use this time to attack the misinformation and irresponsibility of this libel on respectable Southerners.

Rather let us deplore the ignorance or fear which inspires such name-calling slanders of thoughtful and decent people. The South—and our country--are crippled and endangered by mindless or calculated punishment of free thought and free speech, and by the frequent insults flung against those who speak against or differ from social inertia and tradition.

The Southern Regional Council believes in freedom of thought and speech, and individual and group expression free of such angry punishment. We believe that our American Constitution guarantees the right of the wise, the stupid, the reckless, the cautious, the conservative, and even the radical to speak his opinions, and that this right, freely and jealously exercised, creates a climate of social and political vigor by which our country has grown and advanced to world leadership. We believe this liberty is essential to progress and to the creative solution of the present crisis in the South. We believe that without calm, rational ~~[illegible]~~ discussion the South cannot and will not vanquish its problems. And we know that if men respond to calm argument with smears and inuendo, there will be little chance for to keep the cool temper and clear heads the South must have.

We believe that we are obligated, as citizens, to help create and preserve a climate of free discussion of ideas, to which every American is heir and without which there is no freedom or vigor or progress. The only un-American activity there is, is to allow ourselves to be overswept by ignorant fears, by emotional response to emotional cries, by suspicion of each other, by suppression of contending ideas and debate.

As American citizens, all of us have a duty to avoid these things. We regret that station WFSM is not better informed about the Southern Regional Council. But, most of all, we urge its listeners, here in the Birmingham area where problems of such seriousness exist, to face these problems by encouraging free, calm debate and discussion of them.

Thank you.

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

~~Federal Funds for Education~~

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March 6 Sub-cttee
Testimony

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Taken from: FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION
1958-59 and 1959-60, Page 38.
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education - OE10009

Table 11.--FEDERAL FUNDS AND NUMBER OF APPROVED LOANS UNDER THE COLLEGE HOUSING PROGRAM: 1950-51 TO 1958-59

State or Territory	1950-51 to 1958-59	
	Amount loaned[1] (thousands)	
Total	$887,132	
Alabama	10,435	
Arkansas	13,453	
Florida	25,465	
Georgia	14,327	
Louisiana	24,684	
Mississippi	17,099	
North Carolina	18,461	
South Carolina	7,794	
Tennessee	11,794	
Texas	61,383	
Virginia	4,740	
11 State Total	$209,655	

Taken from: FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION
1958-59 and 1959-60, Page 74.
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education - OE10009

Table 37--FEDERAL FUNDS RESERVED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOL FACILITIES IN FEDERALLY AFFECTED SCHOOL DISTRICTS AS OF OCTOBER 2, 1959, AND FUNDS DISBURSED: 1950-51 TO 1958-59

State or Territory	Funds Disbursed Total from 1950-51 through 1958-59	
Total	$759,251,051	
Alabama	17,440,051	
Arkansas	12,130,552	
Florida	20,247,276	
Georgia	28,297,209	
Louisiana	6,382,357	
Mississippi	5,686,141	
North Carolina	8,340,161	
South Carolina	11,404,529	
Tennessee	8,427,207	
Texas	45,801,747	
Virginia	51,907,872	
11 State Total	$216,075,102	

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Taken from: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS, page 165
Compiled and edited by Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tennessee

75. FEDERALLY AIDED LUNCHROOMS FOR WHITE AND NEGRO PUPILS IN RURAL AND METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS

In 1949 there was a wide difference between the number of white pupils served in federally aided lunchroom programs in Southern states. There was also a difference between the percentage of rural pupils served and the percentage of urban pupils served. For example, in 1949-50, the total for the Southern states showed that the average daily participation in lunchroom programs per thousand pupils in ADA for whites was 478, whereas the number of Negroes was 226 -- more than twice as many white children participating as Negroes. Similarly, the over-all participation of all pupils in a sample of rural counties was 338 in comparison with 354 in metropolitan counties in twelve states. Table 75 shows that by 1952-53 the number of Negro pupils in rural areas of the states reporting were still significantly under the white pupils participating in the school lunch program. Only in Kentucky was the number of Negroes in rural counties participating comparable to the number of whites. In the metropolitan districts, the Negro percentage of participation was about half of that of the white percentage. But by 1956-57 notable increases had occurred, particularly among Negro children and particularly those living in rural places. Despite the gains, the Negro child continued to be under white pupils served daily in the program.

Statement of: Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Before: The Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, March 6, 1962.

I would like at the beginning of my statement to say that I have not had my remarks reviewed by my Executive Committee. Consequently, recommendations which I shall make are my own, and not necessarily those of the Southern Regional Council.

The matter which prompts these public hearings is of concern to many of us in the South. You have confronted an issue which has four basic ingredients. One of these is the enormous expenditure of federal money for the support and strengthening of education. A second is the legitimate interest of the government, not only in how its money is spent, but in the grand aims of education.

The third basic ingredient of the issue is the known fact, of which any further documentation is almost superfluous, that in a great many areas of this country, including nearly all of those in the South, Negroes receive inferior educational treatment and opportunities. This is true in elementary, secondary, and higher education, public and private.

The final ingredient of your -- and our -- issue is this: it is precisely those states of the country in which, because of low economic status, there is the most need for federal assistance in order to provide good education that racial discrimination is most widely practiced. I refer, of course, to the southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-political, biracial, research and education organization. The board of the Council consists of 85 Southerners drawn from both races, the major religious faiths, and the 13 states of the southern region.

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I understand that your parent committee has recently expressed its impatience over the lack of firm data as to just how great is the federal outlay for educational purposes. You will excuse me, therefore, if I do not know the exact figures. We all know that the expenditures are huge. I have seen estimates which run over $2 billion a year. Congress has a clear obligation to keep such a vast outlay under constant observation and evaluation. This sub-committee, therefore, is to be commended for studious attention to this issue of high national importance.

This large federal investment will be further and substantially increased when -- perhaps I should say "if" -- Congress passes the federal-aid-to-education program long before it.

The federal outlay takes many forms and serves many aims. I believe that as you consider the issue you will want to keep these various aspects distinct. They present, I believe, separate questions and problems Congress and the Executive should deliberate on as ~~it~~ they decide~~s~~ how best the national interest in non-discriminatory education can be protected. As you consider whether or not federal funds should be withheld ~~as~~ so long as discrimination exists, as you consider whether Congressional or Executive action is needed or appropriate, I believe you will see that there are several types of situations, each of which has different features and problems. I shall, therefore, confine my testimony to an attempt to define some, at least, of the problems.

1. Federal aid to compensate for federally caused burdens.

The prime example, of course, is the impacted areas program under P.L. 815 and P.L. 874. Under these acts, the government pays, according to statutory formulae, school districts whose enrollment is increased as a result of federal installations. In a sense, the government contributes to school support as would any taxpayer, though in fact, I am sure, the government has been a very generous taxpayer indeed.

I think the case for withholding of funds, by executive action, from segregated schools is weakest under this impacted area program, because the Congressional intent seems pretty clear the other way. Congress, of course, has power to condition the aid. Whether Congress would want to do so is another matter. The question is whether the government, possessed of the power of eminent domain, can rightfully locate installations in a state, add to the school burdens of that state, often at the same time remove property from the tax digest, and then set the terms under which its compensation will be given. At the best, this action would affect only some school districts. It strikes me as an erratic, back-door method of doing what Congress has not done directly; i.e., by broad legislation help implement the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court in 1954.

On the other hand, certain facts should be noted. The impacted areas program is presently the only direct federal aid to public schools for construction and operation. Moreover, I think you will find that a disproportionate share of the total P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 outlay has gone to the southern states; i.e., has gone to the support of segregated schools. I believe, therefore, that Congress should realize clearly that its only present program of direct aid to schools does greatly strengthen segregated systems; when it is also remembered that Congress has not yet done anything to help speed the integration of American schools, the real and the symbolic effects of the impacted areas program become even more sharply imprinted. Under point 4 of my presentation I shall, therefore, speak to this question further.

2. Non-educational, across the board, programs of federal subsidy.

The best example of what I have in mind is the school lunch program. Here, as I understand it, the end served is children's health, and federal assistance is extended on the basis of a statutory formula which takes account of both population and income.

I think that in this and any similar program the national interest is protected if there is adequate federal supervision to assure that benefits are fairly distributed among the children. This does

not appear to be the case. I do not have later figures, but data for 1952-57 show in seven southern states* that only about half as many Negro children in Average Daily Attendance benefited, as did white children.

3. Federal aid for special training.

A good example is the vocational education program under the Smith-Hughes and later acts. Money is allocated to the states on application and on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis, according to statutory formulae largely based on population factors. Applicable Regulations require that there be no racial discrimination.

The purpose of the program is to help equip young people with skills which are needed by the country. Especially in view of our imminent shortage of technically trained persons there would seem to be no excuse for Executive laxity in enforcing the non-discrimination requirement. Nor would there seem to be any excuse for the Executive to, at this date, interpret that requirement to many anything other than non-segregated training.

There is complete segregation in the vocational schools of at least seven southern states and perhaps others. More than this. There is flagrant violation

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*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina.

of even the separate but equal principle. Arkansas, for example, has a state vocational trade school for whites, none for Negroes. Georgia has two state vocational schools for whites, none for Negroes. Moreover, within such state or local vocational schools as do exist for Negroes, training is consistently confined to jobs considered appropriate for Negroes. For example, in Chattanooga, we recently reported as follows:

> Vocational training at all-white Kirkman High School encompasses a range of courses. Here the white student may learn automotive mechanics, auto motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, drafting, electricity, industrial chemistry, industrial electricity, industrial instrumentation, machine drafting, basic and advanced machine shop procedures, printing, radio and television repair, refrigeration, air conditioning, sheet metal, welding, practical nursing, photography, pre-flight aeronautics, and assorted business subjects, including office machine operations, commercial arithmetic, and salesmanship. Of these courses, only automotive mechanics, automotive motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, practical nursing, and basic business courses are taught in the city's two Negro high schools. In addition, all-Negro Howard High offers tailoring, shoe repair, carpentry, commercial baking, and bricklaying, courses that are not available to white students.

In Houston we reported that:

> The only vocational high school in the city--San Jacinto High, an all-white institute--offers full, three-year courses in air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automotive mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, printing, radio, television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro high schools.

Federal funds go to both Chattanooga's and Houston's vocational programs.

In order to receive federal aid, the states must submit satisfactory plans to the U. S. Office of Education. It is inconceivable that the Office of Education should continue to concur in plans which assume that only certain jobs are available to Negroes.

Let me add that I see no difference in principle between the Executive's responsibility in regard to vocational training and its responsibility in regard to such programs as the language and counseling institutes of the Office of Education or the institutes of the National Science Foundation. In each case, the aim is special training to serve a national interest. The schools are selected by the Executive. They should be schools which will permit the attendance of any person who has the requisite qualifications. It was a scandal that in at least four southern states, none of the counseling institutes offered in fiscal year 1960 were open to Negro teachers. We can all be glad that Secretary Ribicoff has said that this will not again be permitted.

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4. Proposed federal-aid-to education for general purposes.

I suppose there is little one can add, after all the debate of recent years, to the question of whether federal aid, if and when passed, should be

denied to segregated schools. Last year the Administration offered a bill which did not restrict aid and no attempt was made to attach the so-called Powell amendment. The bill, nevertheless, failed.

What seems to me important to note is that neither the question of federal aid nor the question of restrictions has ever had a fair test. The federal aid proposal becomes entangled with the segregation or religious issues. The principle of no aid to segregated institutions, because it has been urged mainly in relation to one area only - schools -, has never had a fair test because it has been opposed - and even sometimes tactically favored - by opponents of federal support for education.

Sometime, I think, Congress should give thought to separating these issues, by considering and voting on, without reference to any single program, a resolution to deny the use of any federal money for the support of any racially discriminatory institution or program, of any kind. I think, in short, that the issue is broad, and should not be confined to the one field of education. I think the strategy of limiting the issue to that one field has not worked. It is in this context that I would like for you to receive my earlier remarks on the impacted areas program.

5. Federal loans to colleges.

An example is the college housing program. Here the Housing and Home Finance Agency receives applications from schools, whose eligibility is defined by the statute, and makes loans at very favorable terms.

Although individual applications are reviewed on their merits, it is notable here again that the southern states receive a disproportionate share of the federal assistance. Up to 1959 approximately $1 out of every $4 of loans went to institutions in the eleven southern states. I do not have later figures.

The Commission on Civil Rights, in its special report on Public Higher Education, reviewed the question of the power of the Executive to withhold loans from segregated schools. Without commenting on the question, I do urge that Congress carefully study the law and the conditions it establishes for loan eligibility. I think one cannot too often urge that if Congress will not do anything positively to end educational segregation, it has thereby a double obligation not to strengthen or encourage segregation.

6. Federal aid for research.

The Southern Regional Council, in a study issued last year, said in reference to federal funds for

higher education:

> Where the funds are given or loaned to any institution that applies and is eligible under the statute, it has been argued that the executive department should not, in the absence of legislation, make the award conditional upon a policy of non-discrimination. But with the huge funds distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and channels the money only to schools which it prefers. We think there can be no argument that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students.

Gentlemen, I could - and so could others - fill pages with figures and detail. I shall not do so, because the issue seems to me so clear. I am frankly puzzled that an Administration which has announced such high intentions in the civil rights field, and has in so many ways demonstrated its sincere interest, is insensitive to this matter. The Executive has full discretion under the various research programs to choose its beneficiaries. An estimated $750,000,000 was spent on university-centered research by the federal government in 1960. It is literally inconceivable that the same Administration which requires every government contractor, and his sub-contractors, to practice non-discrimination in employment spends money of this magnitude without thought for the racial practices of its recipients.

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights P38 (Office of Educ figures)

7. <u>Federal aid under laws which explicitly permit segregation</u>.

The best example here is the Morrill Act, which,

in its terms, authorizes grants to segregated institutions. I can only suggest that an issue so unmistakably created by Congress is a matter which, I am sure, is of special concern to you.

8. Federal assistance to individuals for education.

Such assistance, conferred on the individual but paid to the school he enters, is provided under the National Defense Education Act, which contains a proviso against federal control of the administration and personnel of any institution. I do not presume to offer you a legal interpretation of this clause. The Commissioner of Education would seem to be required to do business with almost any accredited institution.

I would question whether this ought to be the case. I would recommend to you that you study both the legal question implicit in the present law, and the question of whether that law should be altered to restrict National Defense Fellows to non-discriminatory colleges. I am sure that I do not need to remind you that the Commission on Civil Rights found, in seven southern states, only one Negro and three desegregated public institutions which had Fellows in attendance, as against 10 white institutions. For these seven states, 65% of the fellowship funds going into public institutions ~~when~~ went to all-white schools.

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These are, then, eight areas in which the problems differ somewhat. It seemed to me that they each require your consideration.

In conclusion, I think the whole problem of federal aid and its relation to segregation is high-lighted by the evidence set forth by the Commission on Civil Rights when it found that for the years 1950-1958, federal aid to public higher education had in six southern states been distributed as follows:

Federal Aid Per Student
Public Higher Education

	White	Negro
Alabama	$118.49	$11.77
Florida	85.34	21.66
Georgia	205.61	18.35
Louisiana	88.83	10.10
Mississippi	208.85	29.35
South Carolina	157.67	35.78

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Taken from: FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION
1958-59 and 1959-60, Page 74.
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education - OE10009

Table 37--FEDERAL FUNDS RESERVED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOL FACILITIES IN FEDERALLY AFFECTED SCHOOL DISTRICTS AS OF OCTOBER 2, 1959, AND FUNDS DISBURSED: 1950-51 TO 1958-59

State or Territory	Funds Disbursed: Total from 1950-51 through 1958-59	
Total	$759,251,051	
Alabama	17,440,051	
Arkansas	12,130,552	
Florida	20,247,276	
Georgia	28,297,209	
Louisiana	6,382,357	
Mississippi	5,686,141	
North Carolina	8,340,161	
South Carolina	11,404,529	
Tennessee	8,437,207	
Texas	45,801,747	
Virginia	51,907,872	
11 State Total	$216,075,102	

see Table 34: Current Expenditures 1957-58
11 states: $34 of $105

Taken from: FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION
1958-59 and 1959-60, Page 38.
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education - OE10009

Table 11.--FEDERAL FUNDS AND NUMBER OF APPROVED LOANS UNDER THE COLLEGE HOUSING PROGRAM: 1950-51 TO 1958-59

State or Territory	1950-51 to 1958-59	
	Amount loaned[1] (thousands)	
Total	$887,132	
Alabama	10,435	
Arkansas	13,453	
Florida	25,485	
Georgia	14,327	
Louisiana	24,684	
Mississippi	17,099	
North Carolina	18,461	
South Carolina	7,794	
Tennessee	11,794	
Texas	61,383	
Virginia	4,740	
11 State Total	$209,655	

Taken from: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS, page 165
Compiled and edited by Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tennessee

75. FEDERALLY AIDED LUNCHROOMS FOR WHITE AND NEGRO PUPILS IN RURAL AND METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS

In 1949 there was a wide difference between the number of white pupils served in federally aided lunchroom programs in Southern states. There was also a difference between the percentage of rural pupils served and the percentage of urban pupils served. For example, in 1949-50, the total for the Southern states showed that the average daily participation in lunchroom programs per thousand pupils in ADA for whites was 478, whereas the number of Negroes was 226 -- more than twice as many white children participating as Negroes. Similarly, the over-all participation of all pupils in a sample of rural counties was 338 in comparison with 354 in metropolitan counties in twelve states. Table 75 shows that by 1952-53 the number of Negro pupils in rural areas of the states reporting were still significantly under the white pupils participating in the school lunch program. Only in Kentucky was the number of Negroes in rural counties participating comparable to the number of whites. In the metropolitan districts, the Negro percentage of participation was about half of that of the white percentage. But by 1956-57 notable increases had occurred, particularly among Negro children and particularly those living in rural places. Despite the gains, the Negro child continued to be under white pupils served daily in the program.

Address: Race Relations Institute
July 3, 1962
~~DRAFT~~
Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD Speech at Fisk University
Race Relations Institute
July 3, 1962

An Overview of the Present Situation

During the 1930's, ~~an~~ America struggled to escape from its greatest business collapse, ~~the~~ its people shook themselves from another kind of depression. For the better part of 50 years, the condition of Negro Americans had been allowed to stagnate. White America took little moral or political interest. Black America, despite the heroic captaincy of men such as Washington, DuBois, and a growing band of professional men, took far too little active interest in its own status and welfare.

During the 30's, this changed. Once again, the moral dilemma which had tormented American history for 200 years, until it was chloroformed about 1880 and put out of sight, came back to haunt the national conscience. National politics began to feel again the throbbings of the racial issue which had dominated and frustrated our national life from 1836 to 1877. The Negro people began to stir.

Why this happened I shall not here try to explain, or, more accurately, to decipher. It did happen. From the 1930's we date the Negro revolt. Another way of putting it would be to say that American democracy began in the 1930's to finish another -- and, I believe, the most basic -- of ~~the~~ its tasks. We began the largest of our tasks in fulfillment of the old aim of establishing a "more perfect union."

Emphasis during the 30's was on Negro welfare. Emphasis since the end of World War II has been on Negro rights. And though we have, unfortunately, in these later years lost a great deal of the constructive concern of the 30's for how people live and what they are owed by the economic system which they support, the shift of emphasis to civil rights has been good and necessary. A people has to make itself free, before it can, without either state or private paternalism, know what its welfare is, and fashion it according to its own judgment.

The changes since World War II have been tremendous. The changes still necessary are ~~universal~~ immense. These are the two fundamental facts, both of which cry for ~~&&&&~~ recognition.

By a series of brilliant law suits, discrimination in higher education and in voting were attacked. During the Korean fighting, integration of the Army was substantially achieved. In May, 1954 the Supreme Court made its historic ruling against state-compelled segregation of public school children by race. By other legal victories, which still continue, segregation was further weakened wherever it is chargeable to public action.

The decision of 1954 ~~began~~ introduced the era of massive resistance in the South, which began to end with the reopening of schools in Virginia in early 1959. That massive resistance occurred was in large part due to the irresponsibility of the administration of President Eisenhower, which failed to offer any other leadership to the country, and ~~the~~ Congress, which waited three long and vile years before taking any action to help the country through its greatest domestic problem. What Congress finally did in 1957, and again in 1960, was ~~only~~ to take a weak and generally fruitless step toward affirming that citizens should be free to vote.

In early 1960, in Greensboro, American democracy walked into a room of mirrors. The sit-in movement did more than anything I can think of to show America its own face. The results have been striking, some happy, some unhappy. What we saw in the mirrors was soiled and unkempt; and so there has been a period of cleaning up which has taken the form of accelerated and frequently voluntary desegregation. But some have so hated what they saw in those ~~&&&&&~~ mirrors that they have wanted either to leave the room of mirrors altogether, or to jump frantically up and down and shout that the ~~&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&&~~ faces in the mirror are not theirs, but those of unbelievable devils who must be pursued and given a ceremonial ~~&&&&&~~ burning. It is, I think, an open question today as to who will win out. Those who want to clean up the mess, and I hope this category includes all of you. Or those who, and I believe they are numerous and growing, who are tired of the whole wretched business, and want to

retreat to the moral numbness of pre-1930. Or those who, with the mania of all ages, hunt down devils in order to establish their own innocence.

A fourth category, of course, are the segregationists, but they are now of vanishing importance. The institutionalized ~~prac~~ practice of segregation is still a huge and frightful enemy ~~evening~~. The segregationist himself is on the way out as a force. He is still -- let me hasten to say -- strong in many provinces and a few states; but his days are numbered and few. This is so if for no other reason than that, as a practical matter, he cannot endure bereft of political influence and power, and in today's America he cannot hold political power without the assent of Washington. And the administration now in Washington, though it has many shortcomings, has committed itself and the government as a whole against segregation and its profiteers.

This is, I think, where we have been these last few years. Where are we now, and where are we likely to go in the near future? Some parts of this picture I want to sketch as I see them. I have time only to talk about fragments; the rest of the mosaic will have to be left unfinished. The pieces I want to pick up, examine briefly, and try to put in place are (1) the status of southern segregation; (2) the Negro movement; (3) the role of the federal government, and (4) Negro-white relationships.

My ~~briefest and~~ most generalized comment will be on the first issue: what is the present strength of segregation in the South. There are two parts to the question: public and private segregation. Public segregation is, I think -- and all of you who know the South will realize that for the next few minutes I ~~will~~ shall be generalizing furiously -- about as strong today as ever in large areas of the Deep South, where the Citizens Councils and their allies are powerful and permeate state governments, and where any breaches that occur, such as in the waiting rooms of terminals, are as yet chiefly only of symbolic value. In other equally extensive and more populous

areas of the South, public segregation is today, I think, pretty much a man of straw. It falls wherever it is pushed. It does not fall by itself. It has to be pushed. The push has to be organized and directed; wherever it is, segregation falls. I would say that this is the requirement, and indeed the only requirement, in all of Virginia except the southside; in nearly all of North Carolina and Tennessee, in north Georgia and most of Florida and Arkansas, and throughout Texas. There is a lot of pushing to be done, and in each situation the right leverage has to be discovered. But when the lever ~~&~~ up ends, the straw man falls, there is no "trouble," and nobody cares.

A lot of private segregation is similar. In restaurants, hotels, theatres, and such, there is in these areas of the South no strategic problem, and the tatical problems, while vexing and multitudinous, all have to do with finding the right levers, i.e., pressures, for the job.

In other kinds of private segregation, such as exists in churches, clubs, neighborhoods, families, the South is tending, I think, toward the northern patterns of muted prejudice and noiseless, but highly effective, discrimination. Some of us who believe that southern culture has within itself the possibility of doing better than has the North keep our hopes alive, but they are, admittedly, not ones to be bet on.

The Negro movement, to go on to my second fragment, is in a time of both difficulty and rich promise; which is to say, about normal for any popular movement. Through the Voter Education Project established by the Southern Regional Council, I have within the last year had the opportunity of working closely with all the principal civil rights and racial relations organizations. I have been sincerely admiring of the dedication and intelligence and cooperative spirit brought by these organizations to their common struggle. I have been equally admiring of the vigorous and sophisticated voters leagues which exist today in a number of southern cities. There is a bountiful supply of good leadership, plus a widespread understanding that the problem is to reform the South, not to punish it.

There are, as well, serious problems, and they affect not only Negroes but the country as a whole -- for in a real sense, the country has depended on Negroes for its moral ministry &&&&&&&&&& during the last decade or so. First, and I think most serious, there is far too little in the way of community organization. I am not either an "organization man" or a "joiner," but the fact is that individuals don't fare well in our terribly complicated modern societies unless they cope with it through organized interest groups, and Negroes have too few and not necessarily the right ones. Second, there is a regrettable tendency among some ~~of~~ in the civil rights ~~activities~~ ranks to flirt with ideology. I think we need less philosophy, and less methodology, and more organization. Third, I am fearful that a combination of circumstances, most of which cast no credit on anybody, threaten to snuff out and frustrate the idealism, the wonderful spontaneity, the bright spirits of the student movement. I tell you without reticence that I was one of those whose heart was clutched by the protest&&& movement of 1960. I don't want the &&&& grandeur and beauty of that movement to be stilled. I want humanity not to be deprived of this fine outreach of courageous goodness.

My third comment has to do with the role of government. The Kennedy administration has done much, though, as the Southern Regional Council pointed out, it has not done two things. It has not in the South shown an interest in &&&&&&&&& anything beyond law compliance and token desegregation. And it has avoided strong policies in any fields where strong policies would lead, possibly, to conflict with state governments.

The prophets tell us, however, that some day the President will issue an executive order against discrimination in federal housing programs, perhaps in time to help Democracy in this November's elections. And I suppose that Congress may in a year or so tinker again with the civil rights acts, and help along the voting cause a bit more. The greatest thing to look forward to is the ~~possibility - and it is only that - of a legislative enactment~~ along the line of the Clark-Celler bill to speed up school integration.

But, frankly, I suspect we have had it. I hope I am wrong, and if I am I'll come back -- gladly -- next year and admit it,

at my pwn expense. My congenital pessimism about politics and politicans whispers within ~~&&~~ me, however, that the fertility of the Kennedy administration in the civil rights field is nearly over. Decisions and policies made this past year-and-a-half should be, for the most part, permanent, and become institutionalized and keep on expanding their good. But the creative period is, I imagine, ended.

Well, so what. Our job is the same, the same as it was last year and in 1960 and in 1958 and in 1952 and in every year. To ~~&&&&~~ defend and define values. To supply initiative. To organize.

A final comment about Negro-white relations. It is a big -- a world-wide -- subject. I want to speak of only a sliver of it, and yet a sliver that is a crucial wedge. I want to register one man's plea that liberals -- both white and Negro =- grow up. "The goddamn white man" is humanity's woe; but so too is the liberal who hollers ~~&&&&~~ after him. Don't, for the good of the world, people it with devils. The world has little need for another savior, or even several, to drive out its devils. The world needs ~~united~~ men of courage and intelligence -- i.e., liberals* -- who perceive that there are no devils in the world, only problems, and who set themselves to solve them. The race problem is more than America's dilemma; it is the world's. We shall make a contribution toward ending it only if we avoid the madness that overcomes honest anger. For a new racism to grow from the ~~&&&~~ ruins of an old would be mercilessly tragic.

Let me conclude by saying, then, that the primary need of racial relations in the South over the next few years will be to teach Southerners -- of both races -- to want more. To teach ~~to~~ them to want more and better ~~&&&&&~~ education, and what education ~~&&&~~ consists of, and how hard one must work to get it. To teach them to want more economic goods, and how one must prepare to earn them. To teach them to want lovely and friendly cities, and well-kept lands. To teach them to want -- and to work; to teach them to want -- and to enjoy. Not until the white Southerner wants and works and enjoys, will he get his mind off race. And not until the Negro Southerner does the same, will he discover how to breathe the free ~~aid~~ air of civil rights.

* Your own definition of a liberal. If you believe courage + intelligence define a conservative, please substitute your word for mine.

Address: Race Relations Institute
July 3, 1962
Leslie W. Dunbar

now revised
See later

An Overview of the Present Situation

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Emphasis during the 30's was on Negro welfare. Emphasis since the end of World War II has been on Negro rights. And though we have, unfortunately, in these later years lost a great deal of the constructive concern of the 30's for how people live and what they are owed by the economic system which they support, the shift of emphasis to civil rights has been good and necessary. A people has to make itself free, before it can, without either state or private paternalism, know what its welfare is, and fashion it according to its own judgment.

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This is, I think, where we have been these last few years. Where are we now, and where are we likely to go in the near future? Some parts of this picture I want to sketch as I see them. I have time only to talk about fragments; the rest of the mosaic will have to be left unfinished. The pieces I want to pick up, examine briefly, and try to put in place are (1) the status of southern segregation; (2) the Negro movement; (3) the role of the federal government; and (4) Negro-white relationships.

My most generalized comment will be on the first issue: what is the present strength of segregation in the South? There are two parts to the question: public and private segregation. Public segregation is, I think - and all of you who know the South will realize that for the next few minutes I shall be generalizing furiously - about as strong today as ever in large areas of the Deep South, where the Citizens Councils and their allies are powerful and permeate state governments, and where any breaches that occur, such as in the waiting rooms of terminals, are as yet chiefly only of symbolic value. In other equally extensive and more populous areas of the South, public

segregation is today, I think, pretty much a man of straw. It falls wherever it is pushed. It does not fall by itself. It has to be pushed. The push has to be organized and directed; wherever it is, segregation falls. I would say that this is the requirement, and indeed the only requirement, in all of Virginia except the southside; in nearly all of North Carolina and Tennessee; in north Georgia and most of Florida and Arkansas; and throughout Texas. There is a lot of pushing to be done, and in each situation the right leverage has to be discovered. But when the lever up ends, the straw man falls, there is no "trouble" and nobody cares.

A lot of private segregation is similar. In restaurants, hotels, theatres, and such, there is in these areas of the South no strategic problem, and the tactical problems, while vexing and multitudinous, all have to do with finding the right levers, i.e., pressures, for the job.

In other kinds of private segregation, such as exists in churches, clubs, neighborhoods, families, the South is tending, I think, toward the northern patterns of muted prejudice and noiseless, but highly effective, discrimination. Some of us who believe that southern culture has within itself the possibility of doing better than has the North keep our hopes alive, but they are, admittedly, not ones to be bet on.

The Negro movement, to go on to my second fragment, is in a time of both difficulty and rich promise; which is to say, about normal for any popular movement. Through the Voter Education Project established by the Southern Regional Council I have within the last year had the opportunity of working closely with all the principal civil rights and racial relations organizations. I have been sincerely admiring of the dedication and intelligence and cooperative spirit brought by these organizations to their common struggle. I have been equally admiring of the vigorous and sophisticated voters leagues which exist today in a number of southern cities. There is a bountiful supply of good leadership, plus a widespread understanding that the problem is to reform the South, not to punish it.

There are, as well, serious problems, and they affect not only Negroes, but the country as a whole - for in a real sense, the country has depended on Negroes for its moral ministry during the last decade or so. First, and I think most serious, there is far too little in the way of community organization. I am not either an "organization man" or a "joiner" but the fact is that individuals don't fare well in our terribly complicated modern societies unless they cope with it through organized interest groups, and Negroes have too few and not necessarily the right ones. Second, there is a regrettable tendency among some in the civil rights ranks to flirt with ideology. I think we need less philosophy, and less methodology, and more organization. Third, I am fearful that a combination of circumstances, most of which cast no credit on anybody, threaten to snuff out and frustrate the idealism, the wonderful spontaneity, the bright spirits of the student movement. I tell you without reticence that I was one of those whose heart was clutched by the protest movement of 1960. I don't want the grandeur and beauty of that movement to be stilled. I want humanity not to be deprived of this fine outreach of courageous goodness.

My third comment has to do with the role of government. The Kennedy administration has done much, though, as the Southern Regional Council pointed out, it has not done two things. It has not in the South shown an interest in anything beyond law compliance and token desegregation. And it has avoided strong policies in any fields where strong policies would lead, possibly. to conflict with state governments.

The prophets tell us, however, that some day the President will issue an Executive Order against discrimination in federal housing programs, perhaps in time to help Democracy in this November's elections. And I suppose that Congress may in a year or so tinker again with the civil rights acts, and help along the voting cause a bit more. The greatest thing to look forward to is the possibility - and it is only that - of a legislative enactment along the line of the Clark-Celler bill to speed up school integration.

But, frankly, I suspect we have had it. I hope I am wrong,

and if I am I'll come back - gladly - next year and admit it, at my own expense. My congenital pessimism about politics and politicians whispers within me, however, that the fertility of the Kennedy administration in the civil rights field is nearly over. Decisions and policies made this past year-and-a-half should be, for the most part, permanent, and become institutionalized and keep on expanding their good. But the creative period is, I imagine, ended.

Well, so what. Our job is the same, the same as it was last year and in 1960 and in 1958 and in 1952 and in every year. To defend and define values. To supply initiative. To organize.

A final comment about Negro-white relations. It is a big - a world-wide - subject. I want to speak of only a sliver of it, and yet a sliver that is a crucial wedge. I want to register one man's plea that liberals - both white and Negro - grow up. "The goddamn white man" is humanity's woe; but so too is the liberal who hollers after him. Don't, for the good of the world, people it with devils. The world has little need for another savior, or even several, to drive out its devils. Th world needs men of courage and intelligence - i.e., liberals* - who perceive that there are no devils in the world, only problems, and who set themselves to solve them. The race problem is more than America's dilemma; it is the world's. We shall make a contribution toward ending it only if we avoid the madness that overcomes honest anger. For a new racism to grow from the ruins of an old would be mercilessly tragic.

Let me condlude by saying, then, that the primary need of racial relations in the South over the next few years will be to teach Southerners - of both races - to want more. To teach them to want more and better education, and what education consists of, and how hard one must work to get it. To teach them to want more economic goods, and how one must prepare to earn them. To teach them to want lovely and friendly cities, and well-kept lands. To teach them to want - and to work; to

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*My own definition of a liberal. If you believe courage and intelligence define a conservative, please substitute your word for mine.

to teach them to want - and to enjoy. Not until the white Southerner wants and works and enjoys, will he get his mind off race. And not until the Negro Southerner does the same, will he discover how to breathe the free air of civil rights.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Address, October 28, 1962
Catholic Interracial Council
New York City

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL DUTIES

I feel sure that the planners of this meeting had no expectation that it would occur at such a time as this. The years of the cold war have taught each of us an ability to live, in some way or another, with constant tension. Not before this last week, however, have we been so close to what has been dreaded for so long.

I think we cannot but wonder what effects war, or an intensification of the cold war, would have on the struggle for civil rights with which we are engaged. I shall not try any public speculation about that, except to note that there would undoubtedly be a loss, in some degree, of public and governmental interest. There is a sort of tragic irony in the reflection that both of the last two world wars followed and interrupted periods of great social reform in the United States. Since the close of World War II we have been in another such period, this one having to do with reform of human relations. These are bitter coincidences to contemplate.

But today also in Rome an inspiring event is unfolding, as the ecumenical conference which that good man, Pope John, has summoned continues its deliberations. We live in a fractured world today, but one which seems to have within it a throbbing impulse, an essential yearning, for unity. We see it everywhere. The Protestant denominations take small, hesitant steps toward unification. Nations cling to the U.N. Western Europe moves steadily toward common institutions. Sectionalism in our country yields to national values. And everywhere, men are letting fall the blinders of their souls, and are seeing with new clarity and concern the lives of other men. The popularity of slogans reveal much about what people really believe and wish. That line of John Donne's -- "No man is an island" -- has been quoted so many countless times that it has by now become a slogan, and one that reveals our deepest hopes.

I believe that the civil rights movement is an outcome of the soul yearning that has made the line, "No man is an island," a living, breathing, popular prayer. When we ask ourselves why there has been, since 1944, a great surge forward in civil rights we can give many answers--economic, political, educational. But underlying all has been, I think, a newfound, small, still voice within us that says "yes" to unity, "no" to division, that says "yes" to brotherhood, "no" to separation and segregation.

It is likely that nearly all persons reached by these words are convinced that segregation is a moral evil. We believe that segregation is iniquitous and unjust, and we are confident that our belief is right. Although knowing very little theology, I have the impression that there is general agreement among well nigh all religions that there is no sin greater than that of pride. Do we run the risk of falling into the sin of pride through our conviction that our moral judgment about racial relations is the right one, and that of the traditional South is wrong and evil? Are the righteous as well as the wicked prone to pridefulness?

These are, I think, not vain questions, but timely and practical ones. During the next few years, we shall be needing all the moral stamina we can summon. We shall need it not only for our racial and personal problems, but because these will be occurring against the backdrop of a chaotic, frightening, and scared world. Because of the democratic advances made since 1944, when the white primary was outlawed and the civil rights momentum began, Negro and liberal white men and women have and will have ever-increasing political influence. Unless we can school ourselves to accept this influence and power calmly and unpretentiously, our's will be a sorry triumph.

For, as I understand it, at the heart of the civil rights movement is a repugnance against the over-use of power. But even deeper than this there is a commitment within the civil rights movement, at its best, in favor of the belief that a good society is a society of people linked together through gentleness of spirit. And, even though most workers for civil rights whom I know are people of realism, who expect no Utopias now or ever,

they are, I believe, people who are devoted to "that city laid up in heaven" made up of gentle people. And in that city they try to live. Indeed, the very term civil rights resembles and has a common root with that other word, "civility", which describes the manner in which civilized men and women live with each other. So when we work for civil rights we are really working for the civilized behavior of people toward each other; we are working for civility.

We are, then, on trial. We are, through the magnificent leadership of the NAACP, its Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and hundreds of adult and youth crusaders all over the South, winning the campaign for civil rights. There are ahead some very rough days. But as certain as these are, victory is equally certain. And we are on trial. We shall have to prove that we have no desire to punish those who opposed us. We shall have to prove that, having secured the civil rights of Negro Americans, we now are ready to go about the rest of the Lord's work.

Here in this luxurious hotel that civility I spoke of a moment ago is everywhere. In this setting we may find it easy to forget that the fundamental issues have to do with persons who never come to this hotel or any place like it. The hardest wrought issues of civil rights concern those whom an earlier and more romantic generation would have called the down-trodden masses. If you want to find these people you will have to go into the vile tenements of Harlem. Or into a lifeless county of rural Mississippi where white men with worn-out wives and worn-out land and too many children drag themselves through a bewitching southern climate with nothing really important to do and no hope of finding anything to do which will give their lives self-respect. Or you will have to look in some alley of a southern city or town, heavy with the oppressive yet somehow friendly odor of frying catfish, where Negro children, too numerous to count easily, are the only spots of brightness in the human scene. Or you will have to look in the camps of the migrant workers, who are truly America's forgotten people, as they make their way up and down the eastern seaboard

and into the gardens of California and into the broad lands of the Midwest. America likes to call itself a middle class country. If it were wholly a middle class country, there would be, I suspect, as much fetid prejudice of all kinds as we have today and perhaps even more. But I venture to believe that we would not have the problems which currently make the struggle for civil rights so grim. It is the disadvantaged tenth of American people, both white and Negro, who give the tense seriousness to racial relations. Asking these people to acknowledge the civil rights of others or to accept and exercise the rights which are their's under the American constitution, is like asking people on whom a whole society stomps to behave with civility. These people are outcasts of civilization.

Consequently they act as such. Why should we, after all, be surprised if a handful of semi-illiterate white men in an impoverished county, having spent what little change they have on a bottle of booze, and having nothing else to do or even to wish for, go off and burn a Negro church? Why should we be surprised if, despite all the efforts of Negro community organizations, families confined to a vermin-infested ghetto do not send off to the public schools children who are models of behavior and intellectual curiosity?

We have millions of people in America for whom the American standard of living, the American way of life, the affluent society are but the emptiest of phrases. These people include Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, white folk of the rural South, and others as well. I believe that the next great task of our national life should and will be a massive effort to reclaim this social wreckage. At the present, a very large proportion of this bottom tenth of the population is Negro.

Well, of course, the white supremacists (who live, incidentally, both in the North and South) are right about one thing. Negroes are often poor, often have high crime rates, often have low educational records, often display personal and family irresponsibility, <u>simply because they are Negroes</u>. And that this should be a fact is a sin of the white race as enormous and as hideous as other sins of the white race, such as Hitler's cremations and Stalin's starvation of the peasants. After having hammered at the Negro consciousness

and vitality by 300 years of slavery, brutality, discrimination, and segregation, some of us seem now perplexed to discover that many Negroes do not behave well. It is altogether proper to be disturbed on account of this, and to deliver a rebuke. But let's deliver it at the right door.

The behavior standards of many Negroes, just as the behavior standards of white mobsters of the South, are a rebuke against the whole nation. We sowed, and we reap. And we will not reap a good grain, unless we cultivate with care and loving attention. No minority can lift itself out of poverty by its own boot-straps, unless, like the Jews or the Orientals, it is a people with its own religion, its own communal exclusiveness, its own traditions and history, and its own pride. If you want Negroes to lift themselves by their own boot-straps, then make way for the Black Muslims. Perhaps in a century or two they could do it. But if you don't want Black Muslims, if you don't want to wait centuries, then you and the rest of America must assume responsibility for curing the disease which America caused. We need to stop talking about the "Negro problem," and to start talking and thinking and acting about the nation's moral <u>and</u> economic <u>and</u> political necessity for rescuing the millions whom we have cut adrift and who now hang like a ball and chain about the necks of the rest of us.

Moreover, we need to stop talking about the "Negro problem" if for no other reason than common courtesy and good manners. Down South, one of the traditional roles of the Negro house servant was to make the white children of the house mind their manners. I hope my good friend Henry Moon, of the NAACP, will not object if I thank him, because he, wearily but patiently, took time out recently to resume this ancient function of his race, by writing a letter to a certain magazine, trying to teach the white folks once again how to mind their manners.

Some are so disturbed by the civic performance of many Negroes that they urge that we shift our main campaign now away from civil rights and toward the improvement of Negro habits, character, and ambitions. We have to remember that for a long, long time, under the guidance of Booker T. Washington and white philanthropists, a great effort was made on behalf of the improvement of Negroes, on the premise that this was the way to gain admittance

to the rights and dignities of the white man's free society. Much good resulted from these efforts, and we are all today in the debt of those people who during the late 19th and early 20th centuries worked so hard and in such loneliness. What a huge debt we owe, for example, to those few who worked even better than they knew how to lay the beginnings of the Negro colleges and universities which are in fact the wellsprings of todays civil rights movement and of the proud Negro leadership which inspires and directs it.

But we have to admit also that this approach did not work in two important particulars: one was that no matter how much he improved himself the Negro was not admitted to the white man's free society. And secondly, we found out that there were sharp limitations on how much Negroes could improve themselves unless they had the rights of free men.

We learned, if we had our senses about us, that in a democracy and in a free enterprise economy only the people who have civil rights can obtain the advantages which we all want and require. Civil rights precede civic improvement; the opposite is not the case.

And there is a long way yet to go before the civil rights of Americans are made secure. There are fields such as housing and white collar employment and family relationships which have hardly yet been scratched. I am one of those optimistic, perhaps naive, Southerners who believe that we can in the South do a lot better with an old challenge than have our brothers to the North. White Southerners have always claimed to know "their" Negroes, and Negro Southerners have claimed to know "their" white folks, and there has been a good bit of self deception and blarney in both claims but also enough truth to give us in the South the groundwork for building decent towns and neighborhoods and churches, once the civil rights war is over and won. For in some valuable measure we Negroes and whites of the South do know each other, are not strangers, have shared a regional consciousness, and have been poor together, have revealed our meanness and have got a lot of the enormous supply of it out of our systems. We have no secrets from each other. We

know each other's sinfulness and weakness and mulishness. There is a tolerance and a kind of affection, and when we get beneath the rancor and the passion--and the hate--we shall have something solid to build on.

We shall have in the South some old myths to lay to rest. For example, one of the distinctive traits of the South has been the trust, almost the veneration, we have given our leaders. We followed and believed in Mr. Jefferson, and Calhoun, and Jefferson Davis, and Lee, and the Redeemers, and Carter Glass, and James Byrnes, and Richard Russell. Mention these names to many Southerners and you set their spines atingle.

Perhaps we of the South will never get over our immaturity until we confront a plain fact which generations of Southerners have conspired together in avoiding. The fact is this. Our politicians have been wrong everytime in their regional leadership. At every great crisis in southern history, our political leaders did the wrong thing, wrong for the nation, and wrong for the South. No people has ever had less cause to be grateful to its statesmen than we of the South.

A new leadership is emerging. Because the record behind us is so incredibly poor, we have to ask, "Will the new be better?" Will Negroes and liberal whites know how to lead, as their day comes? Are we a region capable of self-government?

Consequently, the happiest thing I have to report to you is that the desegregation controversy is bringing peace, not bitterness, relaxation, not continued tension, to the South. You may be amazed to hear this; those who know and love the South would not be. As my friend and boss, John Wheeler of Durham, N. C., likes to say, Southerners are the most adaptable people in the world. Once the crisis has past, once a battle for civil rights has been fought and decisively won, your typical white Southerner relaxes, accepts it, feels better about the whole thing, and goes on about his business. I believe I can report to you that Atlanta

and Richmond and Nashville and Greensboro and many other localities of the South are happier cities today than they have ever been. And the explanation is simple: they are freeing themselves from an ancient, hugh, oppressive problem.

If I give you a report of good tidings, I must in fairness add a warning. The civil rights movement has now penetrated the Deep South, even into the rural Black Belt. We shall have, and I say this with all the gravity I can command, some of the worst, if not the very worst, conflicts that we have ever encountered.

But the main tide is running clear and strong, and it will be hastened along. There will be, for example, over the next two years unprecedented resources and energies put into voterregistration campaigns throughout the South. Those who are working in this campaign are not merely trying to register Negroes; they are working as the country's servants, in behalf of the extension and perfection of democracy. Through their efforts, the oligarchical control of southern politics, which has extended all the way from county court-house to Congress, and which affects even our foreign policies, is being broken.

One of the truly notable characteristics of Negro Americans has been that, when they have asked for relief from racial injustices, they have almost invariably given three justifications for their demands. First and second, they have said we want justice and we are entitled to it. But they always add a third reason. Sometimes they may say the economic welfare of the country requires that discrimination be ended; sometimes it may be that democracy requires it; sometimes, that God requires it. To put it in other words, Negroes relate their campaign for civil rights to other goals. They see racial justice as not only an end in itself, but a necessary means to other ends: democracy, the American Dream, the Judaeo-Christian truths.

This habit of mind is a very wonderful thing. We white people can only be humbly thankful for it. That Negroes should consistently join their cause to some other, and often higher, end is a revelation of magnificent spirits and mind.

Now we must all learn that spirit. We need to learn that free men have civil duties. That among these civil duties are the obligation to secure and exercise our own rights; to demand and defend rights for others; to exercise our rights and fulfill our duties because we acknowledge service to causes higher than our own self-interest; to deserve the respect of all men, and to grant our respect to each of our human brothers.

Address delivered to the Tuskegee Institute Commencement Exercises, Tuskegee, Alabama, August 10, 1962 by Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

file Lwd Speeches, 1962

In the course of two automobile trips this summer I travelled nearly the full extent of U. S. 29, from Washington, D. C. to Flomaton, Alabama. I drove, on both occasions, from North to South. Imagine, on the contrary, that you were driving toward Washington, and that you were delivering there all the accumulation of history and all the conflicts of human interests that lay along that road. What a load, what a massive and yet fragile burden you would carry into the heart of our national affairs.

Imagine your trip beginning, not where mine ended, but a few miles farther south, in Pensacola. You would be in a city which this fall will desegregate its public schools. The Negro children of Pensacola will have waited eight years for the Supreme Court's ruling to be obeyed; across the border in Alabama, the children are still waiting. Children born in 1954 are now in the second grade, and still segregated. Children, white and black, who graduated last June from high school were just finishing the 4th grade in 1954. They grew up in the loud strife of ~~their~~ these late years. Their characters were formed against a background of chorused politicians inciting the people to disobedience and evasion of law, and of many Negroes and a few whites quietly and courageously working for a better land. Their personalities took shape in an atmosphere permeated by violence in many places, by peaceful,dignified acceptance of change in many others. As you drive through the South, you are travelling through an unanswered and unanswerable riddle. What have we taught the generation we

have just raised during these years of mingled meanness and greatness of action here in the South? Have we taught it to admire a cheap politics and cowardly violence? Or did this generation of youth learn most from the bravery and the idealism and the calm good sense which have also been a part, and a big part, of southern life?

These are questions you carry with you as you drive. Much of the South through which you pass on U. S. 29 seems little changed from old traditions. Down in Escambia and Covington Counties, it is truly a long, lonesome road, through swamps and pines, until you come out into the good, rich land around Troy, and then on into Macon County and Tuskegee. Here traditions have snapped, with a crack heard all the way to Washington. And here Washington seems not 600 odd miles away, but very near. (I wonder if, in some future time, markers like those commemorating the battles of the Civil War will be placed along the highways of the South where the battles of this second civil conflict were fought. If so, a very large one will be here in Tuskegee.)

You go on, through the textile towns of the Chattahoochee. They remind you of cotton, and of how Negroes were needed and used to grow the cotton but were as a matter of policy not allowed and still hardly allowed to touch its manufacture. But you are reminded of other things as well. The textile towns were instruments not only of southern industrialization, and not only of Negro exclusion; they were instruments of white

paternalism over whites, they were a means whereby despite industrialization the control over southern politics and economics was kept in the hands of a very few. You go on up the road, past the beautiful, grand homes of LaGrange and Newnan, Georgia, and on into Atlanta.

There is an old bit of doggerel about East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet. I don't know about the truth of this, but in Atlanta North and South have met. Atlanta is a big place, and needs a lot of thinking about to figure out. So you put it in the back of your mind and head on: past Stone Mountain, where the Klan used to gather, and where on a night recently it overpowered some half-hearted state police and gathered again; (But, of course, only a few years back the state of Georgia would not have sent even half-hearted police to oppose the Klan.) through Winder, and again Washington seems very near, because this is the home of Senator Russell, for long the chieftain of that immensely powerful band of southern Congressmen who fight against every proposal for civil rights legislation; into Athens, where a year and a half ago white students rocked the world by rioting over the admission of Negro students. There were only two Negro students, one a young lady and one a man, and you remember that nearly all the rioting was directed at the girl; and you wonder about this.

You go on, into and through the Carolina Piedmont, by-passing a half-dozen or so smaller Atlantas, busy, money-making cities,

having little in common with the old South, yet caught within it and not really unhappy that this is so. As you approach one of them -- Greenville -- you see a motel for Negroes; the name of the motel is "Ghana." On the day you drive by, sit-ins are occurring in Charlotte, and on most any day there may be something similar going on in any of the other towns. The last of these little Atlantas is Greensboro.

You had put Atlanta to the back of your mind, to think about later. You feel that you would like to do the same about Greensboro; what happened there on February 1, 1960 unlocked events -- and people -- that have shaken the South, the country, and - even more than did Athens, but with the same awesome power - the world. It was and is such a deep thing that to think about it stretches your mind, and like any lazy man you prefer not to do that. But there is an urgency here, and we don't have time to put off thinking about Greensboro. In the briefest possible language, what it meant and means is a final, emphatic rejection by Negroes of the old idea that racial justice could not be established until everything had first been made ready: the white people of the South had to be made ready, the Negroes had to be made ready, and the laws had to be made ready. The white people were to be conditioned or taught to tolerate justice and the Negroes were to be taught its responsibilities. The new idea, which has been the keynote of the civil rights movement since World War II, is this: Let's

first have justice, and then -- white and Negro both - teach ourselves, instead of being taught. Let's be in charge of our lives, instead of the objects of other peoples' decisions. People do not have to be made ready before the social order can be made just.

This is the cry that Greensboro threw out. It echoes back and forth through our South today, and its sound reaches to Washington and well beyond. Washington doesn't hear very well, and keeps getting the sound confused with others. The sound occasionally gets through, however, and in its stumbling, bumbling way Washington responds to it. In Albany, for example, after months of maddening indecision, Washington finally heard clearly, and acted. It was, I think, a proud moment for Americans when this week the Department of Justice went into Judge Elliott's court and declared that the federal courts should not be used for the suppression of Constitutional liberties.

The sound went on ahead of us on U. S. 29 into Virginia too. In Danville, the white burghers were startled by it and tried to keep it out of town. One way they tried was by closing up the local library, for books,are, you know, great applauders whenever anyone begins praising justice. But that didn't work, and now the library is open again, though the chairs are gone, and Negro and white readers practice Mr. Harry Golden's vertical integration. The sound went on up the road to Lynchburg, and some girls from

Sweet Briar College -- the South's Vassar -- walked into town and joined in sit-ins with Negroes; for them and happily for many others although still too few white students around the South, the bugles of Greensboro were sounding more clearly than those of Gettysburg.

From Greensboro to Charlottesville isn't far, and uphill much of the way. You drive on into the town of America's greatest son, the finest human fruit of its soil, imagining that Thomas Jefferson might have looked out from Monticello and seen and been glad. Now it is true, and worth remembering that though Jefferson sensed the horror of America's racial problem, he did nothing to help his countrymen overcome it or to avoid its worsening. But even Christ once prayed that, "if it be possible, let this cup pass away from me." I mean no sacrilege by the comparison. We are all of us human beings, and even the Christ, the God in human form, knew and experienced, precisely because he was human, a moment of weakness. The tragedy which we live among is that all over this land of ours, and all through this history of ours, colossal figures such as Jefferson and multitudes of lesser men of good will and even of greatness of spirit have prayed to let this cup pass, have run their course without helping cure America's greatest blight.

But now America cannot wait longer. Now the cup will not pass. We speak of the "Negro revolt." We might phrase it another way, and say that now American democracy has been

cornered by the next and greatest of its unfinished tasks, and that until and unless we face and defeat the racial problem the life will be squeezed from our democratic hopes.

And so the road leads to Washington. Most reads of American life do, sooner or later. All this weight of history and pain and hopes we picked up along U. S. 29 rolls into the White House, into the Capitol, into the cubicles where administrators work, into the Supreme Court. The weight is heavier today than ever, because it includes the urgency which Tuskegee, Athens, and Greensboro bespeak.

There were signs along the way from Charlottesville to Washington, signs that suggest much about this South in which we live. There were some -- I counted two -- which you will have to turn your neck to see, because they are billboards set to catch the eye of the man, the Northerner probably, driving south. These billboards advertise Farmville: they say that it is a good place to live and that it wants new industry. They do not tell how, for three years, Farmville and all the rest of Prince Edward County have kept closed the doors of the public schools and denied schooling entirely to its 1700 Negro youth. What irony these billboards reveal! Give us, please, they say, a new plant, a new mill which will inevitably change and revolutionize the southern way of life we now stoutly defend by locking Negro children out of school. There is irony of another kind too in the horse country around Warrenton, where rich people from the North have big estates on which they play like southern

gentlemen, because even though time after time the North defeats the South the conqueror secretly admires the vanquished. Beyond to the west are the Blue Ridge mountains, which shadow the long road into and out of the South.

You pass battle markers that tell you that the grounds of Manassas are nearby. It was one of the many fields where a hundred years ago white men killed each other because of black men. That war was fought, according to Lincoln, to preserve the Union. Today's civil rights struggle has the same purpose: to preserve the Union, by making it worthwhile for all its members.

And so you have been through it all, or nearly all: piney woods and swamps, the old plantation country, the Piedmont, the mountains, the haunts of old aristocrats. I did not lead you on it because a travelogue seemed a relatively painless way to spend a hot, August night in Tuskegee. I knew of no better way to say to you that we are part of a region and a nation and a time where the track is incredibly fast and crowded. We -- you and I -- have got to accomplish in a few more years gigantic social and political change, we have got to do the job well, and we have got to be able to digest the change. We have got to learn to live with domestic as well as international crises. We are going to need the aid of government, at all levels. And thus my commencement challenge to you, in 1962, is this: get into politics. Vote, get others to vote, work for candidates, organize your votes, run for office. Not only to serve yourself.

To serve America, to serve the cause of decent, humane civilization.

So after our long trip we have come finally to Washington. What do we have to say? I think it might be good if someone who had made this trip stood on the steps of the Jefferson memorial, looking out over that beautiful basin, and speaking in a quiet voice -- with a radio microphone conveniently near by --, said:

> Dear Mr. President, Congressmen, Justices, bureaucrats; and Dear Governors and state legislators too, Honored Sirs: I have just travelled through a lot of history and a lot of living, breathing human beings who have problems that you are going to have to do something about. All the problems and all the history have to do with a word, and that word is equality, and whether we believe in that word and how we practice our belief. There has been a lot of talk already about this thing called equality, and so I'll be brief. I want to remind you of just two thoughts. First, one we owe to Aristotle, who used to be a popular writer in the South because he taught that slavery was naturally good and right. But Aristotle taught also -- and the white South hasn't wanted to read this -- that once you do admit a man to citizenship, it has to be full, equal citizenship. Because, said Aristotle, distinctions among citizens are like a cancer eating away the health of the community. The second thought to remind you of comes from another old fellow, who was no liberal either. Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes tried to teach us that we must practice equality. Why? Because,

said Hobbes, even the weakest man can, by craft or trickery, injure or kill the strongest man, and <u>will do so</u> if he feels that the strong man is treating him without respect. Now it is not only to save your lives that I tell you you must establish equality. People want happiness as well as life, and along my journey up here I have seen a lot of people, people who have to live with and get along with each other. You are the statesmen, the leaders of these people, and not of just some of them but of all of them.

I'll remind you, therefore, of something else both Aristotle and Hobbes knew and taught. Governments must be neutral. They must never take sides. The Communists think otherwise, of course. They think governments must take sides, and that the only good government is the government of the proletariat. Our principles are different, and we need to stop violating them. In the South we have state and local governments which are white men's governments. This has got to stop, and these governments have got to become neutral.

And so one final thing. I have reminded you of what two old writers, Aristotle and Hobbes, said, and now I'll call your attention to some words of a contemporary French writer, Bertrand deJouvenel. He tells us that the real purpose of government is "to increase the mutual trust prevailing at the heart of the social whole."* Men live with the aid of slogans, and this I think is a very good slogan for the governors of people to have.

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*<u>Sovereignty</u>. Chicago, 1957. page 123.

Well, this might be the speech our traveller up U. S. 29 might give when he reached Washington.

Around the country now there is a lot of speech-making, and some words and ideas get repeated over and over. It seems to me that lately I have heard or read a number of Negro spokesmen say something like this: "There is much about American society with which we don't want to integrate. What we do want is the freedom to choose and to help build -- not necessarily a better America but -- a more decent, humane life and culture."

If I am right, and if this idea is growing in currency and strength among Negro Americans, I believe it is a wonderful happening. One of the tragedies of our time is that the former colonial territories, as they gain release from the West and as they repudiate much that is western, cling tenaciously to the worst of the western tradition. Nationalism is an invention of the West just as surely as the steam engine. It is the Frankenstein's monster which we in the West created and which has been our special curse. And of all parts of western culture, this is what Africa and Asia most want. They want our curse. This is tragic irony.

If Negro Americans can bring new leaven into American society, if in the churches and schools and colleges that serve Negroes the word can go out that Negroes have an opportunity -- and, therefore, an obligation -- to be not blind sheep, following after the lead-bell of white society, but persons of independence

building as they can a finer culture -- then these will be the days of jubilee. I think James Baldwin is right in affirming that the Negro American is inseparably an American, and must achieve his identity as such. And Baldwin has learned the profound fact that no American has a given identity, that Americans have always been a people in search of themselves. "The necessity of Americans to achieve an identity is an historical and present personal fact."* What Negro Americans are today called to do is not to identify with American society. What Negroes have to do is to join with fellow Americans in the search for identity. In a basic sense, nobody knows the name of any American.

But I believe that Martin Luther King also was right when he said that,

> ...from the first day an American farmer shouldered a musket for liberty, to this day, a national character was being formed, which could grow only if it lived in a climate of decency and fair play.**

We here in the South have to create this "climate of decency and fair play." The present rulers of southern politics will not give it to us as a gift. We shall have to fight for it, and win it: we shall have ~~the~~ to politic, politic, politic.

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*Nobody Knows my Name. N. Y., 1961. page 137.

**Address, May 17, 1962, at formation of Gandhi Society for Human Rights.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By Leslie W. Dunbar

Before we discuss specific rights and liberties under the Constitution, there are some general principles that should be kept in mind.

First, the most important idea to grasp regarding the Constitution of the United States is one that may seem commonplace to you because you so take it for granted. It is this: the Constitution itself is a law, enforceable in the courts. We are so used to this that we probably do not stop to think that this is unlike most of the other important constitutions of the world. In the constitution of France, for example, rights and liberties are specified, just as in our constitution, but they are not law unless the French parliment has passed statutes making them law. They are simply constitutional principles to guide the French cabinet, not to bind it. Our Constitution is different because it is itself a law. It binds; it can be enforced regardless of what Congress may or may not do.

Secondly, the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Article VI of the Constitution reads, in part:

> This Constitution, and the Laws...made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made...under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Thirdly, our Constitution, as you know, provides for what we call a federal system and what we call a separation of power. You might think of it this way. Imagine the total power of government. Then imagine that you cut it up and gave a portion to the national government and a portion to the state governments. Then imagine further that you take the portion given to the national government and cut it into three parts, giving one each to the President, Congress, and the Courts. This means, as you can see, that the total power of government is not in any one set of hands. This was precisely what the framers of the Constitution intended,

because they were deeply suspicious of what any power holders would do. We have heard a lot about "state's rights". We should keep in mind that if the states do not and will not act responsibly, if they act in such a way as to affront standards of human decency, the national government will inevitably be driven to supervise them in some ways or to exercise functions which states should be exercising. When this happens, as it has happened because of the irresponsibility of states, we move away from that conviction of the Constitutional fathers that it was good to have vigorous state governments.

Fourthly, nearly all of the rights and liberties in our Constitution are what might be called "negative". This means that they typically do not tell the citizen what he can do, but rather tell the government what it cannot do. There is, for example, no provision of the Constitution which says that you have a right to vote. There are provisions, on the other hand, which forbid government from denying you the right to vote for certain reasons.

With these basic principles behind us, we can look quickly at some of the specific rights and liberties of the Constitution.

Sometimes we tend to think of all the rights as being in the so-called Bill of Rights, that is, in the first eight Amendments, or in later Amendments. As a matter of fact, there is good reason to believe that the most basic of all our rights is specified in the body of the Constitution itself, where in Article I, Section IX, habeas corpus is provided for. Habeas corpus is your protection against being held without proper change, your protection that you cannot be punished without having your day in court.

In the body of the Constitution also there are other protections for the individual, such as, for example, the right to jury trial whenever charged with a federal crime.

The First Amendment to the Constitution is, however, in sum probably the most important expression of the American concern for liberty. I think it would be worthwhile quoting it in full before we talk about it:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assembly, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Let me point out first that the language of this amendment says nothing at all about the states; it refers only to Congress. I think most people have forgotten this, but, in fact, until 1926 there were no federal protections against interferences by state governments with freedom of speech and other like individual liberties. How it came about that there now are such protections is very interesting because it reveals the processes by which the Constitution is continuously being interpreted by the Supreme Court and given new meaning. In the years following the first World War,

1962

THE SOUTH AND RACE RELATIONS - AN OVERVIEW

by

Leslie W. Dunbar

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Speech, July 3, 1962 at the 19th Annual Race Relations Institute, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries -- Fisk University Office.

During the 1930's as America struggled to escape from its greatest business collapse, its people shook themselves from another kind of depression. For the better part of 50 years, the condition of Negro Americans had been allowed to stagnate. White America took little moral or political interest. Black America, despite the heroic captaincy of men such as Washington, DuBois, and a growing band of professional men, took far too little active interest in its own status and welfare.

During the 30's, this changed. Once again, the moral dilemma which had tormented American history for 200 years, until it was chloroformed about 1880 and put out of sight, came back to haunt the national conscience. National politics began to feel again the throbbings of the racial issue which had dominated and frustrated our national life from 1836 to 1877. The Negro people began to stir.

Why this happened I shall not here try to explain, or, more accurately, to decipher. It did happen. From the 1930's we date the Negro revolt. Another way of putting it would be to say that American democracy began in the 1930's to finish another - and, I believe, the most basic - of its tasks. We began the largest of our tasks in fulfillment of the old aim of establishing a "more perfect union."

Emphasis during the 30's was on Negro welfare. Emphasis since the end of World War II has been on Negro rights. And though we have, unfortunately, in these later years lost a great deal of the constructive concern of the 30's for how people live and what they are owed by the economic system which they support, the shift of emphasis to civil rights has been good and necessary. A people has to make itself free, before it can, without either state or private paternalism, know what its welfare is, and fashion it according to its own judgment.

The changes since World War II have been tremendous. The changes still necessary are immense. These are the two fundamental facts, both of which cry for recognition.

By a series of brilliant law suits, discrimination in higher education and in voting were attacked. During the Korean fighting,

integration of the Army was substantially achieved. In May, 1954, the Supreme Court made its historic ruling against state-compelled segregation of public school children by race. By other legal victories, which still continue, segregation was further weakened wherever it is chargeable to public action.

The decision of 1954 introduced the era of massive resistance in the South, which began to end the reopening of schools in Virginia in early 1959. That massive resistance occurred was in large part due to the irresponsibility of the administration of President Eisenhower, which failed to offer any other leadership to the country, and of Congress, which waited three long and vile years before taking any action to help the country through its greatest domestic problem. What Congress finally did in 1957, and again in 1960, was to take a weak and generally fruitless step forward affirming that citizens should be free to vote.

In early 1960, in Greensboro, American democracy walked into a room of mirrors. The sit-in movement did more than anything I can think of to show America its own face. The results have been striking, some happy, some unhappy. What we saw in the mirrors was soiled and unkempt; and so there has been a period of cleaning up which has taken the form of accelerated and frequently voluntary desegregation. But some have so hated what they saw in those mirrors that they have wanted either to leave the room of mirrors altogether, or to jump frantically up and down and shout that the faces in the mirror are not theirs, but those of unbelievable devils who must be pursued and given a ceremonial burning. It is, I think, an open question today as to who will win out. Those who want to clean up the mess, and I hope this category includes all of you. Or those who, and I believe they are numerous and growing, who are tired of the whole wretched business, and want to retreat to the moral numbness of pre-1930. Or those who, with the mania of all ages, hunt down devils in order to establish their own innocence.

A fourth category, of course, are the segregationists, but they are now of vanishing importance. The institutionalized practice of segregation is still a huge and frightful enemy. The segregationist himself is on the way out as a force. He is still - let me hasten to say - strong in many provinces and a few states; but his days are numbered and few. This is so if for no other reason than that, as a practical matter, he cannot endure bereft of political influence and power, and in today's America he cannot hold political power without the assent of Washington. And the administration now in Washington, though it has many shortcomings, has committed itself and the government as a whole against segregation and its profiteers.

This is, I think, where we have been these last few years. Where are we now, and where are we likely to go in the near future? Some parts of this picture I want to sketch as I see them. I have time only to talk about fragments; the rest of the mosaic will have

to be left unfinished. The pieces I want to pick up, examine briefly, and try to put in place are (1) the status of southern segregation; (2) the Negro movement; (3) the role of the federal government; and (4) Negro-white relationships.

My most generalized comment will be on the first issue: what is the present strength of segregation in the South: There are two parts to the question: public and private segregation. Public segregation is, I think - and all of you who know the South will realize that for the next few minutes I shall be generalizing furiously - about as strong today as ever in large areas of the Deep South, where the Citizens Councils and their allies are powerful and permeate state governments, and where any breaches that occur, such as in the waiting rooms of terminals, are as yet chiefly only of symbolic value. In other equally extensive and more populous areas of the South, public segregation is today, I think, pretty much a man of straw. It falls wherever it is pushed. It does not fall by itself. It has to be pushed. The push has to be organized and directed; wherever it is, segregation falls. I would say that this is the requirement, and indeed the only requirement, in all of Virginia except the southside; in nearly all of North Carolina and Tennessee, in north Georgia and most of Florida and Arkansas, and throughout Texas. There is a lot of pushing to be done, and in each situation the right leverage has to be discovered. But when the lever up ends, the straw man falls, there is no "trouble" and nobody cares.

A lot of private segregation is similar. In restaurants, hotels, theatres, and such, there is in these areas of the South no strategic problem, and the tactical problems, while vexing and multitudinous, all have to do with finding the right levers, i.e., pressures, for the job.

In other kinds of private segregation, such as exists in churches, clubs, neighborhoods, families, the South is tending, I think, toward the northern patterns of muted prejudice and noiseless, but highly effective discrimination. Some of us who believe that southern culture has within itself the possibility of doing better than has the North keep our hopes alive, but they are, admittedly, not ones to be bet on.

The Negro movement, to go on to my second fragment, is in a time of both difficulty and rich promise; which is to say, about normal for any popular movement. Through the Voter Education Project established by the Southern Regional Council I have within the last year had the opportunity of working closely with all the principal civil rights and racial relations organizations. I have been sincerely admiring of the dedication and intelligence and cooperative spirit brought by these organizations to their common struggle. I have been equally admiring of the vigorous and sophisticated voters leagues which exist today in a number of southern cities. There is a

bountiful supply of good leadership, plus a widespread understanding that the problem is to reform the South, not to punish it.

There are, as well, serious problems, and they affect not only Negroes, but the country as a whole - for in a real sense, the country has depended on Negroes for its moral ministry during the last decade or so. First, and I think most serious, there is far too little in the way of community organization. I am not either an "organization man" or a "joiner" but the fact is that individuals don't fare well in our terribly complicated modern societies unless they cope with it through organized interest groups, and Negroes have too few and not necessarily the right ones. Second, there is a regrettable tendency among some in the civil rights ranks to flirt with ideology. I think we need less philosophy, and less methodology, and more organization. Third, I am fearful that a combination of circumstances, most of which cast no credit on anybody, threaten to snuff out and frustrate the idealism, the wonderful spontaneity, the bright spirits of the student movement. I tell you without reticence that I was one of those whose heart was clutched by the protest movement of 1960. I don't want the grandeur and beauty of that movement to be stilled. I want humanity not to be deprived of this fine outreach of courageous goodness.

My third comment has to do with the role of government. The Kennedy administration has done much, though, as the Southern Regional Council pointed out, it has not done two things. It has not in the South shown an interest in anything beyond law compliance and token desegregation. And it has avoided strong policies in any fields where strong policies would lead, possibly, to conflict with state governments.

The prophets tell us, however, that some day the President will issue an Executive Order against discrimination in federal housing programs, perhaps in time to help Democracy in this November's elections. And I suppose that Congress may in a year or so tinker again with the civil rights acts, and help along the voting cause a bit more. The greatest thing to look forward to is the possibility - and it is only that - of a legislative enactment along the line of the Clark-Cella bill to speed up school integration.

But, frankly, I suspect we have had it. I hope I am wrong, and if I am I'll come back - gladly - next year and admit it, at my own expense. My congenital pessimism about politics and politicians whispers within me, however, that the fertility of the Kennedy administration in the civil rights field is nearly over. Decisions and policies made this past year-and-a-half should be, for the most part, permanent, and become institutionalized and keep on expanding their good. But the creative period is, I imagine, ended.

Well, so what. Our job is the same, the same as it was last year and in 1960 and in 1958 and in 1952 and in every year. To defend

and define values. To supply initiative. To organize.

A final comment about Negro-white relations. It is a big - a world-wide - subject. I want to speak of only a sliver of it, and yet a sliver that is a crucial wedge. I want to register one man's plea that liberals - both white and Negro - grow up. "The goddamn white man" is humanity's woe; but so too is the liberal who hollers after him. Don't, for the good of the world, people it with devils. The world has little need for another savior, or even several, to drive out its devils. The world needs men of courage and intelligence - i.e., liberals* - who perceive that there are no devils in the world, only problems, and who set themselves to solve them. The race problem if more than America's dilemma; it is the world's. We shall make a contribution toward ending it only if we avoid the madness that overcomes honest anger. For a new racism to grow from the ruins of an old would be mercilessly tragic.

Let me conclude by saying, then, that the primary need of racial relations in the South over the next few years will be to teach Southerners - of both races - to want more. To teach them to want more and better education, and what education consists of, and how hard one must work to get it. To teach them to want more economic goods, and how one must prepare to earn them. To teach them to want lovely and friendly cities, and well-kept lands. To teach them to want - and to work; to teach them to want - and to enjoy. Not until the white Southerner wants and works and enjoys, will he get his mind off race. And not until the Negro Southerner does the same, will he discover how to breathe the free air of civil rights.

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*My own definition of a liberal. If you believe courage and intelligence define a conservative, please substitute your word for mine.

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Remarks for the panel "The Impatient One-Tenth," at the Annual Conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, March 29, 1963

File speeches, 1963

by: Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

I cannot help but notice that of your three panelists I alone am white, and that I have also been given here the last word. This is kind of Mrs. Baldinger, but also a rare experience: the white man, particularly the southern white man, does not today often have the last word.

Now this is really the most profound thing I know to say. Right now I ought to sit down and let you meditate in silence on that remark. People at luncheons don't, however, do well at silent meditation, and I am as tenacious as most men of a semi-captive audience. So I'll talk on for a while, but if you want to close your ears and meditate on that one -- and only -- profundity which I have to offer you, go ahead. Your time will be well spent: white men no longer have the last word -- not even Mr. John Fischer.

As a matter of fact, this seems to me to indicate the one basic amendment which time (and Messrs. Wilkins and Farmer) has made to Gunnar Myrdal's analysis of the American dilemma. He wrote, you will recall, that whites determine the Negroes' "place," and that "in the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic." Since Myrdal wrote in 1944, we have witnessed an almost full swing of the circle. At the most, white people today are engaged in tactical maneuvers. The strategic power to determine the direction and pace of change in racial relations is, for the present, in Negro hands.

I am a refugee scholar, and this emendation of Myrdal will be my contribution for today to scholarship. From here on, I have nothing to offer you but the reflections of -- and I wear the name proudly -- a liberal.

I have these last two years or so read an awful lot of writing (and I leave it to you whether I am using the word "awful" in one of its correct or its popular meaning) about the Negro mood, Negro thinking, the Negroes' "self-image," and the Negroes' opinion of white people. Despite my irreverence of a moment ago, some of this has been extremely thoughtful and well done interpretations. I think particularly, for instance, of things written by James Baldwin and Harold Isaacs. But I have yet to read an analysis which fitted all Negroes, and I have encountered no generalization -- except one -- which seems to me to cover all the cases.

One of the things we can still be happy about in our race relations is the fact that Negro Americans exhibit as many varieties of human nature, and self-interest, and intellectual bent as do the rest of us. I remember a conversation I had a year or so ago with a young white girl, who, with all zeal flying, was working with SNCC. There had been a mass meeting the night before, and she was giving me an indignant, a horrified account of some skeptical comments made during the meeting by a local Negro banker. When she finished her tale I said that it didn't seem so much to me, that the gentleman had spoken just as I would expect a banker to speak. My young friend almost burst, in shouting back, "But he's a Negro!"

I may be mistaken, but there seems to me more than one way to create a stereotype. It also seems to me perniciously illiberal to insist that all

Negroes must think and act according to the notion someone else may have as to how Negroes think and feel.

Moreover, there is one pretty large group of Negroes who seem to me to get left out of all the analyzing and interpreting. With Roy Wilkins and James Farmer seated here beside me, I shall timidly add that they seem to get left out of most agency programs. I refer to the lower economic class Negroes of southern cities -- and that's a lot of people. Nobody ever seems to do much about them, or for them, or with them, and the heavy thinkers seem to be unmindful of them. Their counterparts in non-southern cities get a lot of attention. Middle class Negroes north and south get attention. And everybody is concerned, one way or the other, with southern rural Negroes. But the denizens of southern urban slums don't seem to interest anyone and, in fact, I hazard the guess that they are the least self-conscious of all the elements of the Negro population.

I indicated earlier, however, that there is one generalization about the Negro mood which is accurate and generally applicable, and it is suggested -- but only suggested -- by the word "impatient" in our panel's topic. We can say with complete assurance that a major fraction of Negro Americans will no longer acquiesce in segregation whether by law, custom, or contrivance, and that that fraction is steadily growing larger. This means, of course, that segregation will end. You simply cannot have a segregated society without the acquiescence of the minority race. As soon as Negroes stop acquiescing, the country has but two choices. One is force, in the manner of South African apartheid. The other is desegregation. Jim Crow cannot live without Uncle Tom, and Uncle Tom is dying fast.

Despite all the rich and wonderful variety and individualism among Negroes we can note, however, that there is probably more unity of interest and of political values among Negroes than exists within any other group of contemporary American society. No other group, not labor, not business, and not farmers, has the same high degree of consensus about what its interests are and where they lie. I believe that every civil rights victory has intensified this unity, that every new victory for yet a while will add to it further, until some predictable but as yet unknown point is reached where each new victory will erode a bit at this unity, because an ever growing number of Negroes will have once again found their "place" in American society, but this time a "place" that satisfies their manhood and their womanhood.

I suppose too at some day there will be, in the sad nature of things, another erosion. Negroes not only have a large measure of internal unity. They are about the only distinct group of Americans who are in unity with traditional American ideals of freedom and opportunity and tolerance. Because of this, they are in today's politics a good and needed leaven in behalf of liberty against all its malicious attackers, from the sophisticated right or from the maudlin John Birchers.

Implied in what I have just said is the optimistic belief that both the internal unity of Negroes and their unity with American idealism will endure until dissipated by victories. I am mindful that other threats exist. They can be, and I believe will be, overcome, but they are nevertheless serious.

There is, first of all, the threat represented by those who are not impatient, but have lost all patience, by the Black Muslims and other nationalist groups. There are, secondly, the pestiferous Marxists, who buzz around us like noisome flies, and who if they ever make any inroads -- which as yet they have not -- will have to thank the willful refusal of some of us to put any value on the experience of others. More serious, I believe, as a threat to the unity of the Negro movement than either the Muslims or the Marxists is the self-adulation engaged in by some of the more vocal Negroes, especially those who identify themselves with the so-called "direct" movement, and by their psalmists. I suppose that to complain about this stamps me conclusively as not only a white man, but as one who is insensitive to old wrongs and new rights. Recognizing full well that my credentials as a critic will not themselves be recognized, I shall still remark that the Negro movement is capable of breeding its own diseases, and that the virus it needs to beware of just now is that of intolerance, an intellectual and moral intolerance of white people.

James Baldwin, who is right about so much, is plain wrong when he says that "nobody knows my name," that white men don't hear him. Who hears anybody, unless he shouts hard? Societies are amoral. Even churches -- I mean the corporate, institutionalized churches -- are amoral. Societies give no man more respect than he demands; they value a man as he values himself. Negroes no longer are accepting the white man's valuation of them. Painfully, but eagerly, they are teaching themselves to believe in themselves. I spoke a fortnight ago before a fairly large and heterogeneous audience in a Florida city. In the question period, I got the second most common question one gets from southern white immoderates. The most popular is that one about, would you want your daughter, etc.; a distant second best is the one about the Indians. Why don't <u>you do</u> domething for the Indians? The question is an easy one; you simply reply that nobody, including you, ever did much for Negroes, until they started doing for themselves. My questioner made it even easier by adding slyly, "Is it possible that the Indians' vote is not as important as the Negro vote?"

Well of course.

I am trying, really, to make a point. I believe we have given disproportionate attention to studies, both literary and scholarly, of what Negroes think and feel and say. I think our scholars and our literary lights have given too little attention to what Negroes <u>do</u>. When I read the essays or the latest outcropping of social science research I get a feeling of the desperateness of the Negro mood. When I look around, though, I don't see Negroes acting desperately. I see them acting as though they thought it worthwhile to fight, as if they believed they were going to win. I see them using the established processes and institutions of our political democracy as if they believed in them. I see them acting as though they thought American society was worth integrating with.

I believe that the Negro mood measured by feelings may be desperate and bitter. The Negro mood measured by action is not; it is angry, and that's a different thing. And I believe that our real selves are discovered by how we act, and not by how we feel. Which is a conclusion that leads me to suspect that most of our current social science is irrelevant, because social science, with its questionnaires and its IBM cards, seems to have lost all interest in social action.

I want to say a little bit about regional differences. These will be purely the personal impressions of a man who may know the South fairly well but knows northern race relations only superficially.

I think, for the long pull and maybe even for the present, the South may be a little better off than the North in point of psychological and spiritual health. Negro Southerners are every bit as angry and maybe more aggressive than Negro non-Southerners. They seem to me less bitter and frustrated and confused. First, because they are not rootless, as such an unfortunately large number of northern Negroes are. Even in darkest Mississippi, they are at home, and have a sense of belonging to family and graves and a piece of soil. Secondly, they can recognize their enemies, real flesh and blood creatures, and it's easier for a man to fight a man than to fight the shadowy system which crowds and oppresses and bewilders the northern Negroes.

Southern white men have an advantage too but, because of progress, they are losing it fast; while we still have it it will be of some growing help. Will Campbell boasts that, proportionately, more liberals come from Mississippi than any other state. He may be right, and the reason is simple; there is almost no middle ground, and once a white man dissents a little bit, he gets shoved all the way up Jacob's ladder. The same thing has been true of much of the South (and that's why a few of us are among you today). But as I said this is changing rapidly. Progress down South is coming in fast, and our new southern cities are building cultures at breakneck speed that have within them all the little niches and way-stations for hypocrisy that a northern city affords.

insert → The areas of disagreement between whites and Negroes are, moreover, probably going to increase. If so, it will be a normal development, and not a cause for questioning the nerve or the good-will of white liberals. In the 1930's and 1940's, liberals pretty much always supported whatever labor demanded; this is no longer so, and the earlier situation when liberals identified with farmers has been gone so long as to be all but forgotten.

The probable areas of disagreement are, chiefly, two: matters of timing and the singleness of Negro aims. As to the former, I decided for myself a couple of years ago to put my sense of timing on the shelf. I believe that the Negroes of our country have absolute right and privilege to press on any front whenever they decide that they should. I believe that whenever white liberals or government officials seek by either persuasion or maneuver to postpone Negro pressure for some legitimate objective, they -- and not the Negroes -- are guilty of the subsequent and inevitable estrangement. Because on any ground that I can conceive of -- morality, politics, strategy, or even mental health -- the pace of integration should be set by Negroes, not by white liberals and certainly not by white moderates and not by the Department of Justice.

My organization publicly defended two years ago the Attorney-General's plea for a "cooling off" in the Freedom Ride, and under the circumstances we would do it again. This was not an issue of timing: the demand had already been made and forcefully so. The only question at issue was whether the Attorney-General would be trusted to carry through actions he had already begun, and which were the only ones anyone could think of, for satisfying the legitimate demands. I am well aware that others will say there was another

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What I am trying to suggest is that white Southerners still have the capacity, in regards to race, to be honest with themselves and with others. Let me repeat that what I am here talking about is psychological and spiritual health. White Southerners are today, as they have been throughout our history the principal impediment to a sane race relations. Their influence is more than regional. I believe that a good case could be made for the proposition that Northerners have generally, deny it as they will, taken their cue in racial attitudes from the South. The dreary facts about Southern prejudice and discrimination I do not have to recount; you know them too well. Reluctantly I have to concede that one of the more important of recent essays is Gerald Walker's article in -- of all places -- the April issue of Cavalier magazine. Cavalier used a different title, but the one which Walker had submitted was more descriptive; he had called his piece "The Racial Inferiority of the White Southerner."

issue; some will call it simply the registering of protest, and our more religiously convicted friends will call it "witnessing." As a means to any end, except possibly the purgation of one's own psyche, I think witnessing is of little value. When Albany Negroes marched and prayed in the streets they did, I believe, a magnificent and wonderful thing; they were heard. When "witnesses" from Chicago and New York and elsewhere came down to do likewise, they were not heard, and I think, and I say this with all humility, they did not help. I believe, after some years of observation, the white South is capable of hearing and respecting Negro protest; it heard during the sit-ins of 1960 and I believe it has been reached also by Albany. I don't believe the white South hears the transient witness from abroad. If you think this doesn't matter, well then never mind. If, on the other hand, you have hopes that the civil rights movement may achieve its own sort of deep dialogue between Negro and white Southerners, then I offer these comments for your consideration.

In his February 28 message to Congress, President Kennedy said that, "In the last two years, more progress has been made --- than in any comparable period of our history." On March 14, when Negro students marched on the Atlanta City Hall to protest hotel segregation, Mayor Ivan Allen met them with the message that Atlanta "has made greater strides" than most cities in solving its problems. Both of these statements, excusable as they may be for campaign purposes, are gruesomely irrelevant and, if repeated often, would be in opprobrious bad taste. What this administration has done compared with its predecessor is an arguable matter but entirely beside the point, just as is what Atlanta has done compared with Birmingham's record. Perhaps courts may be permitted to say that there is equity in "all deliberate speed" but the rest of us have not that privilege; it is bad morality and -- I would suggest -- also bad politics.

Nevertheless, we need a clear-headed perspective. At the beginning I promised you I would say only one profound thing. Here is, however, another one that borders on the profound. It also borders on the commonplace, but a trite saying is, after all, merely a profundity that has been overworked. Commonplace as it may sound, there is no more important truth for us to grasp today than an active understanding that we have come a long way these last few years, but have a long way to go. It seems to me crucially important that we all recognize this: If Negroes lose sight of how far we have come since, say, 1945, they will lose sight also of the fact that their own efforts have demonstrated that American political and legal processes can be made to work in the cause of freedom. If white people lose sight of how very much there still is to do they will consign the country straight to a holidy in Hell, that is to say, to a succession of Albanys, McComb, Greenwoods, Little Rocks, Prince Edwards, the Thanksgiving Day brawl here in Washington and tortures not yet dreamed of.

The second area of probably growing disagreement between whites and Negroes has to do with the single-mindedness of Negro demands. The Negro groups stand for civil rights, equal opportunity, and integration. Whites can support these aims and have. But then conflicts of value arise. We have seen this already, for example, in regard to trade unionism and with some -- not all -- controversies about northern school integration. Somehow these disagreements don't worry me. The economic and political and intellectual

bonds holding a very large and influential segment of the white population in support of civil rights are too strong to be seriously weakened, provided Negroes continue to supply firm and decisive leadership. That being the case, I think we should not wring our hands and wail whenever disagreement pops up. Disagreements between allies usually result in valuable self-examination.

But let me retreat again to the only area I know much about, the South. We have had disagreement, long and angry. Because only during the last year or so has the civil rights movement really assaulted the Deep South, we are certain to have a great deal more angry, even violent, disagreement. This assault coincides in time with an intensified drive in the North for the more sophisticated objectives of the integration movement, and coincides also with a new and higher wave of Negro frustration and resentment. I think a prudent man can only anticipate that the next few years will be stormy, embittered, and decisive in many ways. What our race relations will be like a decade hence I do not know. For my part, the only solution I know to the American dilemma is to work at it.

SRC Staff file LWD - Speeches 1963

Before the Sub-committee on
Employment and Manpower
U. S. Senate Committee on Labor
and Public Welfare

Statement of Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council*
August 2, 1963

President Kennedy in his message to Congress of June 19, 1963 combined in one discussion the goals of "fair" and "full" employment. I believe that this is the right approach and the only one on which sound national policy can be built.

In his Manpower Report of March 1963, the President made the startling statement that, "There are 32 million Americans who are still on the fringes of poverty, and worse."** There are differences of opinion as to how "poverty" should be defined and measured, but by almost any criteria we may use, there are an enormous lot of Americans who are poor. For example, in 1960 when the median money income of families was $5,625, five percent of our families had incomes less than $1,000, and another eight percent had incomes below $2,000. In the same year, when the median American over 25 had completed 10.6 years of school, 6.7% of our whites over 25 and 23.5% of our non-whites had less than five years of schooling.***

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*5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

**Manpower Report of the President, etc., March 1963. page xxi.

***Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1962. pages 332 and 117.

Without reciting more of statistics that are already generally familiar to you, I think we can recognize the very deep, the very complex and involved reality of a sizeable fraction of our people living in or near poverty, and therefore contributing little to the national wealth. I think we all know also that far too many of these disadvantaged persons are Negro.

In the Manpower Report, the situation of Negroes was described in these terms:

--an unemployment rate twice that of white workers;

-- an unemployment rate for Negro males 2½ times as great as that for white males;

--heavy concentration in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations peculiarly susceptible to unemployment;

--umemployed <u>longer</u> than are whites;

--victims of jobs and educational discrimination.*

We need national policies that will help eradicate the racial imbalance within our economy, but also ones which will constantly search for the causes and remedies of poverty in America.

We need, as a nation, to grasp the vastness of the problems, and to realize that to cure them we must prepare our people better to be productive. But I think there is

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*<u>Manpower Report</u>, page 43.

bountiful evidence that racial discrimination bars Negroes from economic productivity which no amount of job training or professional education will insure.

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961, and the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 are steps toward the full and fair use of our manpower. So, too, are the President's 1963 recommendations for expanded programs. But we might keep in mind the painstaking analysis and conclusion of Professor Gary S. Becker:

> There is abundant evidence that [economic] discrimination against non-whites systematically increases with their age and education. Many barriers to the education of non-whites will probably be taken down in the future, and this will increase their education relative to that of whites. This would also increase their income relative to that of whites if there were no discrimination; but, since discrimination rises with education, an increase in the education of non-whites may increase only slightly their incomes relative to those of whites.*

Professor Ralph Turner has reached a similar conclusion. He found that"approximately two-fifths (39%) of the occupational deficiency of non-whites may be attributed to the factor of educatinn. 'The residual three-fifths is attributable to discrimination and types of qualification not indicated by educational attainment.'" Dr. Turner also stated that "close to three-quarters (74%) of the Negro's excess unemployment must be attributed to discrimination and qualifications not indicated by education."**

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*The Economics of Discrimination, (University of Chicago Press, 1957), page 130. Italics supplied.

**Melvin M. Tumin, Segregation and Desegregation (New York: Anti-Defmmation League of B'nai B'rith, 1957), p. 68. The author is abstracting from Ralph H. Turner, "Foci of Discrimination in the Employment of Nonwhites," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, 1952, pp. 247-256.

The President rightly said in his June 19 message that complete elimination of employment discrimination would not put to work a single unemployed Negro worker who is without marketable skills.

But I think we must add that unless discrimination can be brought under control, skills will not beget employment.

The dreary economic indices of Negro Americans become doubly alarming when one considers that Negroes have actually lost ground, relative to whites, in the past few years; in 1952, the median family income of Negroes was 57% of the median family income of whites, but ten years later it had dropped to 52%.

There is a belief abroad that Negroes are advancing economically; the above statistic casts doubt on its validity. With your permission, I would like to enter into the record the page-proofs of a study soon to be published by the Southern Regional Council. It is titled The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South, and is by Professor Vivian W. Henderson. I refer you particularly at this point to pages_____, where Dr. Henderson carefully analyzes the relative economic progress of whites and Negroes, and concludes:

> ...Negroes made their greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since 1954, they have not progressed in income as well.

In 1950, the dollar gap between Negro and white median family income was $1,080; in 1960, it had grown to $1,522.

And the position of Negroes in the South is even worse. Negro family income in the South is only 46% of white family income. In only one southern state, Florida, have the earnings of Negro male workers gained in relation to those of white male workers. In each of ten other states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from a 6% negative change in Virginia to a 25% negative change in Arkansas for male workers; and a negative change in the income of all persons, ranging from a low of 7% in Georgia to 21% in Tennessee. In other words, although Negro income between 1950-60 did increase sharply, the gap between white and Negro income was growing.

The fact is that most of the gains registered by Negro employees between 1940 and 1953 were in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, or in routine clerical positions -- and it is precisely this kind of work which is being progressively outmoded by our changing economy.

There are those who contend that the low earnings of Negroes do not prove discrimination, but merely the accuracy of familiar stereotypes about Negroes as poorly qualified, lazy, or irresponsible. Undeniably, many Negroes do have low

occupational aspirations and bad educations. But this condition is a part of the problem that must be overcome, not a justification for doing nothing about it. Segregated and inferior schools, denial of equal access to apprenticeship and other job training, and lack of opportunity to gain on-the-job experience necessary to promotion, these are aspects of discrimination so deeply woven into our practices that they blind many of us as to who is to blame for the hardships of the Negro.

The most important manifestation of discrimination in the South is the unwritten yet thoroughly codified division of the labor market into a dual track system of "white" and "Negro" jobs. This means that a virtually impenetrable job barrier stands between Negroes and many jobs traditionally understood to be for whites only. Negroes are sometimes accepted in occupations normally reserved for whites under abnormal circumstances -- during a war, for example, when there is a shortage of white manpower -- but even then there is a marked tendency for employers to utilize white women, wherever possible, rather than Negro men.* The job barrier has also been raised at the threshold of many jobs once considered in the domain of Negroes. The group most seriously affected by outright denial of employment, of course, are those highly qualified persons who cannot find a position commensurate

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*Donald Dewey, "Southern Poverty and the Racial Division of Labor," New South, XVII, 5 (May, 1962), p. 12.

with their skills in the South.

The difficulties of the Negro worker in obtaining entry into the job market are just the beginning of his travail. Since the dual track system of job organization in the South decrees that Negroes shall neither work side by side with whites on the same type of job, nor rise to a position of authority over whites, "direct personal competition between individual whites and Negroes is limited largely to isolated jobs where a man is on his own -- as in truck driving. And... these isolated jobs are also dead-end jobs."

The mechanisms utilized to block Negroes from job advancement range from the ingenuous to the ingenious. Many foremen and employers doubtless accept unthinkingly the stereotyped image of Negroes as "hands" who neither want nor are capable of filling positions of skill or responsibility. Negro protest is fast ending such notions. But lack of on-the-job experience, exclusion from apprenticeship training programs, from business and vocational training, from the services of private employment agencies, from a host of other advantages which whites have -- these are obstacles which protest will not overcome without the help of governmental policies.

Employment discrimination is a problem of the utmost seriousness, not only for the Negro citizens of the United States, but for the nation as a whole. It causes waste of

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*Ibid., p. 11.

manpower resources, it creates a sizable bloc of deprived and oppressed citizens who are ever more deeply alienated from the mainstream of American society, and it represents a scandalous contradiction of our political ideals.

The loss of talent caused by job discrimination is in itself reason enough for prompt governmental action. The President's Council of Economic Advisers declared in 1962 that the economy is losing $13 billion annually in national income through failure to employ fully the present educational attainment of non-whites. The Council further estimated an additional $4 billion loss through failure to provide equal educational opportunities. As Mr. Harry J. Kelley, a Commissioner of the Michigan FEPC, recently observed in a speech before the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, whenever one sees a minority group person succeeding in an "unexpected" job, it should be a cause for rejoicing in more than one sense: it means that an American citizen is no longer prohibited from the full development and expression of his personal abilities, and it also means that the nation is benefitting from those abilities, instead of letting them go to waste through forcing a talented individual to do work that could be performed by a less skilled person.* In an era when rapid technological advance promises to create a demand for hundreds of thousands of skilled operatives in electronics, chemicals, precision instruments and research, full utilization of manpower resources is a

*Harry J. Kelley, "Six Years of Fair Employment Practices in Michigan."

national goal that deserves high priority. And this goal cannot be achieved without the elimination of discrimination in employment.

Equalization of job opportunities is in the public interest, secondly, because it is a necessary step in the achievement of other national interests. Low income means low health standards and low physical vitality, with an attendant drain upon the public resources and personal energies necessary to productive study and work. It means a high degree of family disorganization. A study by Dr. Hylan Lewis, sociologist on the staff of the District of Columbia Health and Welfare Council, demonstrates that low family income is associated with an abnormally early "cut-off point" of parental authority.* Poverty-stricken parents simply lose control of their children, in most cases, at an age much earlier than adolescence. James Conant's warning concerning the "social dynamite" of discontented unemployed urban youth deserves to be pondered soberly:

> In a slum section composed almost entirely of Negroes in one of our largest cities the following situation was found. A total of 59 per cent of the male youth between the ages of 16 and 21 were out of school and unemployed. They were roaming the streets. Of the boys who graduated from high school 48 per cent were unemployed in contrast to 63 per cent of the boys who had dropped out of school. In short, two-thirds of the male dropouts did not have jobs and about half of the high school graduates did not have jobs. In such a situation, a pupil

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*Hylan Lewis, Child Rearing in Low-Income Families, (Washington: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1961).

> may well ask why bother to stay in school when graduation for half the boys opens onto a dead-end street?
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> An even worse state of affairs was found in another special study in a different city. In a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, a sampling of the youth population shows that roughly 70 per cent of the boys and girls ages 16-21 are out-of-school and unemployed. When one stops to consider that the total population in this district is equal to that of a good-sized independent city, the magnitude of the problem is appalling and the challenge to our society is clear.*

When a boy or a man perceives that he cannot attain the goals considered desirable by his society through the means considered legitimate by the society, he must either renounce all hope of attaining the goals and thus lapse into apathy or flee into some type of purposeless escapism, or he must seek to attain these goals through illegitimate means, and thus fall into crime or vicious acquisitiveness.

To speak of the tragedy of human waste caused by discrimination in employment is to anticipate the third point of urgency. We ought to act fairly because not to do so is to continue to violate the ideals of this nation. America is nothing if it is not the land of a free and upright people.

A NATIONAL POLICY IS NEEDED

Even if all of the state and municipal FEP laws were adequately drafted and enforced, the need for federal action

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*James B. Conant, "Social Dynamite in Our Large Cities," Social Dynamite: The Report of the Conferences on Unemployed Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas (Washington: National Committee for Children and Youth, 1961), pp. 26-27.

would be real. There are, I believe, 28 states, including all of the southern states, which are not covered. Three-fifths of our Negro citizens live in the southern and border states, only two of which have any kind of FEP law whatsoever.

The inadequacy of FEP laws on a state or local rather than a national basis is compounded by the typical mode of corporate organization. "In contrast to the partial and Northern-oriented coverage of state and municipal FEP laws, American private enterprise in most lines is organized predominantly on a national rather than a state or local basis. Most of the major enterprises in manufacturing, transportation, public utilities, and mining, and important sectors of construction, trade, finance, and services are national and multi-regional in scope, and many have establishments in all sections of the country. This organizational feature of industry and business has an important bearing on the problem of effective administration of FEP laws. Since major policy decisions in these enterprises are nearly always made at the headquarters level, the effectuation of changes in employment practices through FEP-agency intervention can be achieved most effectively if the agency negotiates with top management in terms of all plants - or all noncomplying plants - in a particular company or industry. The desirability of utilizing this approach is evident if one considers the difficult

problem of shifting from a long-standing discriminatory (and usually segregated) employment setup to a nondiscriminatory, integrated operation in a southern plant.*

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has achieved some promising results, especially in the field of government employment, but we have not been given by the Committee the data which would make possible an intelligent appraisal of its effectiveness in combatting racial inequities in the employment practices of federal contractors.

Nor can there be much hope that employers will voluntarily change discriminatory patterns. With some employers, no doubt, refusal to hire or upgrade Negroes on an equal basis is the result of genuine racial prejudice. Such employers will endeavor to maintain racist practices even in the face of market realities which permit or encourage merit employment, and will not alter policies unless required to do so by enforceable law. But these men are rare. Most employers are eager to hire and promote the workmen and executives who perform most capably; indeed, many are willing to take some risk in order to provide equal opportunities for Negroes. Employers may understandably, however, shy from offending too greatly the sensibilities of their customers and employees. They feel bound by the unwritten laws which make it unheard

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*Paul H. Norgren, "Governmental Fair Employment Agencies: An Appraisal of Federal, State and Municipal Efforts to End Job Discrimination," a paper read before the Columbia University Seminar on Labor, January 24, 1962, pp. 19-20

of for Negroes to hold white collar positions, or to hold certain jobs alongside whites or in preference to whites, and which make it improper for a Negro to have supervisory authority over whites. Such employers need the support of an unambiguous directive from public authorities to enable them to use Negro manpower in a rational fashion, and the experience of many state FEP commissions is that businessmen are often grateful for this support.

And as Mr. George Meany said before this sub-committee on July 25, trade unions "need the power of the federal government to do what we are not fully able to do.*

APPROACH TO A NATIONAL POLICY

Mr. Chairman, I am not here to support or to criticize any one of the employment bills which have been introduced at this Congress. I would, however, like to conclude my testimony by indicating certain features which a national policy, formed and founded on the basis of study and experience, should, I believe, include.

First, policies should be focused on the issues of individual growth and manpower resources, not on the racial question. We need to move rapidly toward a national goal of full employment of fully productive people.

Second, the question of racial discrimination should be confronted and dealt with as a part of the larger issue.

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*New York Times, July 26, 1963.

Third, a fair employment statute should emphasize the national interest and not individual rights. This is to say, its administration should concentrate on affirmative action by employers and unions, and not on the adjudication of individual complaints.

Fourth, national legislation should not displace state and local legislation. To say, as I have, that we need a national policy does not mean that we need national administration throughout. We have here an opportunity for cooperative effort by federal, state, and local authorities, and skilled legislative draftsmen and skilled and imaginative administrators can realize this opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, the people of this country are struggling with some huge social problems. No matter how hard they work to solve them, no matter how much help they get from the President, the courts, and from state legislatures, they are not going to solve these problems without the help which Congress, and only Congress, can give.

Daily file

Speech delivered before the Conference on Disadvantage, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, April 10, 1964

File - Prof. Sta. 1964 Speeches

"THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE"

by: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Tuskegee is a place which sobers the thoughts and emotions of a speaker as none other does. If you have the same moods that I have, you must alternate between glowing hopes and sharp cutting anxieties, as you live from day to day, and indeed from moment to moment, in these years of American history. We see in one moment the rapidly approaching new day, and then in another moment we suffer the frustration and the pains of the present, and perhaps some nagging doubts about what the new day will in fact bring.

We are engaged in seeking moral and political answers to the question of whether America can be a home for all its people. Sometimes all of us, whether our skins are white or yellow or ~~brown~~ black, must wonder in the loneliness of our human frailty, whether the universe in which we live is friendly to man or an implacable opponent. Does the universe care whether men are happy? Is human life only a cosmic joke? Are we merely deluding and teasing ourselves when we speak, as we so often do, of the sacredness of the human personality?

These anxieties are common to all men. But Negro Americans have had their spirits weighted also by the more immediate question of whether this country, this culture, this civilization

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is a home to which they can belong. Many generations ago a lot of black people and a lot more white people came to live here. Our crisis today is, most simply put, the issue of how they can get along better with each other. Tuskegee symbolizes an old idea about that issue, an idea now widely discarded, and I believe rightly so, though we must still honor it for the magnificent spirit of friendship and trust which it extended to white persons. Tuskegee symbolizes also a new idea and a new fact, which is that the time has come in the South for Negroes to move squarely into the political and civic leadership of their communities. Many of my later remarks will stress what I believe to be a truth; i.e., that Negroes have the responsibility for leading America today. If I am correct about this, Tuskegee, and what may happen here during the next few years, ~~is~~ are of profound importance.

No speaker or writer, with hide slightly less thick than that of an elephant, can help but wonder frequently what he is about when he addresses other people. We live amidst a confusion of words, swirling from all directions, seeking to persuade us, to indoctrinate us, to sell us, to inspire us, to inform us, to amuse us. There are so many voices and there are so many things to read. The danger is that our minds will be deadened, if they are not already, and that for our own peace we shall not hear, though we politely listen; and we shall not absorb or remember, though we shall continue dutifully to read. Let

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Great Issues '64

Vol. 1, No. 1 "TOP STUDENT PUBLIC AFFAIRS CONFERENCE IN THE NATION" May 4, 5, 6, 1964

Government Week Kicks Off Today

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Udall, Curtis Lead Speakers

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The fourth annual Government Week kicks off today, beginning three days of speeches and forums. The theme for this year's Government Week is "Great Issues of 1964," focusing on domestic and international issues in the upcoming national elections.

The round of meetings, talks and forums starts tonight with the keynote speech delivered by Congressman Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona. His speech will be delivered at 8:00 p.m. tonight in the University Auditorium on the topic: "Old Spooks and New Issues in 1964."

Udall had an interesting and varied career before entering Congress. As an example of his many talents, he was an outstanding basketball player at the University of Arizona, and after graduation, played professional ball in the NBL.

After graduation from law school with highest honors he entered private practice with his brother, Stewart L. Udall, in 1949.

He was elected county attorney in 1952 and has been active in Democratic politics for many years. In 1956, he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. In 1961, when his brother resigned his position in Congress to become Secretary of the Interior, Udall was elected to the United States House of Representatives and was re-elected in 1962. He is serving on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Of Udall, Congressman Carl Albert, House Majority Leader, has said, "He is one of the brightest, strongest and most courageous new members of the House of Representatives. He is knowledgeable and has a great future." Of him, Senator Hubert

Sen. Carl Curtis leads the Nebraska delegation at the 1960 Republican Convention. Sen. Curtis will speak at the banquet Wednesday.

Civil Rights Heads Forums

Highlighting the Oklahoma State University Government Week forums will be a discussion on the controversial civil rights issue. That forum is entitled "Civil Rights in America in the Mid-Twentieth Century." Those participating will be Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Sec-

Committees Busy on GW

Again this year Goverment Week has been entirely executed by the students at Oklahoma State University. All the arrangements for speakers, facilities, publicity and ticket sales

Bost, Tulsa senior, is the Executive Director for this year's program. He has been in charge of all matters concerning "Great Issues of 1964," which is this year's over-all theme. Other executive officers are Bill May, Assistant Executive Director; Kay Roberts, Executive Secretary; and Mary Dunn and Carlene Clancy, Secretaries to the

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Of Udall, Congressman Carl Albert, House Majority Leader, has said, "He is one of the brightest, strongest and most courageous new members of the House of Representatives. He is knowledgeable and has a great future." Of him, Senator Hubert Humphrey says, "Congressman Morris Udall is one of the most stimulating and effective new congressmen in the House. His vigorous representation of his district, plus his imaginative and tireless work in support of legislation designed to benefit the West in general, have won him important recognition in the three years he has served in the Congress. He is a distinguished representative of the Democratic Party."

Senator Eugene McCarthy of Wisconsin said, "Congressman Udall is one of the best informed members of the House, and one who speaks forcibly and courageously on the issues before the Congress and on the procedural and institutional problems which face democracy."

PUBLIC RECEPTIONS

Tuesday — 3:30 - 5:00 o'clock
French Lounge

Wednesday — 4:30 - 5:30 o'clock
French Lounge

The week will end with a banquet Wednesday night in the Student Union Ballroom at 6:00 p.m. The speaker will be the Honorable Carl Curtis,, Senator of Nebraska. Senator Curtis will speak on "The Case for the Republicans in 1964."

Senator Curtis entered the United States Senate on January 1, 1955, and was re-elected in 1960. Prior to his service in the Senate, he was elected to the United States House of Representatives for eight consecutive terms and has served in Congress continuously since Jan. 3, 1939.

Senator Curtis is a member of the Committee on Finance, which has jurisdiction of taxes, social security, and tariffs. He is the ranking Republican on the Committee on Rules and Administration which investigated Bobby Baker, and is a member of the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, the Government Operations Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

While in Congress, Senator Curtis has worked for a reduction in Federal spending and a balanced budget and he is co-author of the Curtis-Byrd proposal for a constitutional amendment to end deficit financing.

Sen. Carl Curtis leads the Nebraska delegation at the 1960 Republican Convention. Sen. Curtis will speak at the banquet Wednesday.

Civil Rights Heads Forums

Highlighting the Oklahoma State University Government Week forums will be a discussion on the controversial civil rights issue. That forum is entitled "Civil Rights in America in the Mid-Twentieth Century." Those participating will be Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Secretary of the Southern Regional Council from Atlanta, Georgia, Reverend Wofford Smith, University of Mississippi and Mr. J. Edward Day. This forum will be on Tuesday, May 5, at 7:00 p.m. in the Classroom Building Auditorium.

This forum will begin with a panel discussion on various facets of the civil rights question. Following this initial discussion the three forum speakers will open the topic to a question and answer period.

All Oklahoma State University students and faculty are encouraged to take an active part in this civil rights forum and also all of the other "Great Issues" forums.

Other "Great Issues" forum topics are indicated in the complete forum listing at the right.

This year's Government Week general theme, "Great Issues of 1964," will be carried out in these forums by focusing on various domestic and foreign policy questions. At the conclusion of each of these forums students and other interested persons will be welcomed to ask questions for additional explanations and information.

Committees Busy on GW

Again this year Goverment Week has been entirely executed by the students at Oklahoma State University. All the arrangements for speakers, facilities, publicity, and ticket sales have been handled by OSU students.

The executive committee which is made up of the executive officers and all standing committee chairmen have made all the major decisions pertaining to the general program. Jim Bost, Tulsa senior, is the Executive Director for this year's program. He has been in charge of all matters concerning "Great Issues of 1964," which is this year's over-all theme. Other executive officers are Bill May, Assistant Executive Director; Kay Roberts, Executive Secretary; and Mary Dunn and Carlene Clancy, Secretaries to the Director.

Chairmen of the standing committees are Sue Nall and Ethan Norris, Keynote; Toni Byler and Chuck Shipley, Banquet; Mattie Scheihing and Ron Haxton, Speakers; Rebecca Tom-

(Continued on back page)

PROGRAM

The Speaker's Committee of Oklahoma State University's Government Week is very proud to announce the program for the 1964 Government Week to be held May 4-6, 1964. The general theme of this year's program, "Great Issues—1964." will be carried out by focusing on various domestic and foreign policy questions which the committee feels will arise during the course of the 1964 Presidential campaign.

Monday, May 4

KEYNOTE SPEECH — "Old Spooks and New Issues in 1964," University Auditorium, 8:00 p.m., the Honorable Morris K. Udall, Democratic Congressman of Arizona.

Tuesday, May 5

GREAT ISSUES I — "Dangers and Opportunities in the Far East," Student Union Ballroom, 10:00 a.m., Mr. Marshall Green, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

GREAT ISSUES II — "Some Whys and Wherefores of U.S. Foreign Aid," Student Union Ballroom, 2:00 p.m., Mr. William Gaud, Deputy Administrator, Agency for International Development.

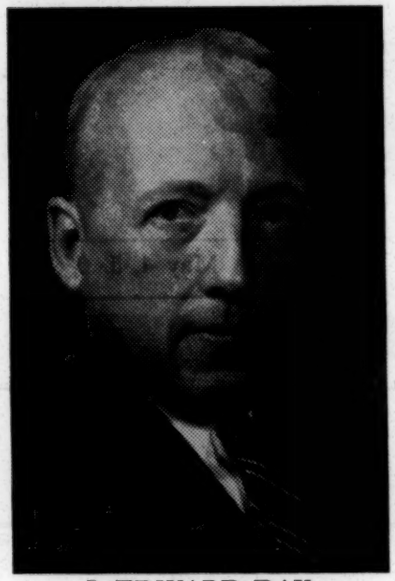
GREAT ISSUES III — "Civil Rights in America in the Mid-Twentieth Century," Classroom Auditorium, 7:30 p.m., Panel Seminar, Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Secretary, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, Reverend Wofford Smith, Chaplain, University of Mississippi, Oxford Mississippi, Mr. J. Edward Day.

Wednesday, May 6

GREAT ISSUES IV — "Kennedy and Johnson — Transition and Change," Student Union Ballroom, 10:00 a.m., Mr. J. Edward Day, Former Postmaster General of the United States.

GREAT ISSUES V — "State Department — Broker for American Overseas Policy," Mr. Tom Bealle, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, Department of State.

BANQUET SPEECH — "The Case for the Republicans in 1964," Student Union Ballroom, 6:00 p.m. (Ticket Required), The Honorable Carl Curtis, Republican Senator of Nebraska. Tickets purchased for $2.00 in Student Union Lobby.



J. EDWARD DAY
"Mr. Zip Code"

DAY SPEAKS ON KENNEDY YEARS

A list of outstanding speakers has been scheduled for the Government Week forums. Included are a former Cabinet member, two Deputy Assistant Secretaries of State, the Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development, and two leaders in the civil rights movement.

Heading this list is J. Edward Day, Postmaster-General in the Kennedy Administration. Day assumed his Cabinet post in January, 1961. During his tenure, he introduced many innovations, including the famous ZIP code.

Besides his duties as a cabinet member, Day represented the President in such matters as a trade mission to Japan and as a member of the Presidential Task Force which developed the Executive Order on employee relations in the federal government.

When Day resigned his post in August, 1963, columnist John Cramer wrote in the Washington Daily News:

"On all around performance, ment Week has been executed entirely by students. The executive committee is the co-ordinating body for all Government Week activities. All decisions relative to the general program are made by this committee. This year's executive committee is coordinated by Jim Bost, the director. The faculty advisors are Dr. S. D. Brown and Dr. Bertil Hanson.

The week's activities consist of numerous forums and group discussions, two major addresses and a formal banquet. The keynote address officially opens Government Week and has featured several notable United States Senators. Senator Frank Church of Idaho, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, and Senator J. Howard Edmondson have each spoken at a Keynote address over the past three years. The banquet address climaxing the week's activities has been presented by such national figures as Fred A. Seaton, former Secretary of the Interior, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, and Oklahoma's Governor Henry Bellmon.

Each presentation during Government Week is oriented toward the prevailing theme of the period. Programs in the past have concentrated on the general topics of "Your Government, Your Future" (1961), "American Challenge, 1962 — A Critical Evaluation of Our Foreign Policy" and "Oklahoma Politics." This year's program is titled "Great Issues of 1964" and focuses on campaign issues of the coming national election.

Government Week is financed through the contributions of civic-minded individuals, businesses and financial institutions throughout the state. Many businesses are eager to provide the necessary funds to bring to the state a program which has been called "the outstanding

rank of Minister in both Seoul, Korea, and Hong Kong while on foreign assignments.

He is married and is the father of three boys.

CIVIL RIGHTS— Southerners Speak

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar will take part in the Civil Rights Forum Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. in the Classroom Building Auditorium.

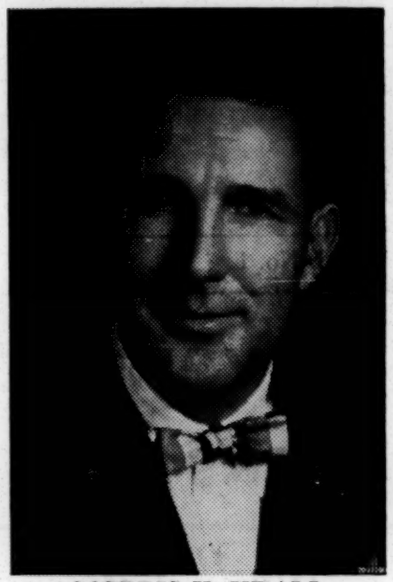
Dr. Dunbar is currently Executive Secretary of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Cornell University and has taught at Emory University, Mt. Holyoke College, Cornell University, Smith College, and Mt. Holyoke Junior College. He also has been a Guggenheim Fellow. In addition to contributing articles to various journals and magazines. Dunbar worked for the Atomic Energy Commission from 1951 to 1954. He also served as Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council from 1959 to 1961.

The Reverend Wofford Smith, Chaplain at the University of Mississippi, will join other panel members, Dr. Leslie Dunbar and J. Edward Day, in the discussion.

Rev. Smith, born in Birmingham, Ala., received his bachelor's degree from Auburn University, his master's degree from the University of Alabama and his Bachelor of Divinity degree from the University of the South.

At present Rev. Smith is the chairman of the department of college work in the Diocese of Mississippi, as well as being a member of the Mississippi Advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

He has served as Vicar of St.



MORRIS K. UDALL
"Rising Star in House"

eign aid agency. Before accepting the appointment by President Johnson, he served as Assistant Administrator for the Near East and South Asia, directing the largest regional program in the aid agency.

Gaud's non-governmental experience includes practice of trial law in New York City and membership on the faculty of Yale University Law School.

Born in New York City, Gaud, 56, took bachelor's and law degrees at Yale. He is married, has one daughter and is an native of Greenwich, Conn.

Committees Busy

(Continued from front page)

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When Day resigned his post in August, 1963, columnist John Cramer wrote in the Washington Daily News:

"On all around performance, including notable contributions to postal efficiency, Mr. Day assuredly must rank with the greatest of all Postmasters General. When the final word is in, he may well be at the very top.

"And in one particular field—employee relations, human relations, if you please—the word already is in. Beyond any doubt, Mr. Day was the greatest."

"In his brief two-and-one-half year in office, he did more to improve the working conditions of the 580,000 postal employees than all his 57 predecessors combined."

"Moreover, he made it work in terms which even the most conservative members of Congress can understand. During his time, postal employee productivity increased faster than ever before."

Mr. Day has served as Insurance Commissioner of Illinois under Adlai Stevenson, Vice-President of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, and as a member of the Governor's Business Advisory Council under California's governor "Pat" Brown.

Day will participate in the civil rights forum on Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. in the Classroom Audiforum and will be speaking in the Student Union Ballroom at 10:00 a.m. Wednesday on the topic, "Kennedy and Johnson—Transition and Contrast."

GOVERNMENT WEEK IN FOURTH YEAR

Government Week was initiated on the OSU campus in the spring of 1961. It has since developed into a comprehensive government affairs program directed toward encouraging students to accept a more active interest in our American form of government.

From its inception, Government Week has featured several notable United States Senators. Senator Frank Church of Idaho, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, and Senator J. Howard Edmondson have each spoken at a Keynote address over the past three years. The banquet address climaxing the week's activities has been presented by such national figures as Fred A. Seaton, former Secretary of the Interior, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, and Oklahoma's Governor Henry Bellmon.

Each presentation during Government Week is oriented toward the prevailing theme of the period. Programs in the past have concentrated on the general topics of "Your Government, Your Future" (1961), "American Challenge, 1962 — A Critical Evaluation of Our Foreign Policy" and "Oklahoma Politics." This year's program is titled "Great Issues of 1964" and focuses on campaign issues of the coming national election.

Government Week is financed through the contributions of civic-minded individuals, businesses and financial institutions throughout the state. Many businesses are eager to provide the necessary funds to bring to the state a program which has been called "the outstanding student public affairs program in the nation."

Dut to the overwhelming success and acceptance of Government Week on the Oklahoma State campus, plans are being made to acquaint other universities with the underlying principles involved in our program. Government Week also anticipate and extension into the high schools of Oklahoma with the objective of stressing the participation of youth in government.

FOCUS ON VIET NAM

The Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs will head the first Government Week forum, to be held Tuesday in the Student Union Ballroom.

Marshall Green will speak at the 10 a.m. forum on "Dangers and Opportunities in the Far East."

Green, a Yale University graduate, entered the Foreign Service in December, 1945, and served as Third Secretary and Vice Consul at Wellington, New Zealand for two years. In 1947 he was assigned to Washington where he dealt with U.S.-Japanese relations for three years in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs.

A position at Stockholm, Sweden, as First Secretary at the Embassy was Green's next foreign assignment, and after remaining there five years he was selected to attend the National War College for the 1955-56 academic year.

In 1959 Green received the Department of State's Meritorious Service Award after a tour of some three years in the Department of State as the Regional Planning adviser for the Far East.

Green has had the personal

at Emory University, Mt. Holyoke College, Cornell University, Smith College, and Mt. Holyoke Junior College. He also has been a Guggenheim Fellow. In addition to contributing articles to various journals and magazines. Dunbar worked for the Atomic Energy Commission from 1951 to 1954. He also served as Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council from 1959 to 1961.

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At present Rev. Smith is the chairman of the department of college work in the Diocese of Mississippi, as well as being a member of the Mississippi Advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and a member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

He has served as Vicar of St. Mary's Episcopal church in Lexington, Miss., and became Episcopal chaplain to the University of Mississippi in January, 1961.

Rev. Smith is married and has two children, a daughter and a son.

OKLAHOMAN TOP DIPLOMAT

A native Oklahoman will lead the discussion scheduled in the Classroom Auditorium on Wednesday, the last day of Government Week.

Dwight J. Porter, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration, will speak at the 2 p.m. forum on "The State Department—Broker for American Overseas Policy."

Porter was graduated from Grinnell College in 1938 and studied at American University for three years.

His experience includes service on the Displaced Persons committee, First Secretary-Consul in London, and Special Assistant to Under Secretary of State, to name but a few.

Porter has recently been Counselor for Economic Affairs in Vienna, and Consul General.

DOLLARS AND DIPLOMACY

Discussing "Some Whys and Wherefores of U.S. Foreign Aid" Tuesday at 2 p.m. will be William S. Gaud, Deputy Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

Gaud, who has been the principal assistant to Administrator David E. Bell, has held this position since February of this year.

Chosen for the job because of his extensive experience in the foreign aid field, Gaud is instrumental in formulating and executing the policies of the for-

MORRIS K. UDALL
"Rising Star in House"

eign aid agency. Before accepting the appointment by President Johnson, he served as Assistant Administrator for the Near East and South Asia, directing the largest regional program in the aid agency.

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Committees Busy

(Continued from front page)

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Committee members are: Keynote — Susan Jones, Jeannie Kygar, and Bill Paulea; Banquet—Beth McGraw, Donna Smith, Burns Hargis, Cheryl Colwell, Keith Good, and Ann Jeffrey; Speakers—John Moody, Susan Ratcliffe, Gary Mackey, Norma Jean Smith, and Bob Long; Publicity—Mary DeLozier, Toni Biard, Helen Newman, Marilyn Moore, Barbara Felkins, and Rem Slattery; Forums—Judy Adams, Jim Campbell, Charles Johnson, Lynn Oberlander, and Dale Felton.

GOVERNMENT WEEK PRAISED

"This concentrated effort to learn of the philosophical problems and practical operation of government will yield great benefits — both to the students and to the country"—John F. Kennedy.

"I have personally participated in Government Week and am quite impressed with the educational benefits to be derived for not only the students, but the citizens of my state. The entire event was extremely well planned and it was an honor to have had a part in such an outstanding undertaking." — Senator J. Howard Edmondson.

"The Government Week program which is carried on at Oklahoma State University is one of the most effective ways I have ever seen of creating interest in our citizens and pointing out how our government operates. I believe that Government Week has a benefit that reaches all across the campus and that its influence touches far more than the number of students who actively attend the meetings or participate in the discussion." — Governor Henry Bellmon.

The Speaker's Committee of Oklahoma State University's Government Week is very proud to announce the program for the 1964 Government Week to be held May 4-6, 1964. The general theme of this year's program, "Great Issues--1964," will be carried out by focusing on various domestic and foreign policy questions which the committee feels will arise during the course of the 1964 Presidential campaign.

Monday, May 4

Keynote Speech "The Case for the Democrats in 1964"	University Auditorium 8:00 p.m.	The Honorable Morris K. Udall Congressman of Arizona

Tuesday, May 5

Great Issues I "Dangers and Opportunities in the Far East"	Student Union Ballroom 10:00 a.m.	Mr. Marshall Green Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs Department of State
Great Issues II "Some Whys and Wherefors of Foreign Aid"	Student Union Ballroom 2:00 p.m.	Mr. William S. Gaud Deputy Administrator Agency for International Development
Great Issues III "Civil Rights in America in the Mid-Twentieth Century"	Classroom Auditorium 7:30 p.m. Panel Seminar	Dr. Leslie Dunbar Executive Secretary Southeastern Regional Council Atlanta, Georgia Reverend Wofford Smith Chaplain, University of Mississippi Oxford, Mississippi Mr. J. Edward Day

Wednesday, May 6

Great Issues - Seminar IV "Kennedy and Johnson - Transition and Change"	Student Union Ballroom 10:00 a.m.	Mr. J. Edward Day Former Postmaster General of the United States
Great Issues - Seminar V "State Department - Broker for American Overseas Policy"	Classroom Auditorium 2:00 p.m.	Mr. Dwight Porter Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Administration Department of State
Banquet Speech "The Case for the Republicans in 1964"	Student Union Ballroom 6:00 p.m. (Ticket Required)	The Honorable Carl Curtis Senator of Nebraska

Ron Haxton
Mattie Schiehing
Speakers Committee Co-Chairmen
Government Week Committee

GOVERNMENT WEEK

GREAT ISSUES OF 1964

Irwin Beeman

Business Week

Washington

Republic

7-6630

talked to 10/6/64

Portions of speech read to Mr. Beeman

Files: LWD - Speeches, 1964

Panel Talk, NAIRO Convention
New York, New York
October 8, 1964
Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

A definitive opinion about the South's initial reaction to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will not be possible until after November 3, but in the weeks since July 2 we have seen a degree of compliance with the law throughout the South that has astonished many and encouraged more. I am optimistic enough -- perhaps foolhardy would be the better word -- to believe that the South will show on November 3 that race is no longer the dominating political issue in the region. I do not mean, of course, that there will be a "solid South" again, nor would I ever want one. The trend toward a two-party system has been underway in the South at least since 1952, and that trend continues. I do not, at this time, believe that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is accelerating the trend. Although this may be a foolishly optimistic assertion, the optimism some of us had last spring regarding the willingness of the South to comply with the dommands of the Civil Rights Act turned out to be well founded.

Throughout the region there is still widespread resistance and evasion of the new law, especially the public accommodations title, and if the cases now before the Supreme Court should result in any constitutional restrictions on the law's coverage

and enforcement the resistance and evasion will greatly multiply. The picture at the present time is, nevertheless, generally heartening. For, despite the widespread examples of noncompliance, the fact which must not be lost sight of is that nowhere, not even in Alabama and Mississippi, is the noncompliance led by political power or economic overlords. For the most part, noncompliance is the action of individuals who may have the sympathy of the political and economic chieftans, but do not have their leadership and are, in fact, getting little encouragement from them.

There have been some bad places and some rough days. Towns such as Tuscaloosa and Selma, Alabama, Americus, Georgia, Lake City and St. Augustine, Florida, and Greenwood, Mississippi, have behaved with miserable consistency. Of more importance than the tantrums of these notorious centers, throughout the back country and the small towns of the Deep South the public accommodations law has made little difference and perhaps will not. It is impossible to ascertain what, if any, compliance may exist in these areas. There is little testing, little reporting, and an abundance of pressures to discourage Negroes from using their statutory rights.

This, then, is one obstacle to the full implementation of Title II, which may not be surmounted for a long time. In addition, of course, numerous counter measures have been devised to resist or evade the law. In some places local police have been quick to arrest for trespass or breach of

peace. In other places Negro patrons of restaurants and theaters have been attacked by white crowds after leaving the establishments. There has been some segregationists picketing and boycotting of integrated places. Some few establishments have reportedly closed their doors rather than integrate. Something of a crisis may have occurred briefly at Louisiana State University when all the barbers at the student union quit. Much more serious has been the closing of municipal swimming pools, which has occurred in a number of places.

We can expect that several forms of evasion now already observable may spread. The problem of overcharging Negroes, which has been encountered in several places and which is the subject already of a couple federal court cases, can probably be curbed in the courts. Harder to deal with will be various forms of discriminatory treatment which fall just short of litigable issues, or which may not be worth the bother. Negroes made to feel unwelcome and uncomfortable at a restaurant or hotel may not consider it worthwhile to persist in their patronage, and there are many ways of making customers feel unwelcome. These range from the crude to the subtle. Among the former, for example, are the blatant signs on the windows of Leb's Restaurant in Atlanta, which in the most offensive language state Mr. Leb's opinion of all integrationists; another kind of crude sign has been observed at St. Augustine

where a restaurant informs all Negro customers that it will donate money received from them to Goldwater's campaign fund. More subtle are the seating practices of some restaurants, or the use of colored silhouettes on restroom doors.

If the decision of the three-judge court in the Ollie's Barbecue case out of Birmingham stands up, we shall have a very serious situation. Even before this decision, there were other restaurants throughout the South refusing to comply on the grounds that they did not cater to interstate travellers. If the decision is upheld by the Supreme Court, Title II will have amounted to little, and the process of desegregation by negotiation or sit-in or persuasion will have to be resumed.

Another serious form of evasion is the spread of private clubs. Eventually, we shall undoubtedly have some judicial determination of what is and what is not a private club. Right now there is chaos. But in the midst of the chaos there is a profoundly disturbing spread of the private club idea. Some of the examples are ridiculous, and Arkansas seems to have led in this form of broad humor. A restaurant near Pine Bluff, for example, has become a private club with a membership fee of 10¢, which the owner is glad to put up for his customers. Better even than this is the Capitol Club, which is the former cafeteria in the state capitol; membership cards were printed in Governor Faubus's office, the president of the club is the governor's executive secretary, and uniformed guards stand at the door of the establishment for which the state pays utilities

and other costs. But not to be outdone by an up-start like Arkansas, the Old Dominion sports a private club in Norfolk with a 5¢ life-time membership. This kind of foolishness will not last, but the private club principle threatens to last, in areas where people are willing to pay a price for continued segregation. Throughout northern Louisiana, the Northwest Louisiana Restaurant Club holds sway. Its present organization is transparently evasive, but I believe it would be over-bold to predict that the people who have organized this network of clubs will not pay the price of sustaining the principle and of accommodating it to the law as the law is spelled out. So, too, in Mississippi where there has been a wave of conversions to so-called private clubs.

A good bit of litigation is already underway and some of it has already been decided or settled out of court. Leading cases have now been argued before the Supreme Court and decisions should be coming soon. Cases have been initiated by the Department of Justice as well as numerous private litigants. At least one federal judge has referred Title II cases brought by private plaintiffs to the new Community Relations Service, and we shall begin to see how it works and achieves. Not all of the litigation is centered around Title II; there are cases, for example, in Baton Rouge and Winston-Salem which raise issues about public facilities, and a Virginia case which raises a voting question under the new act.

Most of my remarks have dealt with compliance under Title II, and this has been the primary issue so far. Other provisions of the new law are, however, already being felt in the South. A federal court is rehearing the legality of arrests in Danville, Virginia, in the light of the new law; and the Supreme Court has been asked to over turn old sit-in convictions in South Carolina and Arkansas. Numerous meetings have been held throughout the South by the Commission on Civil Rights, by the Office of Education, and by other executive departments explaining provisions of the law. (A great question lying ahead is the issue of funds cut offs under Title VI, and which will not be faced until executive regulations are promulgated.) Florida dropped its defense against a case seeking to desegregate its state parks system. Certainly the act has had an important effect in moving along school desegregation; witness for example, an announcement of the school board of Houston County, Georgia, announcing a fairly complete school desegregation beginning February 1965, for the stated reason that the county, which is the site of one of the large military bases located in Georgia through the beneficence of Congressman Vinson, cannot afford to lose its federal impact money. However, the news reports have been a little offiin their glowing accounts of progress of schools desegregation this year. By statistical measurements, school desegregation in the South slowed down this fall as compared with the rate of increase shown in 1963-64. But at least as important as the statistical measurements is the fact that school desegregation

this year was almost entirely orderly, even though it came to some of the most notoriously resistant areas in the South, including three places in Mississippi.

If any further examples were needed to make clear that parts of the South will not as yet abandon resistance, I need only cite the action in Alabama last month where new voter registration forms were adopted because of the law's prohibition of oral literacy tests; the new forms are designed to make it exceedingly difficult for Negro registration workers to prepare would-be registrants to pass the literacy test, through the device of having 100 sets of questions from which the applicant must choose.

With only so few months of experience any conclusions must be altogether tentative. I would like to suggest briefly a few conclusions that may be indicated.

The first is that I tend to agree with John Herbers's report on Mississippi in the New York Times of October 6 that the backbone of resistance is bending rapidly. I hope I have have made clear how widespread and how serious is noncompliance today. But I would repeat that this compliance is largely unled and disorganized, and, therefore, presents a very different situation from that which we had in the days of massive resistance. Nothing in the events of last summer is more significant of change than the formation of Mississippians for Public Education. It is an empirical fact that in every

southern state and city over these last few years the first necessary step toward change has had to be the creation of a climate within which people could challenge racist orthodoxy. Once the barrier to public discussion is broken, and not until then, change can go forth. This happened in Mississippi last summer; it has not yet happened in Alabama. But if there is one fact that we have learned empirically, it is that the maintenance of the status quo absolutely depends on suppression of dissent. That is now crumbling in Mississippi. To put it differently, people are now beginning to have the freedom to obey federal law.

The second conclusion I would suggest to you is that the worse consequence we may have to live with is the narrowing of the public sector of social life. The North has already followed its devices toward this end. In the South, we have a fledgling move toward private clubs, closed municipal facilities, and most depressing, private schools. This is a sorry price to pay, and we should be, in the North as well as in the South, looking anxiously for ways of minimizing it.

Finally, I would suggest to you that a sophisticated understanding of democracy does not see it as something to be gained, and once gained always enjoyed. Democracy can never be defined. It is a standing challenge to each of us and to each generation to struggle anew for the privilege of giving meaning to human freedom. The history of democracy has no resting place. From this point of view, I believe

that in the South these last few years we have fought and are winning a great chapter in the history of democracy. Samuel Lubell in his new book, White and Black, reports that after a survey of the South in 1963, shortly before the assassination, he had come to believe that if President Kennedy would stump the South in 1964 with a calm, straightforward defense of civil rights, that he could precipitate an honest debate, for the first time in the South, on the moral issues of desegregation. And Lubell implies that he was not at all pessimistic as to how that debate would come out. I believe that this opportunity still exists, and that if President Johnson and Senator Humphrey take the time and the occasion to campaign hard and clear in the South, without apology and with dedication to their principles, that the mind of the white South is today open and receptive far more than is generally believed. If this opportunity is taken, and the white South is authoritatively called on to confront itself in clear debate, we may all be spared the albatross of a southern racism licking its wounds in the years ahead in the refuge of the party of Lincoln.

Memo from PAUL ANTHONY

LWD: These comments on article.

1. very minor point. Near end of first page I had some feeling of uneasiness that there was a slight exaggerati on both in the status of the founders - as compared with that of those who remained awhile thereafter- and of the "mass exodus" of most in 51. I had the feeling, most who lasted a couple of years also weathered the integration statement.

Last par., p2, SRC as "representative of liberalism in the region" seems a basic point - past and future- which cannot be overemphasied, especially as we project a continuing relationship with state councils and a body of people broader than our own board.

It would be comfortable to have more reassurance of continuing close ties with state councils and in developing community work. Also to have these efforts clearly related to the new program needs.

(Some few might see this as contradictory to what I know to be your committment to the state council movement, present and future.)

Excellent article, and statement of policy.

MJ - file with article

DRAFT

Southern Political Science Association
Durham, North Carolina
November 13, 1964

SOURCES OF POLITICAL RIGHTS

There are few of us who have serious difficulty in affirming the ultimate right of the individual to obey his own conscience instead of positive law. We are, after all, citizens of the West, and that is to say we are all colonials. We are transplants of Greece in a cultural empire which for a while, but not enduringly, and not fatally, had its period of co-emperors, Greek and Jew, to whom for many centuries now we have owed allegiance. As the British North American Act began the transformation of an empire into a commonwealth without destroying allegiance to the crown, though implying the freedom of a South Africa to do so, so the patient working out of natural law theory made a commonwealth of the cultural empire without diminishing the old sovereigns, though implying a freedom of secession for those who choose other sovereigns. There we have seen over the centuries a great array, from the dogma that power makes all things licit to the worship or fear of idols such as race. Outside the commwealth this ultimate individual right, which only lately have we begun to call the right of civil disobedience, is renounced or denied; but within the commonwealth its writ runs to nearly every corner.

Were this individual right our only question, we could do what our ancestors from time to time felt called to do: re-affirm the right in the idiom of our day, with a word of moral caution to the individual and of remonstrance to the governing power. And to do this again in our day is, in fact, needful. Yet we need also recognize the contemporary dimension of the question, and to acknowlege

that these do not, with the clarity and simplicity we might prefer, fit within the natural law tradition~~s~~.

There are chiefly two issues before us. The first is the question of whether organized, mass disobedience can ever have the same ethical justifications which belong to the individual's conscientious act. The second is whether these ethical justifications extend to disobedience whose primary motive is political rather than moral, and is employed as a means to influence or change policy.

Now at least in part these questions ask the liberal whether he has the courage to be also a democrat; and they ask the conservative whether he has the wit to be also a realist. But courage, though a high virtue, is not always wisdom; and a perception of the reality of grievances and the inadequacy of established remedies does not, at least for the conservative, require that he approve in principle what he adjusts to in fact.

The uncomfortable truth is that the natural law consensus gives us little help in confronting these contemporary questions, because it itself is only an intellectual bluff. When natural law affirms the right of individual disobedience <u>but</u> only for reasons of conscience <u>and</u> only under extreme provocation, what it has done is to pacify two quite non-rational human compulsions. It has sought to stave off the occasional but always terrible rupture between the individual's neccessitous yearning for the society of others and for his own self-respect. The tension between these ~~courses~~ makes for creakings and fissures along the whole front of social life, and at a far-flung sector of that front, reached by only a few driven men in any generation but in encounters plainly visible to all, the tension ~~puts~~ pits an individual against that governing power which unifies and gives

form to all that he understand s his society to be. And for this case in extreme~~s~~, natural law proclaimed a tru~~e~~, through what we now call the right of civil disobedience. We can do no better. But we mislead ourselves if we think this old moral decree suffices for more complex problems. It is intellectually barren.

If, however, we see the classic problem of civil disobedience as being but one aspect of a larger and more fundamental issue, the way from it may lead to some help in considering the contemporary question of ~~more~~ mass resistance as a political method. The larger issue is, of course, the nature of all political obligations and the legitimate sources of rights. # How to make power legitimate is and has always been the basic concern of political philosophy. The great statements of the problems and its resolution, from Plato to ~~Camus~~ Marx, ~~have come~~ came at times when old sanctions of legitimacy were decaying and when urgent dilemmas were being heaped up before individuals. We might, if we wished, record as an empirical datum that whenever the question of civil disobedience arises insistently, new and impressive political philosoph~~ers~~ies have usually appeared. We would, of course, have to make a quick exception of the United States, because no great statements in political philosophy have ever appeared here, and perhaps ~~more~~ none will. Though undoubtedly other explanations exist for the fact that the history of political theory can pretty well ignore American writers, none of whom possibly excepting Walt Whitman have done more than footnote Europeans, surely a big part of the explanation is that our Supreme Court has relieved theorists of their pertinency in the resolution of ~~cuses~~ crises born of value conflict & power re-alignments.

Yet there must be more basic causes to explain why, not only in the United States but elsewhere in the West, the contemporary writers who are deeply challenging our political understanding are literary

figures ~~like Caurus~~ Camus, and not more prosaic philosphers. Now it is of the nature of literary figures to be less concerned to answer old questions that to invent new ones. And ~~then~~ thus, though I do not know what we would have done without Kafka, ~~Cansus~~ Camus, Pasternak, and a few others, they have not done the philosopher's job for him, which is to discover or re-interpret a legitimate distribution of powers and rights in a political order which men can recognize as their own. And there is the obstacle to political philosophy in our age. The absurd complexity of the modern political order discourages and defies the oretical comprehension.

To look at a modern, western, industrial, democratic state is to see something of which no classical philosopher ever wrote. If we were to attempt to embrace its most important features in a short statement, we might come up with something like this:

> A government ~~of possed~~ possessed through its effective control of science of ever increasing strenght, and yet diminishing freedom of action toward other governments, ruling, in close consultations with the managers of industry, even more closely the multitude of individuals (whose legally recognized rights continually expand, while their power to revolt practically vanishes, although a fluctuating power of determined and ~~syable~~ sizable minorities to order the government about is often quite great), and for whom there are fewer, and fewer customary restraints and ~~mouuld~~ moulds although being different from each other becomes ever more rare as their education increases.

A Progressively multiplying society in which more and more the work is done by machines, headed by a

This awkwardly worded formulation is undoubedly imperfect, but so far as it goes, it is suggestive of all the western demorcacies as they have been since 1918. No classical theorist, not Hobbes ~~Hobler~~ nor Marx nor Pareto, ever dreamed of such a contrivance, though Plato might have in his nightmares. Modern theorists are ~~faffled~~ baffled in

their efforts to conceptualize such an order, and modern political science consequently ~~makes~~ marks time, by ~~trying to predict events a little bit before they happen~~ writing small concepts and signifies the unintelligibility of the modern political order by writing unintelligibly about it in the American Political Science Review.

This "thing" which we can so badly conceptualize may, nevertheless, be held in our sight as I attempt to say a word in justification of the right to carry political protest even to the point of civil disobedience.

To begin with, we can summarize and make a bit more explicit what has already been ~~arrested~~ asserted. First, within the commonwealth of natural law, no one seriously disputes the ultimate individual right of conscientious disobedience. Second, no one seriously asserts that the right implies a duty to disobey whenever conscience is ~~affinited~~ affronted; consequently, no one seriously proposes that the decision to disobey may not be heavily tinged with pragmatic considerations without disparaging its conscientious quality. Third, there is to all law a prima facie duty to obey, so that the burden of justifying a disobedient act rests on the individual.

If these may be ~~improved~~ impugned as simply the conclusions of commom sense, they nevertheless seems unassailable, unless one wishes to enter a conceptual and ~~seurantic sewantic~~ semantic thicket. Because, as has already been said, the ethical foundation on which the coonclusions rest are themselves intellectually unstable, exploitation of the thicket is not promising. The natural law foundation contains another, and far more crucial, flaw. For at the point of civil disobedience, as at so many other points, the tradition includes a logically unnecessary and ethically harmful claim which has confused the morality of the West for centuries and still does.

1. For a dissenting view, see Richard A. Wasserstrom, "The Obligations to Obey the Law", 10 UCLA Law Review 780, May 1963.

This comes about when the tradition asset~~s~~ that the right of conscientious disobedience represents obedience to God rather than man; ~~then~~ thus, "God justifies." That this borders on blasphemy is a truth which at least two millen~~aries~~ia have conspired in suppressing. It is of a piece with the other ~~two~~ too numerous manifestations of western civilization's pathetic repudiation of its own responsibility for its moral values. When we take the step of civil disobedience, no presumpt~~ion~~uous claim that "God justifies me" must be on our lips; only a plea that He do so. It is not God rather than man that we obey, but God rather than man that we seek to please, and therein lies a tremendous difference. We cannot explore this matter here, other than to note that what one offers to God cannot be logically evaluated. # In mass disobedience, the plea is not to God but to men. And so we need to see and to say that the problems of civil disobedience, when it is taken beyond the simple case of the conscientious individual, is essentially a political, not an ethical, problem. This is true even though we must immediately add that the act would not be "civil" if carried on by immoral methods.

What, then, do we mean by "civil disobedience?" The definition given by Professor Bedau seems to me a serviceable one. "Anyone commits an act of civil disobedience if and only if he acts illegally,[2] publicly, nonviolently, and conscientiously with the intent to frustrate (one of) the laws, policies, or decisions of his government."[3]

We perhaps should remind ourselves how frequently of late ~~of~~ the right of civil disobedience has been asserted, or debated, in connection with the Nuremberg and Eichmann trials, Algeria,

2. By which Bedau means, "It is always the sort of thing that can send one to jail."
3. Hugo A. Bedau, "On Civil Disobedience" 58 The Journal of Philosophy 653,661, October 12, 1961. Although I am accepting this definition, and my discussion will stay within its terms, I

am not sure that the word "conscientiously" could not be omitted, leaving still a form of political protest which could be defended. Whatever the case on this, I do not at all comprehend the statement of Professor Stuart M. Brown, Jr.: "Civil disobedience has a point and a rationale only within a siptem of law where public protest is legally permissible". 58 The Journal of Philosophy 669, 671-2, October 26, 1961.

Congressional investigations, trespass on nuclear weapons installations, and Negro protest. Today the Negro protest movement is at the forefront of our thought, but we shall be able to think about it more soberly if we remember that the spirit of civil disobedience is abroad in the world. William L. Taylor has, in fact, largely dervied that the Negro protest movement has embraced civil disobedience. His analysis is unusually instructive.[4]

Taylor's argument is as follows: No law violator who appeals "not simply to moral law, but to positive articulated law such as the Consitution of the United States" is engaged in civil disobedience. On this ground, action such as sit-ins and the Freedom Rides were not civil disobedience but tests to establish or to require observance of Constitutional rights. Similarly street marches and picketing are exercises of First Amendment freedom. The New York rent strikes have been appeals to the legal processor of the state. Violation of court injunction in the South may, under one Costitution theroy, be aptly called civil disobedience, but Constitutional law in this area is unclea and while it remain so the violator may properly appeal to higher courts for legal indications. Tribrough Budge type incidents, where socially discriptive practices are engaged in under noclaim of legal immunity, are not vivil disobedience under the standards of right conduct set by either Ghandi or Martin Luther King. School boycotts would be civil disobedience if prolonged; as one-day affair, however,

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4. "Some Observations on the Strategic of Protest" A paper read before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 16th Annual Conference,

they are "more closely akin to exercises of free speech and assembly than to acts of civil disobedience."

Taylor's undoubtedly correct in his comment about street marches and picketing; the law is clear and well established that these are, if properly conducted, exercises of First Amendment rights. But otherwise, his analysis seems to me wholly wrong.

The American political order is underguided by a written, enforcealbe constitution. To point out that this has resulted in our having courts as well as legislatures as instruments for the changing of law is by now a cliché. And the Negro protest movement has been aimed toward the creation of new law and policies. If the protesters have contested the legality of their punishment by appeal to federal courts, this has meant simply that they have used an available forum to press for the indication of their moral and political grievances.[5] They have thought of themselves as civilly disobedient, they have violated the laws of their states and have been punished. Legal modes of reasoning ought not to obscure what they have done. Mere test cases of the Constitution are not carried out this way.[6]

5. Bedau had already called Taylor's contention on this point "irrevelant" and Brown had labelled it "false"; see articles cited footnote 3, pages 655 and 672.

6. "The character of sit-ins as appeals to law rather than acts of civil disobedience is not changed by the fact that large numbers of protection have been involved. While the ordinary test case may involve a singe violation of a law by one person or a small group, there is no reason why a law cannot be tested by larger groups in a more dramatic manner as long as they are willing to incur the additional legal expense." Taylor, op.cit. This seems to me affront political sophistication, as well as common sense.

These have been mass protests forcing the hand of government by deliberately creating conditions to which government - local, state, and national - must react in order to preserve public peace. The protests have plainly said that normal procedures for the change of law and policy do not provide a sufficient remedy for grievances, and that disobedience to iniquitous law is required.

Nevertheless, I do not know of any recent discussions of civil disobedience which is of greater value than Taylor's. They are not appeals to God rather than man. They are, on the contrary, and most emphatically appeals to men. They have sought political ends, and their legitimacy as a method of effecting political change.

In what I have called the absurd complexity of the modern political order, that legitimacy should be acknowledged, not only for the Negro protest movement specifically but for civil disobedience as a proper form through which demands can be made that would not otherwise be clearly heard. I see no reason why a society which has learned that it can socially and legally tolerate the strike, cannot similarly learn that it can socially tolerate civil disobedience.

Democracy's eternal task is to ascertain its own will. We must not deny to it the discovery of new methods of doing so. Nicola Chiaromonte and Ignazio Silone said a few years ago, "We believe that the right to disobedience exists, and that it is of the essence of democracy."[7] They declared this passionately, as a partisan slogan. I would say it quietly, as a statement of fact. The right exists, and it derives from that need to reach consensus which is essential to democracy.

We must, of course, be mindful of other political values, and

7. "Our Civil Disobedience and the Algerian War", 50 Yale Review 462, March 1961.

~~specifically~~ Particularly of all that we treasure when we speak of the "rule of ~~of~~ law." Civil disobedience is undeniably susceptible to abuse, not so much in its own right but through false ~~invitation~~ imitation, such as, for example, the Triborough Budge incident. As long as we define the civilly disobedient act as being a non-violent act, the threat to the rule of law seems not great. It should be plain to all that for the past generation American jurisprudence has been experimentally ~~raching~~ ~~reaching~~ searching out solutions to ease new tensions between public order and individual or minority dissent. This is a process of trial and error which is giving ~~new~~ revised, and we hope pragmatically valid, meaning to the rule of law under conditions of modern democracy. ~~I have less fear that social tolerations of a right of civil disobedience will wound wound the rule of law than I have for some of the new directions in our law itself; for example, the~~ concessions made to public order not only in cases such as Dennis v. U. S. but as such as ~~and~~ Wickard v. Filburn; and about ~~or~~ concessions made toward the dissident in the contempt of court cases since Bridges v. California.[8] Anyone may regard these as

I would, in fact, propose that the Negro protest movement has done much to sustain the rule of law in the United States. The great chapter~~s~~ of American history which has been written by the recent struggle for civil right has had to date three fairly distinct periods. The first, which we can conveniently date from the wartime FEPC, extended through Brown ~~and~~ v. Topeka in 1954. I mmense gains were made: the white primary ended; numerous state colleges and universities were desegregated; interstate conveyances were desegregated; the Army was integrated. All was done strictly in accordance with

restrictions concerning recreational beyond the law.

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8. 341 US 499; 317 US 111; 314 US 252.

sometimes

Not all of the experimentation can be expected to work, + the courts ~~frequently~~ retreat from their handiwork, as they seem to be doing, for example, from the Dennis case. Threats to the rule of law can come from within the law, as well as from without. Whenever the law ~~is~~ wavers from ~~the~~ the imperiled qualities of impartiality, fairness, generality, + usual certainty, the rule grows slack. I personally have misgivings about

concern, but we can overlook the experimentation which is going on or the fallibility. Mass civil disobedience ~~is a~~ has been ~~not a~~ + can be an effective catalyst in the process.

experimental

legal norms, and ~~southern~~ the South adjusted adjustment to change ~~was~~ with ~~relatively~~ easy. After Brown v. Topeka, the South's political powers refused any longer to accept further change through legal procedures. This rebellion continued over much of the South until Negroes inaugurated the third period by taking to the streets, forcing on many southern municipalities and some states a sense of responsibility toward legal authority and demanding of the nation at large that it give more than lip service to its own commitment to the Constitution.

"Nor can we regard a republic as disorderly," said that excellent republican Niccolo Machiavelli, "where so many virtues were seen to shine. For good examples are the result of good education, and good education is due to good laws; and good laws ~~is~~ in their turn spring from those very agitations which have been so inconsiderately condemned by many. For whoever will carefully examine the result of these agitations will find that they have neither caused exiles nor any violence prejudicial to the general good, and will be convinced even that they have given rise to laws that were to the advantage of public liberty. And if it be said these are strange means, - to hear constantly the cries of the people furious against the Senate, and of a Senate declaiming against the people, to see the populace rush tumultuously through the streets,---I reply, that all these things can alarm only those who read of them and that every free state ought to afford the people the opportunity of giving vent, so to say, to their ambition; and above all those republics which on important occasions have to avail themselves of ~~their~~ this very people. Now such were the means employed at Rome; when the people wanted to obtain a law, they resorted to some of the extremes of which we have just spoken, or they refused to enroll themselves to serve in the wars, so that the Senate was obliged to satisfy them in

some measure. The demands of a free people are rarely pernicious to their liberty; they are generally inspired by oppressions, experienced or apprehended."[9] So speaks ancient wisdom.

To summarize, my view is that the right of the conscientious individual to disobey is affirmed by western ethics and need not be ~~for the~~ farther debated, though reaffirmation from time to time is morally and socially healthy. Its intellectual exploration is futile because it rests on non-rational desires, and for that same reason this natural law right cannot be extended to the case of organized, mass, non-violent disobedience as an instrument for changing law or policy. Such disobedience ~~is~~ need not be, however, inimical to public order. On the contrary, given the complexity of modern democratic government it is an efficacious, and therefore legitimate, method for ascertaining a democratic consensus.

"Efficacious, and therefore legitimate." I have not earlier in this paper so explicitly conjoined these two ideas, though the junction of them might have been inferred throughout. Perhaps a word of explanation would be an appropriate conclusion to ~~the~~ this inquiry.

The line between civilization and barbarism is easily stepped across, as no one of ~~their~~ this generations should need to be reminded. We are entitled to claim as our right whatever may effectively help us from crossing the line; nor should we shirk from acknowledging that all our rights and all our values come from the need to have and to hold a civilized order and to live a civilized life within it, and from no more transcendent source. In

9. The Discourses, Book I, chapter 4.

a universe where no absolute can be known, no values certainly defined, and no penetration made beyond except through ~~faith~~ intuition, all we can do is to act on the authority of our own social intelligence. On society we all depend for moral instruction. Yet society is like the good and gifted teacher who occasionally gets drunk, and needs to be sobered before he can teach; so it falls to those who cannot learn without him to make him sober again. Consequently, we need those sobering remedies, and these are our rights. ~~But~~ our rights have another and creative purpose. Freedom of speech, ~~freedom of press~~, freedom of religion, freedom of ~~protection~~ science - these are the means by which we can endeavor to live as rational beings and to carry on the perduring combat against irrationality. The form of rights may evolve and vary, but this is always their one legitimate purpose. ~~Democracy means not only an openess to innovation of policies but of favors, though prudence advocates that the form change cautionsly. Confronted by new forms, such as civil disobedience in its contemporary character, we do well to pause and reflect. But our conclusions should be that of Professor Spitz.: "To the charge that the conflict is between the individual and all that the sovereign stands for, we must reply: the conflict is also between the sovereign and all that the individual stands for." [10] No efficacious means in that latter conflict is illegitimate.~~

10. David Spitz, "Democracy and the Problem of Civil Disobedience", 43 American Political Science Review 386,399, June 1954.

These defenses of the civilized man, originating in his ethical needs of a rational creature who must live in a political order, are worth all. No efficacious means in their defense or enlargement is illegitimate.

Southern Political Science Association
Durham, North Carolina
November 13, 1964

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If, however, we see the classic problem of civil dis--obedience as being but one aspect of a larger and more fundamental issue, the way from it may lead to some help in considering the contemporary question of mass resistance as a political method. The larger issue is, of course, the nature of all political obligation and the legitimate sources of rights.

How to make power legitimate is and has always been the basic concern of political philosophy. The great statements of the problem and its resolution, from Plato to Marx, came at times when

old sanctions of legitimacy were decaying and when urgent dilemmas were being heaped up before individuals. We might, if we wished, record as an empirical datum that whenever the question of civil disobedience arises insistently, new and impressive political philosophies have usually appeared. We would, of course, have to make a quick exception of the United States, because no great statements in political philosophy have ever appeared here, and perhaps none will. Though undoubtedly other explanations exist for the fact that the history of political theory can pretty well ignore American writers, none of whom possibly excepting Walt Whitman have done more than footnote Europeans, surely a big part of the explanation is that our Supreme Court has relieved theorists of their pertinency in the resolution of crises born of value conflict and power re-alignments.

Yet there must be more basic causes to explain why, not only in the United States but elsewhere in the West, the contemporary writers who are deeply challenging our political understanding are literary figures and not more prosaic philosphers. Now it is of the nature of literary figures to be less concerned to answer old questions than to invent new ones. And thus, though I do not know what we would have done without Kafka, Camus, Pasternak, and a few others, they have not done the philosopher's job for him, which is to discover or reinterpret a legitimate distribution of powers and rights in a political order which man can recognize as their own. And <u>there</u> is the obstacle to

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This awkwardly worded formulation is undoubtedly imperfect but so far as it goes and allowing for some aberrations it is suggestive of all the western democracies as they have been since

1918. No classical theorist, not Hobbes nor Marx nor Pareto, ever dreamed of such a contrivance, though Plato might have in his nightmares. Modern theorists are baffled in their efforts to conceptualize such an order, and modern political science consequently marks time, by sensibly whittling at small concepts and, not so sensibly, signifies the unintelligibility of the modern political order by writing unintelligibly about it in the American Political Science Review.

This "thing" which we can so badly conceptualize may, nevertheless, be held in our sight as I attempt to say a word in justification of the right to carry political protest even to the point of civil disobedience.

To begin with, we can summarize and make a bit more explicit what has already been asserted. First, within the commonwealth of natural law, no one seriously disputes the ultimate individual right of conscientious disobedience. Second, no one seriously asserts that the right implies a duty to disobey whenever conscience is affronted; consequently, no one seriously proposes that the decision to disobey may not be heavily tinged with pragmatic considerations without disparaging its conscientious quality. Third, there is to all law a prima facie duty to obey,[1] so that the burden of justifying a disobedient act rests on the individual.

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If these may be impugned as simply the conclusions of common sense, they nevertheless seem unassailable, unless one wishes to enter a conceptual and semantic thicket. Because, as has already been said, the ethical foundation on which the conclusions rest are themselves intellectually unstable, exploration of the thicket is not promising. The natural law foundation contains another, and far more crucial, flaw. For at the point of civil disobedience, as at so many other points, the tradition includes a logically unnecessary and ethically harmful claim which has confused the morality of the West for centuries and still does.

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We perhaps should remind ourselves how frequently of late the right of civil disobedience has been asserted or debated, in connection with the Nuremberg and Eichmann trials, Algeria, Congressional investigations, trespass on nuclear weapons installations, and Negro protest. Today the Negro protest movement

2. By which Bedau means, "It is always the sort of thing that can send one to jail."

3. Hugo A. Bedau, "On Civil Disobedience," 58 The Journal of Philosophy 653,661, October 12, 1961. Although I am accepting this definition, and my discussion will stay within its terms, I am not altogether sure that the word "conscientiously" could not be omitted, leaving still a form of political protest which could be defended. Whatever the case regarding this, I do not at all comprehend the statement of Professor Stuart M. Brown, Jr.: "Civil disobedience has a point and a rationale only within a system of law where public protest is legally permissible." 58 The Journal of Philosophy 669,671-2, October 26, 1961.

is at the forefront of our thought, but we shall be able to think about it more soberly if we remember that the spirit of civil disobedience is abroad in the world. William L. Taylor has, in fact, largely denied that the Negro protest movement has embraced civil disobedience. His analysis is unusually instructive.[4]

Taylor's argument is as follows. No law violator who appeals "not simply to moral law, but to positive, articulated law such as the Constitution of the United States" is engaged in civil disobedience. On this ground, action such as sit-ins and the Freedom Rides were not civil disobedience but tests to establish or to require observance of Constitutional rights. Similarly, street marches and picketing are exercises of First Amendment freedoms. The New York rent strikes have been appeals to the legal processes of the state. Violation of court injunctions in the South may, under one Constitutional theory, be aptly called civil disobedience, but Constitutional law in this area is unclear, and while it remains, so the violator may properly appeal to higher courts for legal vindication. Triborough Bridge type incidents, where socially disruptive practices are engaged in under no claim of legal immunity, are not civil disobedience under the standards of right conduct set by either Ghandi or Martin Luther King. School boycotts would be civil disobedience if prolonged; as one-day affairs, however,

4. "Some Observations on the Strategies of Protest," paper read before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 16th Annual Conference, March 20, 1964 (mimeographed).

they are "more closely akin to exercise of free speech and assembly than to acts of civil disobedience."

Taylor's undoubtedly correct in his comment about street marches and picketing; the law is clear and well established that these are, if properly conducted, exercises of First Amendment rights. As to New York law regarding the rent strikes, I am not well informed. But otherwise, his analysis seems to me wholly wrong.

The American political order is undergirded by a written, enforceable constitution. To point out that this has resulted in our having courts as well as legislatures as instruments for the changing of law is by now a cliché. And the Negro protest movement has been aimed toward the creation of new law and policies. If the protesters have contested the legality of their punishment by appeal to federal courts, this has meant simply that they used an available forum to press for the vindication of their moral and political grievances.[5] They have thought of themselves as civilly

5. Bedau had already called Taylor's contention on this point "irrevelant" and Brown had labelled it "false"; see articles cited footnote 3, pages 655 and 672.

In what I have called the absurd complexity of the modern political order, that legitimacy should be acknowledged, not only for the Negro protest movement specifically but for civil disobedience as a proper form through which demands can be made that would not otherwise be clearly heard. I see no reason why a society which has learned that it can socially and legally tolerate the strike, cannot similarly learn that it can socially tolerate civil disobedience.

Democracy's eternal task is to ascertain its own will. We must not deny to it the discovery of new methods of doing so. Nicola Chiaromonte and Ignazio Silone said a few years ago, "We believe that the right to disobedience exists, and that it is of the essence of democracy."[7] They declared this passionately, as a partisan slogan. I would say it quietly, as a statement of fact. The right exists, and it derives from that need to reach consensus which is essential to democracy.

We must, of course, be mindful of other political values, and particularly of all that we treasure when we speak of the "rule of law." Civil disobedience is undeniably susceptible to abuse, not so much in its own right but through false imitation, such as, for example, the Triborough Bridge incident. As long as we define the civilly disobedient act as being a non-violent act, the threat to the rule of law seems not great.

7. On Civil Disobedience and the Algerian War," 50 Yale Review 462, March 1961.

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It should be plain to all that for the past generation American jurisprudence has been experimentally searching out solutions to ease new tensions between public order and individual or minority dissent. This is a process of trial and error which is giving revised, and we hope pragmatically valid, meaning to the rule of law under conditions of modern democracy. Not all of this experimentation can be expected to work, and the courts sometimes retreat from their handiwork, as they seem to be doing, for example, from the Dennis case. Threats to the rule of law can come from within the law, as well as from without. Whenever the law wavers from its imperial qualities of impartiality, fairness, generality, and usual certainty, its rule grows slack. I personally have misgivings about concessions made to public order not only in cases such as Dennis v. U. S. but in such as Wickard v. Filburn; and about concessions made toward the dissident in the contempt of court cases since Bridges v. California.[8] Anyone may reject these concerns, but no one can overlook the experimentation which is going on or its fallibility. Mass civil disobedience has been and can be an effective catalyst in this experimental process.

I would, in fact, propose that the Negro protest movement has done much to sustain the rule of law in the United States. The great chapter of American history which has been written by the recent struggle for civil right has had to date three fairly distinct periods. The first, which we can conveniently date from the wartime FEPC, extended through Brown v. Topeka in 1954. Immense gains were

8. 341 US 494; 317 US 111; 314 US 252.

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question of whether there cannot be "rights" which are non-legal. We may well continue to say that all acknowledged rights must have constitutional recognition. But the concept of a constitutional as a legal order is a modern one, and a political science instructed by Aristotle should not find it strange to entertain the idea of right pertaining to citizens by virtue of their function within a political system. Professor Spitz has said, "To the change that that the conflict is between the individual and all that the sovereign stands for, we must reply: the conflict is also between the sovereign and all that the individual stands for."[10] I would add that mass civil disobedience, when it accords with Professor Bedau's definition, also can champion "all that the individual stands for." The civilly disobedient person is engaged in the real world of individuals and society. If the fiction of soverignty does not have his solicitous care, neither need we regard it as more than a convenience.

Democracy means not only an ppenness to invocation of policies but of forms as well, though prudence advocates that the forms change cautiously. Confronted by new forms, such as civil disobedience in its contemporary character, we do well to pause and reflect. The questions we must ask ourselves are whether civil disobedience as practiced by the Negro protest movement is to be condemned; defended by ethical or political traditions; excused by

10. David Spitz, "Democracy and the Problem of Civil Disobedience", 43 American Political Science Review 386,399, June 1954.

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because of the immensity of the grievance without generally sanctioning the practice; or defended as a valid case of a legitimate method. I have tried to indicate that my answer to the first three questions is "no" and to the fourth is "yes". But our rights have another and creative purpose. Freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of science , freedom of opportunity - these are the means by which we can endeavor to live as rational beings and to carry on the perduring combat against irrationality. The form of rights may evolve and vary, but this is always their one legitimate purpose. These defenses of the civilized man, originating in the ethical needs of a rational creature who must live in a political order, are worth all. No efficacious means in their defense or enlargement is illegitimate.

Bibliographical Note

In addition to the sources footnoted, I have been especially helped in preparing this paper by the following: Hohn I. Carnes, "Why Should I Obey the Law?" 71 Ethics 14, October 1960. Leslie W. Dunbar, "Civil Disobedience", Convocation address at Earlham College, February 1961 (mimeographed). Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," reprinted as ch. 5 of Why We Can't Wait, N. Y., 1964; and "Love, Law and Civil Disobedience," New South, December 1961. Guenter Lewy, "Superior Orders, Nuclear Warfare, and the Dictates of Conscience", 55 American Political Science Review 3, March 1961. Bertrand Russell, "Civil Disobedience", 61 New Stateman 245, February 17, 1961. Harris Wooford, "The Law and Civil Disobedience", August 1960, distributed by etc. Episcopal Society for Cultural Racial Unity (mimographed). Marion A. Wright, "The Right to Protest", New South, February 1962.

Dear Professor Dunbar:

Please send me a copy of the paper, "Sources of Political Rights," that you presented at the SPSA Meetings in Durham. I was unable to obtain a copy of the paper at the meetings.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Lewis Lipsitz

Lewis Lipsitz

Send author copy 12/14/69

done

SCW - Xerox 12/4/64

pls send my SPSA
talk to:

Paul Johnston (Berrigan)

Dan Pollitt (he's now
at Univ of Oregon)

Harold Tyler

Will Campbell

Mina Shaughnessy

Johnson - 900 First Nat'l Bld.
Birm. Ala.

Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
Univ. of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

Mina - 33 East End Ave
New York 28, N.Y.

Harold
U.S. Courthouse
New York 7, N.Y.
U. S. District Judge

~~2011~~ 9
2011 Grand Ave.
Nashville, Tenn

File
Civil Rights
Lib Speeches
1965

Atl Jour 4/14/65

Negroes' New Jobs Lost to Automation

By PAUL VALENTINE

Job automation and shifting racial populations are frustrating the civil rights drive against discrimination, says Southern Regional Council chairman Leslie Dunbar.

"Though the climate is improving today for the Negro to get new jobs," he declared Tuesday night in a meeting at the Dinkler Motor Hotel, "we now have the tragic irony that those jobs traditionally open to newcomers are disappearing."

At the same time, he continued, vast Negro populations are concentrating in the centers of the nation's cities where they continue attending largely inferior, segregated schools while the standards of nominally white institutions elsewhere keep climbing to keep pace with rising technology.

DR. DUNBAR addressed about 100 persons representing the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, private community relations agencies, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and its advisory committees from several Southern states.

The meeting was preparatory to a regional conference Wednesday at which federal officials spelled out requirements and penalties under Title VI of the new Civil Rights Act prohibiting discrimination in any federally assisted state programs. Hundreds of state school and other officials from throughout the Southeast attended.

"The escalation of educational standards is making it increasingly hard for Negroes — coming from schools determinedly kept inferior—to find jobs," asserted Dr. Dunbar.

He cited the example of a Negro girl seeking admission to Emory University here. Emory is willing to take Negroes now, but she was rejected because of low test scores. Ten years ago, her marks may have been considered sufficient for admission but then she would have been rejected because of her race, he speculated.

"We are dropping color bars," he said, "but erecting others just as effectively maintaining discrimination."

UNDER URBAN RENEWAL and school desegregation programs, "we are building in our cities . . . barriers to the development of free movement of Negroes.

"The work of bankers, real estate interests and county and city governments are preventing the Negroes from moving where they want.

"The whites are fleeing to the suburbs. . . . We are living apart as rigidly as we can."

He said Atlanta's decision to desegregate Kirkwood Elementary School last January exemplifies the way in which white leadership here has encouraged more rigid residential patterns. "The school board announced it would desegregate the once-white school because by last winter about 70 per cent of the neighborhood around it was Negro. But the board invited all the white pupils and all the white teachers to move out first. And they did move out."

ACTIONS LIKE THIS have caused school enrollments in several major cities to become heavily or even predominantly Negro in recent years, he said. In Atlanta, the Negro school population has doubled since the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision, he said, while the white population has increased only slightly, giving whites and Negroes an almost equal number today. Only 1,100 of the city's 59,000 Negro students are integrated now into formally white schools, he said.

"The fact still remains that about twice as many Negroes are being educated now in all-Negro schools as 10 years ago. Twice as many are suffering all the pains of segregation."

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Remarks on William I. Taylor's
Presentation,
"An Appraisal of the Strategies
of Protest,"
National Conference on Social Welfare,
Atlantic City, May 24, 1965

Leslie - Speeches, 1965

I heard Mr. Taylor deliver this paper, in its earlier form, last year, and I have since then had occasion to speak of it as the most valuable recent statement on this subject that I know of. I have, as Mr. Taylor knows, some quite substantial disagreements with it, but they have not deterred him from saying the same things again. So I have not persuaded him, and shall not attempt to persuade you. My reason for declining another debate with him is twofold: In the first place, my disagreements are essentially philosophical, and I hesitate to presume on the attention or time of social workers to discuss philosophy. In the second place, my agreements with Mr. Taylor are larger and more important than my disagreements.

His is a good analysis because it strikes against loose thinking and loose terminology. The term "civil disobedience" has become lately hardly more than a tag, a verbal hiccup, used interchangeably with a lot of other words, such as "demonstrations," "mass protests," "picketing," "sit-ins," etc. Mr. Taylor has told us clearly what is the truth, that much of the civil rights direct action movement has been an appeal for the protection of the law or a use of the law's privileges, and not a disobedience of the law.

The idea of civil disobedience is an old one, going back at least to the Biblical account of the refusal of Daniel and his friends to bow down to Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol, and to Sophocles' great play, Antigone. In the later, patient working out of western ethics, the idea secured the sanction of natural law, and became part of the moral tradition of western civilization. I see no point in arguing again or anew the case for it. Few if any of us would deny that there is a moral right and, in some cases, a moral duty to disobey morally vicious laws, at least when they issue from illegitimate governments. I think it is safe to say that an ultimate right of civil disobedience is part of the moral consensus of western civilization, recognized by all its great religions.

At the same time, that moral consensus and those religions have instructed us not to engage in civil disobedience lightly, without urgent cause. So I think we should not talk lightly or loosely about the subject, and Mr. Taylor's paper is good for us because it says to many of us, stop your loose talk. It says to us that we should not indulge in the conceit of believing and asserting that we act on a great and hallowed moral principle when in fact what we are doing is something quite different. Most of the so-called civil disobedience of the last few years has been simply a use of one kind of power against other kinds of power.

But something has been taking place these late years which has been different, and which is not, I think, fairly captured by Mr. Taylor's analysis. We are all greatly dependent on the lawyers to guide us, to keep us out of trouble and get us out of trouble, and, in America at least, to govern us. But we need not necessarily concede to the lawyers the right to describe our world and its values for us.

The old moral principle of civil disobedience is very hard to track down in the complexities of American law, with its federal system and its doctrines of judicial review. But it is not hard to track down the fact that during the past decade thousands of individuals have offered themselves for arrest, imprisonment, and punishment, and have done so undertain of their personal fates or the law's outcome. They have, in short, been willing to suffer, and many, many of them have suffered. They have thought of themselves as civilly disobedient, and if the lawyers wish and will later came along and say that they were not disobedimnt, that is nice, but somewhat after the fact.

I think that what we have seen in the direct action movement has been an appeal not to the moral conscience of the nation, but to its political principles. I think we have seen the development of mass protest as a method of political change. I think we have been told that for many Americans the established processes of political change are considered worthless. I think that many people besides Negroes have received the message, and that direct action demonstration and protest has become a part of American political life, at least for the present and immediate future. I think that from the University of California to Westchester County highway construction to New York City

tennis courts, the message has been picked up.

We need to ponder this. We need to recognize that the legal and political institutions we have so proudly built up do not work satisfyingly for many people in many situations. We need to ask why, and while we are looking for an answer, we need sympathetically to concede that those who make their protests in novel and even radical form may be laying the groundwork for a new and better democracy.

I am asked by your program committee to speak to you on the "Changing South." Change is a fact of all life, and we accept it as such. If we remark on it at all, it is only because, being passengers on the train of chain, it is necessary that we know, or try to know, when we are headed. America changes, the world changes, civilization changes — & yet here we are, talking again about the changing South against the unstated assumption that ~~for the South~~ change is foreign to the South. How many speeches & articles have you heard or read over the years on the topic of the changing South, or the New South, & have they not usually betrayed some doubt that the old will ~~go~~ yield to the new?

Well, change is a fact in the South & has always been, from the day after the day settlers first landed in Virginia. In the lifetime of many of us here the South has changed dramatically. It was changed by World War I, by the boll weevil, by

the New Deal, by World War II. James Reston wrote not long ago that the enormous expenditures we are investing in space exploration was not likely to change the moon, but it would change the South. That's really a very big thought, + a true one. It may be an expensive method, but throw billions of dollars going into space installations in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, and the southern Texas, bringing with them ~~the~~ numerous cadres of scientists, engineers, managers, will radically affect southern life. The South has always been changing. The big news of our time, bigger even than the space ~~for~~ ~~not~~ program, is that for the first time in our history the South is being changed not by outside forces acting on us, but by human leadership from within.

I refer, of course, primarily to the Negro Southerners who are leading this region + this nation to a new democracy. I suspect historians of the future ~~looking~~ may well conclude that given the

circumstances of southern life our ~~great~~ grandfathers & our fathers, ~~could not~~ being human, could not realistically have been expected to give justice to their Negro neighbors. ~~What was needed~~ I suspect the future historian will conclude that ~~what~~ there had to be an organized Negro demand for it; right before the stone right would be acknowledged & respected. We tend to treat people as they expect to be treated. ~~B~~ The big change of our time is that Negro American will no longer & do no longer have low expectations.

By ~~referring~~ mentioning the space program I alluded to one of the fundamental forces fostering & directing southern change in our time: the nexus of forces we call industrialization & urbanization. By speaking of Negro leadership I was pointing to an even more fundamental force, & that is the power of the human aspiration for freedom. This has produced also another great momentum. The two largest

reform of our generation are the civil rights movement & the drive for fair & equal legislative representation. Both came out of the South. In the days of Jefferson & Madison, the great democratic ideas shaping our Constitution came from the South. In our day, the movements that are perfecting that Constitution came also from the South. Mal-apportioned legislatures & scandalously unjust Congressional districts were a national disgrace; but it was ~~the~~ white southern plaintiffs, represented by white southern lawyers, appearing before federal judges who were themselves white Southerners, who forged the legal victories that are bringing fairness & justice & a chance for national decision making to our politics.

Civil rights & reapportionment — these are the unique & matching ~~glories~~ political & ethical achievements of our day. This is change of the South, by human beings, in the interest of human beings.

The changing South. Changing from what? From magnolias? From poverty? From a land of

neighbors, relapsed people? From oppression & discrimination & segregation & brutality? From a seedbed of responsible statesmen? From a land of demagogues? From deep religiosity? From the raucous claptrap of tent-show preachers? From the special profundity of a Faulkner or a Flannery O'Connor? From the sterility & mediocrity of our universities?

or a James McBride Dabbs

Some kinds of change we can document & measure. They are important. For example,

(data)

Migration

(educational correlation)

Income

Education

All of these data address two conclusions, & both are important. First, significant economic & educational gaps still exist between the South & the rest of the nation. Second, the South is become an integral – an integrated – part of the national

economy & culture.

Other change too we can document.

Politics

good
bad

Civil rights

Yet this documented change does not answer the question really pressing us, & which will be answered only by how well we live within the new order of things. I suggest that what really interests us, or ought to interest us, ~~is not~~ are matters that lie beyond how much income or schooling or political power ~~to~~ we have, & even beyond how secure are our civil rights.

What we need to know is whether in the New South, & in the new America of the Great Society, ~~in~~ men will treat each other as ends, not means, will be valued by each other & by the larger society as

a ~~creature~~ being of ~~pre~~ treasured worth, each a unique & marvellous creation. We need to know whether, in the New South & the new America, science & art will be free. We need to know whether men will ~~care enough for the people~~ ~~have minds~~ ~~case~~ be great-hearted enough to care about the mystery of life & to guard lovingly for the divine work. We need to know whether the personal relationships of friend with friend, a man with a woman, of parent & child will be honored & nourished. We need, in short, to know whether the New South & the new America will be civilized.

You are the Catholic Church. By the burden & privilege of age you, perhaps, have the greatest responsibility, for you have been trying to civilize the western world ever since the ~~to~~ dark ages of barbarism. These things that truly matter are for you to defend & advance.

Because you are the Catholic Church, you

also have the wisdom, accumulated through long & often dreary centuries, to know that while men ~~seldom overcome their problem~~ are busy overcoming ~~some of~~ old problems they pile up new ones. Think on the automobile graveyard & the aluminum can. They make a stern symbol. ~~the~~ The nation ~~to~~ seem suddenly to have become aware that automobile junk yards along our highways are ugly, & we want to clean them up. That's good. But at the same time, comes the aluminum can, holding our beer & our soft drink. We'll scatter them everywhere — & they won't rust away. Years from now, they'll still glitter in our parks, litter our roadsides, clog up our lakes & streams. Thousands of them, & even more thousands. Fifty years from now, little children will cut their feet on the non-rusting, ~~tab~~ sharp little tabs that you pull & throw away today from the can of beverage that you shake your thirst with.

We are in the process of obliterating the junk yards of segregation, but the ~~aluminum~~ hard-to-get-rid-of aluminum cans of prejudice & social insulation ~~de facto~~ ~~sys~~ are descending on us. We shall have to get busy with them.

Housing

Education

Employment
Crime
Home life

One of the really grand instruments of progress in civil rights has been the press & the other ~~to~~ media — TV & radio. They are not being helpful today, Lowena. The media did a necessary thing for this country in the ten years between 1954-64. They made us confront the violence & brutality ~~that~~ epitomized the South, made us ashamed & horrified. ~~&~~ The ~~press is now~~ media ~~is~~ is now a broken record, ~~&~~ hung on ~~violence~~ the junk yards of violence. It is keeping our attention &

its own so riveted on violence, that we are ~~letting~~ hardly even begun to focus attention on today's & tomorrow's problems.

Migration

Out - and in - both high

net out - low (for Negroes, higher)

education

lose white young, gain white over 35

lose Negro

Income

1964 - Florida $2,280 per cap

- U. S. $2,550

1930 - Florida $ 464

- U. S. $ 624

1964 differential - $ 270

1930 - $ 160

1930 - $1.00 - $1.35

1964 - $1.00 - $1.12

Education

	1940		1960	
	Fla.	Miss.	Fla.	Miss.
W	9.3	8.9	11.6	11.0
N.	5.2	4.7	7.0	6.0
T.	8.6	7.2	10.9	8.9

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Perhaps the clearest indication of an end to narrow sectionalism is found in the selection of university presidents. Within the past five years each of the five major private universities in the South has appointed a new President: Rice a distinguished chemist (the youngest member of the National Academy of Sciences at the time of his election) from Berkeley; Tulane a scientist from the University of Illinois; Duke a humanist from Lawrence College; Vanderbilt a political scientist from Chapel Hill -- the only Southerner among the five -- who was also being sought by a major Northern university. Each has brought national prestige to his institution, and has set a new pattern which the public universities might well emulate.

* * * * * * * * * *

The region cannot as yet boast of a single outstanding institution on the national scene. It has a fair share of good universities, but perhaps more than its share of poor ones.

(Both quotations from Allan M. Cartter in Southern Economic Journal, July 1965.)

* * * * * * * *

We could carve out a region that would consist of the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Nebraska, Kansas, Arizona, and New Mexico and that in this region we would find very few institutions like Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Texas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, or Virginia.

(Howard G. Schaller, op. cit.)

PAGE (s) MISSING

Housing

Education

Employment

Crime

Home Life

One of the really grand instruments of progress in civil rights has been the press and the other media -- TV and radio. They are not being helpful today, however. The media did a necessary thing for this country, in the ten years between 1954 - 1964. They made us confront the violence and brutality that existed in the South, made us ashamed and horrified. The media is now a broken record, with a fixation on the junk yards of violence. It is keeping our attention and its own so rivetted on violence, so that we are hardly even begun to focus attention on today's and tomorrow's problems.

Bogalusa is a nightmare, but in the Summer of 1965 a bigger story is Operation Headstart. Governor Wallace of Alabama is a wicked man, but he has less power and influence in his own state than the nameless officials sitting behind desks at the U. S. Office of Education, processing school desegregation plans. The Ku Klux Klan is a growing danger, but is doing less today to direct southern change than are the magnificent projects of Negro self-help springing up everywhere, such as Continuing Academic-Cultural Enrichment Program in St. Petersburg, the Southern Consumers Co-Op around Lafayette (La.), the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, and the Vine City Project here in Atlanta.

PAGE (s) MISSING

The Negro leadership that has re-made the South's spirit still surges. Negroes have looked after the white folks of the South for generations, and now they have finally brought ~~in~~ to adult-hood. Negro and white alike, over the South today men are confronting their problems. I believe that the South, which out of the agony of its spirit gave this country great literature in the 30's and 40's and 50's, will now, out of the release of its spirit, give an equally great example of political and social leadership.

Delivered ~~before~~ at Opening Session - Nat'l Catholic Conf for International Justice

DRAFT

Meeting at Hilton Inn, Atlanta, Ga - July 29, 1965

I am asked by your program committee to speak to you on ~~on~~ the "Changing South." Change is a fact of all life, and we accept it as such. If we remark on it at all, it is only because, being passengers on the train of ~~chain,~~ change it is necessary that we know, or try to know, where we are headed. America changes, the world changes, civilization changes -- and yet here we are, talking again about the changing South, against the unstated assumption that change is foreign to the South. How many speeches and articles have you heard and read over the years on the topic of the changing South, or the New South, and have they not usually betrayed some doubt that the old will yield to the new?

Well, change is a fact in the South and has always been, from the day after the day settlers first landed in Virginia. In the life times of many of us here, the South has changed dramatically. It was changed by World War I, by the boll weevil, by the New Deal, by World War II. James Reston wrote not ~~a~~ ~~a~~ long ~~time~~ ago that the enormous expenditure we are investing in space exploration was not likely to change the moon, but it would change the South. That's really a very big thought, and a true one. It may be an expensive method, but those billions of dollars going into space installations in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, not to mention Texas, bringing with them numerous cadres of scientists, engineers, managers, will radically affect southern life. The South has always been changing. The big news of our time, bigger even than the space program, is that for the first time in our

freedom bodily harm must get treated

* legislation Cong + State
* tokenism - attitudes (majority groups)
* poverty program - better that one were

history the South is being changed not by outside forces acting on us, but by human leadership from within.

I refer, of course, primarily to the Negro Southerners who are leading this region and this nation to a new democracy. I suspect historians of the future may well conclude that given the circumstances of southern life our grandfathers and our fathers, being human, could not realistically have been expected to give justice to their Negro neighbors. I suspect the future historians will conclude that there had to be an organized Negro demand for their rights before those rights would be acknowledged and respected. We tend to treat people as they expect to be treated. The big change of our time is that Negro Americans will no longer and do no longer have low expectations.

By mentioning the space program I alluded to one of the fundamental forces furthering and directing southern change in our time: the nexus of forces we call industrialization and urbanization. By speaking of Negro leadership I was pointing to an even more fundamental force, and that is the power of the human aspiration for freedom. This has produced also another great momentum. The two largest reforms of our generation are the civil rights movement and the drive for fair and equal legislative representation. Both came out of the South. In the days of Jefferson and Madison, the

great ~~democratic~~ liberal ideas shaping our Constitution came from the South. In our day, the movements that are perfecting that Constitution came also from the South. Mal-apportioned legislatures and scandalously injust Congressional districts were a national disgrace; but it was white southern plaintiffs, represented by white southern lawyers, appearing before federal judges who were themselves white Southerners, who forged the legal victories that are bringing fairness and justice and a chance for rational decision-making to our politics. Civil rights and re-apportionment -- these are the unique and matching political and ethical achievements of our day. This is change of the South, by human beings, in the interest of human beings.

The changing South. Changing from what? From magnolias? From poverty? From a land of neighborly, relaxed people? From oppression and discrimination and segregation and brutality? From a seedbed of responsible statesmen? From a land of demagogues? From deep religiosity? From the ~~manseous~~ NAU claptrap of tent-show preachers? From the special profundity of a Faulkner or a Flannery O'Connor or a James McBride Dabbs? From the sterility and mediocrity of our universities?

Some kinds of change we can document and measure. They are important. For example,

Migration (data)
(educational correlation)

Income

Education

Migration

Out - and in - both high

net out - low (for Negroes, higher)

education

lose white young, gain white over 35

lose Negro

Income

1964 - Florida $2,280 per cap

- U. S. $2,550

1930 - Florida $ 464

- U. S. $ 624

1964 differential - $ 270

1930 - $ 160

1930 - $1.00 - $1.35

1964 - $1.00 - $1.12

Education

	1940		1960	
	Fla.	Miss.	Fla.	Miss.
W	9.3	8.9	11.6	11.0
N.	5.2	4.7	7.0	6.0
T.	8.6	7.2	10.9	8.9

Perhaps the clearest indication of an end to narrow sectionalism is found in the selection of university presidents. Within the past five years each of the five major private universities in the South has appointed a new President: Rice a distinguished chemist (the youngest member of the National Academy of Sciences at the time of his election) from Berkeley; Emory a botanist who was previously Provost at Cornell University; Tulane a scientist from the University of Illinois; Duke a humanist from Lawrence College; Vanderbilt a political scientist from Chapel Hill -- the only Southerner among the five -- who was also being sought by a major Northern university. Each has brought national prestige to his institution, and has set a new pattern which the public universities might well emulate.

Emory

* * * * * * * * *

/T/he region cannot as yet boast of a single outstanding institution on the national scene. It has a fair share of good universities, but perhaps more than its share of poor ones.

(Both quotations from Allan M. Cartter in Southern Economic Journal, July 1965.)

* * * * * * * *

/W/e could carve out a region that would consist of the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Nebraska, Kansas, Arizona, and New Mexico and ~~that~~ in this region we would find very few institutions like Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Texas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, or Virginia.

(Howard G. Schaller, op. cit.)

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All of these data add up to two conclusions, and both are important. First, significant economic and educational gaps still exist between the South and the rest of the nation. Second, the South is become an integral -- an integrated -- part of the national economy and culture.

~~Other&change~~ insert 4B

Other changes too we can document.

Politics

good
bad

Civil rights

Yet this documented change does not answer the questions really pressing us, and which will be answered only by how well we live within the new order of things. I suggest that what really interests us, or ought to interest us, are matters that lie beyond how much income or schooling or political power we have, and even beyond how secure are our civil rights.

What we need to know is whether, in the New South, and in the new America of the Great Society, men will treat each other as ends, not means, will be valued by each other and by the larger society as beings of treasured worth, each a unique and marvellous creation. We need to know whether, in the New South, and the New America, science and art will be free. We need to know whether men will be great-hearted enough to care about the mystery of life and to quest lovingly for its divine roots. We need to know whether the personal

relationships of friend with friend, a man with a woman, of parent and child, will be honored and nourished. We need, in short, to know whether the New South and the new America will be civilized.

You are the Catholic Church. By the burdens and privileges of age you, perhaps, have the greatest responsibility, for you have been trying to civilize the western world ever since the dark ages of barbarism. These things that truly matter are for you to defend and advance.

Because you are the Catholic Church, you also have the wisdom, accumulated through long and often dreary centuries, to know that while men are busy overcoming old problems they pile up new ones. Think on the automobile graveyard and the aluminum can; they make a stern symbol. The nation seems suddenly to have become aware that automobile junk yards along our highways are ugly, and we want to clean them up. That is good. But at the same time, comes the aluminum cans, holding our beer and our soft drink. We'll scatter them everywhere -- and they won't rust away. Years from now, they'll still glisten in our parks, litter our roadsides, clog up our lakes and streams.

Thousands of them, and even more thousands. Fifty years from now, little children will cut their feet on the non-rusting, sharp little tab that you pull off and threw away today from the can of beverage that you slake your thirst with.

We are in the process of obliterating the junk yards of segregation, but the hard-to-get-rid-of aluminum cans of prejudice and social insulation are descending on us. We shall have to get busy with them.

Atlanta Schools

1961

48,963 in all-Negro

1964

55,265 in all-Negro

1,140 desegregated

1961 white - 59,319

1964 white - 59,311

Miami

1964 - 36,000 in all-Negro

- 5-6,000 more than 1959

5,000 approximately desegregated

Housing

Education

Employment

Crime

Home Life

One of the really grand instruments of progress in civil rights has been the press and the other media -- TV and radio. They are not being helpful today, however. The media did a necessary thing for this country, in the ten years between 1954 - 1964. They made us confront the violence and brutality that existed in the South, made us ashamed and horrified. The media is now a broken record, with a fixation on the junk yards of violence. It is keeping our attention and its own riveted on violence, so that we are hardly even begun to focus attention on today's and tomorrow's problems.

Do not, please, misunderstand me. I am calling neither on the press nor the country to ignore and overlook violence that springs from racial hate and oppression. This has to be eradicated. I am, on the other hand, trying to say that the question facing this region is no longer whether the civil rights of Negroes will be recognized, because it is now certain that, though rough days are still ahead, they will be. The question we have to answer now, answer by our deeds, is what difference it will make, what in the way of a better life we will have achieved by all this struggle. And though there is much to cause us worry, and some of it I have

already referred to, I prefer to end this talk by noting signs that are genuinely hopeful.

Bogalusa is a nightmare, but in the Summer of 1965 a bigger story is Operation Headstart, and whether it's being done well. Governor Wallace of Alabama is a wicked man, but he has less power and influence in his own state than the nameless officials sitting behind desks at the U. S. Office of Education, processing school desegregation plans.* The Ku Klux Klan is a growing danger, but is doing less today to direct southern change than are the magnificent projects of Negro self-help springing up everywhere, such as the Continuing Academic-Cultural Enrichment Program in St. Petersburg, the Southern Consumers Co-Op around Lafayette (La.), the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, and the Vine City Project here in Atlanta.

The Negro leadership that has re-made the South's spirit still surges. Negroes have looked after the white folks of the South for generations, and now they have finally brought us to adult-hood. Negro and white alike, over the South today men are confronting their problems. I believe that the South, which out of the agony of its spirit gave this country great literature in the 30's and 40's and 50's, will now, out of the release of its spirit, give an equally great example of political and social leadership.

*Baker County (Ga.) is a foul + stinking sore on the Christian community, + so are the dozens of counties like it throughout the South's Black Belt. + but if Governor Sanders has neglected to take his responsibility to defend the public peace + the rights of the people,

over

be along with other recent Southern governors, such as Sanford of N.C., ~~Russell of S.C.,~~ have held their states ~~in mighty education~~ having the kind of expressing toward ~~better~~ public education that promises to ~~[illegible]~~ pacify the Baker counties.

file
— LWD
Articles & Speeches
- gen.

This collection of his writings and speeches is presented to Leslie W. Dunbar by his staff at the Southern Regional Council with deep appreciation for his friendship and lasting gratitude for his leadership.

Atlanta, Georgia

September 30, 1965

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Presented: Mar. 17 - Daytona Beach, Fla.
"Open Forum"

THE SOUTH AT POLITICAL CROSSROADS

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Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "fourscore and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If we, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, look back four score and seven years, we confront a far less happy and auspicious event. Our gaze would be on 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. The contest was to be settled in favor of Hayes. He became the nation's President after deals were made and compromises reached that have affected American life to this day. One of those deals, and a basic one, was that federal troops would be at last withdrawn from the South, and Reconstruction ended. For the next 70 years or so, the white South would be left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had, thus, freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution -- the 14th and 15th -- which for the next 70

years after 1976 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desparate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

And we are still, the South. We are still the one region of the country which looks upon itself as distinct, as different, as a sort of sub-nation within the republic. We have defined "The South" in terms of its differences from the rest. Neither we nor our northern and western friends have given as much thought or interest to those qualities and forces which unite us.

We have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. It was -- and still largely is -- a white man's society. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Our society has been moreover, one which places a very high value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population has moved into cities, the rural districts have kept political power. And North, and South, East and West, we all believed

that <u>any</u> man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, have been the stuff of which were made old <u>Saturday Evening Post</u> covers, or the primers we had when we were in the first grade. What we have called the "American dream" has been a priceless fabric of political ideals and humane values. But when we have contemplated the "dream" we have tended, I think, to see it as the blessing and special heritage of strong, Anglo-Saxon men and women, living close to earth and neighbors, getting ahead in life through the benefits of their own work and the benevolence of a just Protestant God.

I am not drawing here a profile of America intended to be unpleasant. To many of us, it is still an appealing picture, because few indeed are the persons who can forget what they early came to believe was cleanest and most honorable and most good.

1876 was a turning point for the South. I believe that we are now at another, though not so sharp, and one which we shall not pass for perhaps several years yet.

I believe, further, that this crossroads where we now are is crucial beyond parallel because what is at issue here is not only our differences from the rest of the nation, but these qualities and forces which have in the past united us. I shall

try to make this as clear as I can during the next pages, but let me first state my proposition simply. It is this: the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from our traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us. I believe we are overcoming this crisis with some success. All the more is it urgent that we know what it is, and where we are heading.

I would like to call your attention to five landmark dates. They illustrate changes which are occurring in American society. Although these changes affect the whole nation, they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody -- Arthur Koestler, I think -- once spoke of the Jews as humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most shapply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes I feel that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or, at least, most apparent, here.

First of the landmarks is 1944, and the Supreme Court decision in the case of Smith v. Allwright. This was the decision which outlawed the white primary in the South and which, thereby, ended the last legal bar to Negro voting. Change has not been rapid. There was a spurt of registration which lasted until 1952 when the Negro vote in the eleven states of the South reached about 1,200,000. Since then there has been only a slow increase. The Negro vote in the South today is

probably less than 1,500,000, which is only about one-fourth of the eligible number. The vote will grow, however, and is already a potent factor in the politics of a number of southern cities, and has recently become of state-wide importance in a couple southern states. Nationally, and especially since the presidential election of 1948, the power of Negro voting has grown and may well have been the decisive factor in the outcome of the last presidential election.

From 1944, therefore, we can date a profound development. White men no longer have a monopoly of the power to make political decisions. The monopoly is broken, and we shall see, for some years, a continuous spread of political influence across the country to nonwhites.

The second landmark is 1954, and the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Topeka. Again, progress has been slow and, I think, cruelly and stupidly slow. More than eight years after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision there are only about 12,200 Negro children in schools with whites in the old South. This figure doesn't mean much, however, because about 6,700 of these are Texas children, and most of those are living in west Texas -- which is hardly "South." If you subtract these, you have left only 5,500 or so Negro children now attending school with whites all over the South. Even this figure doesn't mean much. For example, in Tennessee there are

1,800-odd Negroes attending schools with white children; however, nearly one-third of these are in one school in Nashville with one white child and one Chinese child. The same inflation of figures occurs in Florida.

Nevertheless, school desegregation is moving, and will undoubtedly pick up momentum. Most interestingly, the controversy has moved to the North and West where in any number of cities and towns Negroes are pressing for school integration. This is an interesting example of what I said earlier. The school desegregation controversy has not concentrated solely on a difference between the South and the rest of the nation. It has, instead, exposed the fact that although the South has done it one way, and the North has done it another way, both have been united in the practical segregation of Negroes.

I think we need to recognize that the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 meant, for the long run, more than the desegregation of public schools. Its deeper meaning was that henceforth the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race. Those of us who are white have tended, I am afraid, to think of civic institutions as belonging to us. It is "our" schools, "our" church (not God's, but "ours"), "our" parks, "our" neighborhood swimming pool, "our" theatres. We have even thought of

it as "our" government, and well we might, because the very term "republic," Cicero taught us, means the public's property. Now we must be learning that the "public" includes all of us, white and nonwhite, and that all together own and are to enjoy the republic and what it has created.

The third landmark date is 1960 and the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States. For the first time, someone other than a Protestant received the nation's highest office. The symbolic importance of this election was, in its way, comparable to the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. The election confirmed the fact that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the highest decisions for this country.

The controversy now raging about the Supreme Court regarding religion in the schools has a similar meaning. It happens that I have, personally, some doubts about the wisdom of the federal courts stepping into this field. But I think we Protestants must candidly recognize that the religious exercises that have been held in the public schools of this nation over many generations have, for the most part, been Protestant exercises. We must also recognize that this is not a Protestant country in present fact, and that if we seek to have persons who are of other faiths or of no faith at all conform to our sense of worshipful proprieties, we are acting

the part of oppressors.

The fourth landmark is 1962, and again a decision of the Supreme Court, this one in the case of Baker v. Carr. In that case, the Supreme Court ruled that when the apportionment of legislative seats in a state is grossly unfair, the federal courts can give relief. I don't believe we have yet begun to realize the enormous importance of this decision. In contrast to the slow pace of desegregation, we have seen already Alabama, Florida, and Georgia move toward more democratic representation. Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia all have the issue before them.

Throughout our history, but most especially during the last few decades, rural people have had an unfairly large measure of political power. State legislatures all over the country have been biased in favor of rural districts. So, too, is Congress. Long after economic power moved from agriculture, and along after the majority of our people moved to the cities, the rural sections retained what has almost amounted to political dominance. In the South, it has been dominance. The politics of most southern states is still today, and it has been since the early 19th century, controlled by the Black Belt -- that region where once cotton was king. Predictions are always risky, but I think it is probable that during the next few years there will be a profound transformation in American politics, and that urban thinking and urban men will play a much bigger part.

My fifth and final landmark is 1940. This was the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. In 1940, after seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment shot up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really shot up - to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been very little improvement since, and President Kennedy, just a week ago, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%. I might add that many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.

Now I am not an economist, but there are some facts so obvious that we do not have to be economists to recognize them. Neither the policies of Republic nor Democratic administrations have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Our unemployment is high despite the fact that our government is boosting the economy with huge expenditures for armaments

and for space exploration; without those expenditures would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940? A basic complication certainly must be the spread of automation and technological improvement throughout American agriculture and industry, displacing human beings by machines and electronic devices.

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has so often happened in the past, Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of history itself. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to that time American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration nearly cut off since the first World War, industry has met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including the farms of the South. There are still on the farms and in the small towns of the South white women and men who are available for industrial employment; but the bottom of the barrel is in sight. The only remaining large supply of under-used labor and skills in the United States is our Negro population, and the tragic irony is that at this time when Negroes, always the last hired, are finally, next in line, the job market is declining.

I do not see how anyone can, in the face of these facts and figures, continue to believe that America is for everyone a land of opportunity where <u>any</u> man can get ahead by dint of

his own hard work. If we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that from some six to seven percent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs; and that this is the predicament of these persons and their families even though there is general prosperity in the country.

These five landmarks mean, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in these United States. The price of that democracy will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union -- which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership -- can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf, if we allow the division to continue.

To put it differently, the policies which Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina still are advocating would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and other like-minded areas from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become aliens in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

There is no need for me to repeat the old familiar tale of the South's economic and educational shortcomings. They are too well known. The most worrisome aspect is that the South's position is not clearly improving. Two critical measurements are, for example, personal income and years of school completed. In 1950, the median number of years of school completed by Americans over 24 years of age was 9.3; by 1960, this had advanced to 10.6, a gain of 1.3 grade. In the South during the 1950's we made a tremendous effort to improve education. Yet only one southern state -- Virginia -- had a larger gain than the national (8.5 - 10.9). In 1950, two southern states -- Florida and Texas -- were above the national median; in 1960, there was only Florida. We had, in short, fallen farther behind.

Similarly with income. Per capita income in the United States in 1950 was $1,491; in 1960 it was $2,223, an increase of 49%. The percentage increase in southern states was generally greater than this, but the dollar gap widened -- and people spend dollars, not percentage points. To illustrate, in 1950 the highest per capita income in the South was in Texas: $1,339, or $152 less per person than the national average. In 1960, Florida had become the southern leader, with a per capita income of $1,988; but this was $235 less than the national average.

Now there is nothing particularly wrong about being below average. After all, whenever you have averages someone has to be below -- and I would, personally, just as soon live in a region where the pace is a bit more leisurely. What would be disastrous, however, would be for the South to isolate itself from national movements with the inevitable result that it would fall farther and farther behind. I have already mentioned that I think that this was real danger with which we were threatened, when all over this region state governments and state politicians preached the gospel of massive resistance. That is still gospel in large areas of the South, and for the people of those areas the prospects are, it seems to me, gloomy indeed.

But I would like to add also another thought. The South has generally, during the last couple decades, moved more and faster than it ever has before toward economic integration with the rest of the country. Politically, we have moved farther apart, and this is true still even in areas such as Florida, which no longer adheresto the pure doctrine of massive resistance. I think we have tended to forget that only a few years back southern Congressmen worked not only <u>in</u>, but <u>with</u> the national Democratic Party. For example, Senator Byrnes of South Carolina was one of President Roosevelt's principal Congressional captains, Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was a

faithful supporter of the New Deal, Alabama's Hill and Sparkman were noted for their economic liberalism, and Florida sent Claude Pepper to the Senate.

I want it clearly understood that I am not implying praise for these men because they were liberals. In fact, whether the South is liberal or conservative, Democratic or Republican, does not seem to me to be the main question. The really critical question is, "Will we end or continue our political isolation?" And I think this is the crossroads where we are now.

One fork in the road which faces us leads toward perpetuating, here in the South, a politics which is not really anything except a politics of opposition, based on a crude and defeatist belief that the South must defend itself against the invader -- even if the invader be the spirit of democracy, and even if the invader be the religious spirit of brotherhood. The other fork of the road leads us toward union with the political and intellectual life of the country as a whole.

Southern oppositionism, in its modern form, dates back, I think, to 1947 when President Truman appointed his civil rights committee, and subsequently espoused its recommendations. From this time on, Democratic politicians from the South have retreated from the Democratic Party, and step by step have come

to oppose virtually everything for which the national Democratic Party stands. At the very time that the South was moving economically toward the rest of the nation, the South politically has been pulling away.

There are some developments in the South today which make me very pessimistic as to where we shall come out. There are some other developments which warrant optimism. I want to conclude by mentioning, briefly, what these are.

On the pessimistic side, whether we are Republicans or Democrats, I think we need to be thoughtfully concerned about the deterioration of southern statesmanship. One of the Congressmen from Georgia a few weeks ago announced his opposition to President Kennedy's tax reduction proposals. That was all right. What was not all right was the reason he gave. He said that everything in his experience, as a small-town businessman, taught him that we should not cut taxes at this time. I submit to you that we cannot delude ourselves into believing that the experience of a small-town businessman is the criterion by which grand issues of the national economy can be tested. And, as I suggested earlier, the South used to know better. We did, after all, send to Washington men such as Glass of Virginia, and Bankhead of Alabama who, for all their ingrained conservatism, knew that the public's business was a job for statesmen. Yet it

seems to me that today all over the South we are forcing on our politicians the sort of instinctive defense of the most simple ideas of a non-existent and never-was laissez-faire capitalism which, in an earlier generation, was associated with Congressmen from the mid-West, and not from the politically sophisticated South.

Secondly, I think we have to be concerned, though perhaps not as much as a few years back, by the social nervousness which gripped the South after 1954. The South, let me remind you, was the one region of the country which never took Senator McCarthy very seriously. Shortly after the rest of the country got over its McCarthyite binge, we started. The uneasiness which came from the racial crisis infected us generally, and we have had our period of investigating committees, hunts for Communism, purging of textbooks, and other such activities. I believe that as the racial controversy quiets, this social nervousness will also end, but we still have it with us.

A third cause of concern is more troublesome. One of the authentic southern traditions was a deep concern with the foreign relations of the United States, and a regional commitment to the idea that the United States must play a wise and leading role in international affairs. One particular aspect of this tradition was that we were, as a region, dedicated almost religiously to the idea of low tariffs and virtually free trade. I think we need to be profoundly worried over the fast withdrawal

of southern politicians, and other civic leaders, toward isolationism and away from the principles of free trade.

But there are currents of optimism too. First, there is the improved racial climate. I would have said "greatly improved" racial climate, except that I would not want anyone to infer that we have more than just begun to overcome this most ancient of the South's problems. In fact, we need to prepare ourselves for greater and more intense pressure from Negro Southerners for full civic rights -- and we should welcome it. As with any group of deprived people, every gain enlarges the desire for more gain, and increases impatience.

But the greatest asset the South has today is, I think, that we are making progress on this question.

Secondly, I think we shall derive great benefit in the South from re-apportionment. Our most critical problems in the next decades will be urban. We shall be far better able to cope with them when urban thinking is fairly represented in our legislatures and in our Congressional delegations.

And finally, on the side of optimism is the emergence of a realistic two-party system in some of our states, with the prospect that a two-party system may spread to other states in the near future. It seems to me that the Republican Party is, in the South, growing in the right way; i.e., by draining conservatives from the Democratic Party. Analysis of the growth

of the Republican Party in Texas since 1956 clearly shows that its growth has been due to conservative Democrats deciding that their best interests lay in casting their lot with the Republican Party. I suspect that much the same is happening here in Florida, aided, of course, by the migration to Florida of many people who have brought their Republic politics with them. The Republican Party is growing in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and in various cities of other states such as Atlanta and Shreveport.

I am extremely doubtful that a one-party South could make the right turn at the crossroads of which I spoke before. A one-party South will be an oppositionist South. I believe that the growth of a two-party system, with southern Democrats truly allied to the national Democratic Party, and southern Republicans truly allied to the national Republican Party, is the best means for ending southern isolation.

And I would add that I believe that the only feasible way that we in the South can preserve what is good of southern traditions and southern manners, is to stop defending what is bad in southern traditions, and to give up oppositionism, and to cast our lot with the nation.

- END -

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I do not need to tell an assembly of college students that the question of whether disobedience to law is ever allowable is one of the oldest issues in our civilization's political and its intellectual history. You have encountered it in the Old Testament story of Shadrack, Meshack, and Abnedego, and their refusal to bow down before King Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol. You have met it again in Sophocles's great play, Antigone. You have, I trust, read and pondered the Crito, and sat beside Socrates as he debated whether an Athenian citizen could rightfully escape from the commander of his city. You have found the controversy in the heat of the politics and political theory of the late Middle Ages and of the Reformation period as well, when momentous problems of church-state relationship and religious toleration shook our Western culture. You have seen the old question posed anew by Abolitionists in their country prior to the Civil War, and given literary definition by Thoreau. You have come across it once more in the history of Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance against British rule in India. You have seen its shadow lie across the present day church-state conflicts in the Communist satellite countries. In short, whenever political power and moral values have crossed, and have found each other unyielding, the question of civil disobedience has come to the forefront. When it becomes hard fro men to know how to obey the Biblical order--Render unto Caesar all the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's--, when men come to think that they cannot

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obey God without disobeying Caesar, then they must re-examine their loyalty to the state.

It was inevitable that Negro Americans' fight for civil rights should, sooner or later, embroil them in the old dilemma. As long as Negroes fought through the courts or through the halls of legislatures, obedience to law was not questionned. When last Winter, the sit-in movement began, theire quickly emerged the ancient issue, the right of an individual to disobey the law. Negro youth have openly violated trespass and other laws, and have persisted in their violation; they have been convicted and have gone to jail. They have done this deliberately, because they believed the law to be unworthy.

The intellectual and spiritual mentor of these students has been, more than any other living persons, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. King has written:

> We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail, we will try to persuade with our acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.
>
> The way of nonviolence means a willingness to suffer and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail. If such is the case the resister must be willing to fill the jail houses of the South. It may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive.

Dr. King has recognized that civil disobedience will cause community

1. M. L. King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (Harper & Bros: N.Y.) 1958, p. 216. For an enlargement of this idea that civil disobedience is a form of persuasion, see the address by Harris Wofford, "Civil Disobedience," reproduced in mimeograph form by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

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discord, but he believes that as long as those who disobey do so non-violently that there will be built-in controls which will prevent mutual destruction.[2] He has derived the right to resist and to disobey from what he usually speaks of as the moral law of the universe. "I say obey the law when the law is right, when the law is just and when the law is in line with the moral law of the universe. When conscience tells someone that a law is unjust, then I think a righteous man has no alternative but to conscientiously disobey that law. ---The individual who disobeys the law in a loving spirit and accepts the consequences is dignifying the law."[3]

I believe no feeling person can fail in sympathy and admiration for the pluck and the vitality of these ideals, as they have been carried into practice by thousands of Negro (joined by a few white) students engaged in sit-ins or other protests. Dr. King has exposed himself to the law's punishment, as have other Negro adults in various southern places. Their magnificent surge of the human spirit thrusting outward for liberty, has attracted interest and respect throughout the world. But to applaud the students has meant giving approval to their practice of civil disobedience. We are a civilization too jealous of its dignity, too much aware of how necessary is respect for law, to give this approval lightly.

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2. M. L. King, Jr., "The Burning Truth in the South," The Progressive, May, 1960.
3. King, quoted by Claude Sitton, "Dr. King, Symbol of the Segregation Struggle," New York Times Magazine, January 22, 1961.

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That approval has been granted, however, and by a number of altogether staid organizations. Student associations also have, as one would expect and hope, been quick to support the sit-in movement. Several of these have discussed and passed resolutions regarding the propriety of disobedience. I talk to you, therefore, about a subject to which American students have already addressed themselves.

Among the organizations which have recently taken stands is the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., meeting last at in its 172nd General Assembly. The Presbyterians, as a body of believers whose faith was nurtured in controversies over the rights of conscience, acted appropriately. The resolution which they passed is thoughtful and complete; it raises most of the questions, and gives us a basis for thinking about them.

The resolution begins this way:

> Acknowledging that Christians have historically upheld the just authority of the state as being constituted by God for His own glory and the public good so long as the state has not commanded anything contrary to the law of God;

Here we have stated what I would assume is the orthodox Christian view: the state and its authority are ordained by God. There have been many references lately to Thoreau, and the thought seems to be that he is the intellectual father or grandfather of the idea of civil disobedience. I think this is questionable. On the whole, Thoreau regarded the state as a great nuisance, perhaps needful but certainly of no positive benefit. When he taught civil disobedience, he was simply exhorting his compatriots to refuse to tolerate the state when it became unbearably obnoxious. He had none of the profound respect for the state which is evidenced in the Presbyterian's

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statement. And yet the fact is that civil disobedience has, throughout Western history, been far oftener advocated and practiced by persons wedded to the orthodox view, than by those who, like Thoreau, have been contemptuous of the state. Moreover, Thoreau was neither a teacher of nor a believer in non-violence, and this makes it all the harder to understand why he has been adopted as a sort of patron of the sit-in movement.

We can note, therefore, that civil disobedience has historically been taught by the churches, which at the same time have taught that the state is an expression of God's will. The resolution of the Presbyterians goes on:

> Affirming that some laws and customs requiring racial discrimination are, in our judgment, such serious violations of the law of God as to justify peaceful and orderly disobedience or disregard of these laws;

~~I must confess that I don't~~

I must confess that I don't know what this means. Are there some violations of the law of God which are serious enough to justify violent disobedience? Is racial discrimination a lesser sort of immorality, against which only peaceful resistance is allowable? Or does the statement imply that peaceful disobedience is the only kind ever permissible, whatever the wrong may be? These are not mere quibbles, for they suggest some of the real--and unresolved--ideological questions of the sit-in movement. Always, Dr. King and some others have insisted that non-violence is more than a technique, more than a method of combatting a specific evil. "Non-violence is not," said the National Student Conference last April, "just a lack of violence but the requirement that one respect the dignity of all men and stand up for that dignity within himself. It is a movement

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of human beings against injustice." One theology student, writing in the Student Voice,[4] has said the sit-in movement will not be true to itself unless the participants see that they have a responsibility for all exploited and all exploiters everywhere. Not even the most practical minded men of men disputes the importance which the sit-ins have already attained. If the movement does spread the philosophy of non-violence as a way of life, it will indeed have been a giant among social movements.

But to return to the Presbyterian resolution:

> Believing that current student demonstrations against racial segregation, while in some cases conflicting with local laws or customs, seem to be consistent with our Christian heritage, the Federal Constitution, and the moral consensus of our nation;

I think this indicates the basic practical problem. Does the approval of civil disobedience extend to the federal Constitution, or doesn't it? Suppose the legality of the trespass laws which inhibit and and punish sit-ins is upheld by the Supreme Court? Will the students still disobey those laws, and will thier actions be approved? Dr. King was asked this question on a recent television program, and replied that the situation would be the same: that whatever the Supreme Court said, the moral law of the universe would have to be followed. But this raises the question of the right of segregationists to resist the Supreme Court's ruling that segregated public schools are discriminatory and unconstitutional. For nearly seven long years, we have called on the southern states to comply with the law, to bow to the Constitution. Should not the same obligation be urged on the Negro students?

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4. Brewster Queen, "Nonviolence and Vision," Student Voice, October 1960.

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These are, of course, hypothetical questions; the Supreme Court has not ruled, and when it does may decide in favor of the students' right to sit-in and otherwise demonstrate. Nevertheless, the questions are important because they inquire about the seriousness of the motives and the language of the leaders and participants of the movement. The Presbyterians happily find that Christianity, the Constitution and the moral consensus of the nations are all in agreement. I think this is what most of us, in our present society, like to assume. Are we really prepared for the possibility that Christianity and the Constitution, as interpreted by the Courts, may be on opposite sides; or, beyond that, that Christianity rightly understood may not be the same as the moral consensus of the nation?

After these statements of belief, the Presbyterians resolution concludes:

> The 172nd General Assembly
> - - -
> Assures students of our common cause with those who for the sake of conscience participate in such responsible non-violent demonstrations;
>
> Urges them to continue to recognize the dangers to the civil order enherent in conflict with established authority;

This is, I think, the sum of the matter. Here is the age-old Christian tension between loyalty to God and loyalty to the social order. Nothing more need have been said. Nor is it only a Christian tension, for it was present in Western civilization before the Gospels.

The idea of civil disobedience was born when men began to feel that they possessed and were possessed by souls to which they had to be true. From this realization came the theory which we call

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natural law, and came also the idea of the free, responsible individual and his natural rights. This has brought its hardships as well as its glories, its pains and burdens as well as its satisfactions. For if the old idea of the free, responsible individual means anything, it means this: that each of us, every day, when confronted by the commands of the law, asks "will I" or "won't I" obey. It is a daily plebescite . This is an awful weight, a crushing responsibility if we take it seriously. And we have seen men flee from that responsibility, seek escape from that freedom, yearn desperately to give it up, and to find security in the comfortable, protective embrace of a social and political order which fashions all one's values.

Nor is there any aid for the individual. There are no doctrines which justify civil disobedience. If there were, we would have a contradiction in terms. For the responsibility is solely the individual's, and the only authority to which he can turn is his own conscience.

I cannot, therefore, justify the acts of southern students in disobeying the law, for I think no man can. I think no man can, for even to attempt to do so is an invasion of the autonomy of the individual, who himself has the choice to make. ~~If~~ It is he who must undergo the tension, weighing in the scales the legitimate claims of the social order and the directives of his own conscience. All that another can do is give material aid and comradely comfort.

I read recently a poem, brief and anonymous, which I would like to speak to you:

For no man escapes
When freedom fails,
The best of men rot
In filthy jails;
And they who cried
"Appease, Appease"
Are hanged by men
They tried to please.

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This much one man can say to another. If he cannot advise him when to obey and when not to obey the law, if he cannot even endorse his decision when it is acted on, he can at least say to him this: The civilization that we have and enjoy and boast of with its freedom, its gentleness, its richness of knowledge, rests on the shoulders of an amazingly few individuals who, in their time, saw what there was to do and chose to do it. That when freedom fails, no man does escape. That those of us who live today in freedom do so because some men--some few men--have interposed their lives and their security for the rest of us, and have been the atonement of humanity.

Finally, I would like to tell you that I came across the little poem which I recited a few minutes ago in the monthly newspaper of the Citizens Council,[5] which some of you I am sure know of as the organization of white southerners dedicated to fight against racial equality. In reading it to you, I meant not to be either cute or critical. I like what the poem says, even if my adversary writes it. Indeed, I like it all the better on that account. We ought never to forget that political controversies take place among human beings--on both sides. I think we need to do more than love the souls of our enemies. This is not so hard. More difficult is it to respect our enemies, and yet that is what we need to do. I believe with Camus that we are not free to judge. We need to accept our brothers, even though to do so is harder than to love them, or to be their keepers. If a man resists what other men want, if he even go

5. Citizens Council, September 1960

so far as to disobey their laws, he will weaken the human community if he does it in the spirit of judgment. He ought not to say, "I act, I disobey because my brothers are wrong to command as they do;" he ought rather to say, in the spirit of Martin Luther, "I disobey because I--this I which possesses me and directs me--cannot do otherwise. God help me."

The sit-in participants are not the only ones today who practice civil disobedience. There are people who on principle refuse to answer some questions of the census takers; biology instructors in Tennessee who teach the theories of evolution despite state law; Amish folk and some other sectarians who refuse in various states to observe compulsory school attendance laws. Moreover, there are visible the first signs of what may become a new prevalent mood of disobedience. For, besides the sit-ins, we see here and abroad people--brave people--violating the law by sailing into a nuclear weapons test area, by hindering the construction of new submarines, and by other means. These are small pin pricks on the back of Leviathan. But they are expressive of the horror shared by many throughout the world over the radical immorality of our political situation. Power, like fire, is a good and necessary servant but a dangerous master. But national power, which ought to be the servant of our societies, has become that to which everything must be subordinated. The nations sacrifice everything, if need be, to make their power great. This is mad; this is stupid; this is degrading. To some extent, this lust of power has always dominated. But today the game is more serious, and the absurdity of the probable outcome more apparent. And so a few have attempted to

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persuade us of the absurdity by sailing into forbidden seas, or by interferring with armaments construction. Their civil disobedience has been interposed between us and our folly. Perhaps in years to come, men may look back on them, and on the sit-in demonstrations of the South, as ones among those lonely few whose shoulders have held up the freedom of all of us.

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RACIAL STATUS AND THE MODIFICATION
OF THE SOUTHERN POWER SYSTEM

Dr. Reid asked me to offer, for your consideration and criticism, some comments, both retrospective and prospective, on race relations in the South. The subject is, most surely, not a new one. The temptation, therefore, is strong for one called upon to speak to such an ancient issue to search desperately for an original thought. What can he possibly say, that you haven't heard before? This sort of predicament has the potential of making fools of us all. Because it is I, and not you, however who occupies this unenviable platform, I enjoy rather clearly the best odds of being convicted of foolishness before the morning is over.

Vandiver + Patterson

In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it is an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscured its prognosis. I sometimes suspect that an understanding of it can more truly be obtained through intuitive feeling than through science. Let me ask you this question, which has sometimes bothered me. We all acknowledge the greatness of the Myrdal study. Yet how useful do you, in all honesty, find it as an aid to your own thinking? Have your own thoughts and insights been nourished by it as much as they have been, for example, by W. J. Cash's The Mind of the South, a book written out of intimate identification with southern culture, and which used research only to illustrate ideas flowing from Cash's personal involvement in that culture. In whatever measure you do make active use of Myrdal, not for facts but for ideas and insights, is it the long analytical and empirical portion of the study, or the relatively short and intuitive introductory section, that you turn to most often?

This is said not to disparage your function as social scientists, nor the

contribution you can make to that better knowledge of race relations which will be a foundation for wiser policies. Indeed, I could not belittle you without belittling myself, for I am of the same profession. My meaning, such as it is, is only this: that social scientists are better advised in this field to take their cue from the scientific method of the psychoanalyst rather than from the botanist, or mathematician, or chemist. We shall not discharge or fulfill our responsibilities by collecting and classifying data, or by abstracting our problem from the imprecisi~~me~~ons of concrete reality, or by observing rigorously controlled experiments. We shall succeed best in learning and teaching something meaningful about race relations if we allow the problem to describe itself, dredging it up through our memories and revealing it to ourselves as a Protean image, immersed in the moving currents of our own values, attitudes and aspirations.

In a most tentative way, this is what I shall attempt this morning. But then, if I am correct, everything about the southern problem of race relations is tentative. There is nothing in its form which is fixed and unchanging, no more than there is in any organic thing. What we deal with each day is another and different one of its infinite aspects. I want, therefore, to try to capture something of its nature by looking at the aspect of it which is suggested by my title. Of course I would not have devised such a ponderous title - "Racial Status and the Modification of the Southern Power System" - for any audience except one composed of brethren in the social sciences. But you are by now used to clumsy formulations like this, which try to summarize in the title all that the talk or essay is about. My thesis this morning is that the status of the southern Negroes cannot be changed without radically altering the power structure of southern society; and that ~~in~~ what we are witnessing is the determined defense by ~~the~~ some present holders of power against change which threatens them, that, in fact, equality of right is incompatible with the self-interest of some, but fortunately not all, of the holders of power in southern societies.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's was governed by the objective, How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population. The objective that determines the policies of the white leadership is now changed, just as it was during Reconstruction, and just as then it was not revised by the wishes of the white leaders, but by men and forces which exceeded their control. The aim is not now to obtain satisfaction, of any degree. Instead, it is, How to maintain white control of the institution of southern society. To put it differently, Negroes are not now regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a change of status.

The old policy - of using Negroes for the maximum satisfaction of white leaders - found application in all the institutions and practices of southern society. In economic life, it led to the gradual definition of "Negro jobs" and white jobs, and from it evolved a myriad of principles governing the economic relations between individual members of the two races. In politics, policy dictated that Negro voting and office holding should be suppressed. This continued to be the practice long after Reconstruction was ended, and represented more than a fear that Negroes might again challenge white control. For what happened was that southern politicians adapted themselves and the organizations which they led to a well-understood pattern of competition for votes and of distribution of the spoils of office. The pattern became familiar, something the politicians took for granted and planned their careers around. Were the Negroes to vote the pattern would change, new tactics and appeals would have to be learned - in short a whole new ball game with new rules for winning would be set up. Furthermore, southern politicians were able to enjoy for decades the greatest bliss of the politician, i. e. the freedom to evade issues. He had only to yell "nigger" more loudly than his opponent, and in

the ensuing excitement his constituents forgot about taxes, schools, roads, foreign policy and all the other concerns of government. As James McBride Dabbs has put it,

> "The race issue is central to their (southern politician) existence, for it keeps the South solid and they are the politicians of the Solid South. If it should be resolved, the political forces of the South would realign themselves with the political forces of the nation, eyes alert to economic and other interests. Low income groups, white and Negro, would tend to align themselves with similar groups elsewhere, high income groups to do likewise. This would destroy the livelihood of the typical Southern politician. He would have to become nationally cognizant and intelligent, and he might starve before he could do so. ...He may have forgotten most of his race prejudice, but he knows very well, deep down, which side his political bread is buttered on." The Southern Heritage, p. 115-6

Finally, the policy of maximum satisfaction was applied to all social relations. This meant, in part, that Negroes were to be used as servants or attendants for the flattery of white esteem or the easing of white people's domestic labors. It meant that they were to serve as the objects for white charity and philanthropy, and that the whites would satisfy their moral urgings by "doing for" their Negroes. (Parenthetically, let me state that I would not make this last comment before a lay audience. The supply of human kindness is not so great that any of its manifestation can be rejected. I am sure that you will realize that I am not denying the reality or sincerity of the many fine and decent relationships which grew up between southern whites and Negroes. I am only saying what I think is true, that these relationships were (1) a source of satisfaction to the whites; (2) were not believed to threaten white social superiority.)

It is of course true that there were at all times, from 1890 to the 1940's, as there were before the Civil War, southern white men and women who protested against a racial relations policy designed to use one race for the satisfaction of another. For the contemporary representatives of these southern dissenters, 1954 was a crucial year; that year marks a dividing line which runs deep into men's

emotions. Before 1954, a southern liberal was a white man who wanted better treatment for the Negroes; after 1954, he was a man who supported the Negroes attack on segregation. Some liberals were lost along the way.

The frontal assault on segregation implies a thorough opposition to the southern power system and is recognized as such by the power holders. Consider the following:

Politics

Negro voting
- upset pattern
- Negro-labor - small farmer
- office holding
- urban enhancement

Response: removal of choice (white bloc)
- intimidation

Social Relations

insecurity of whites

defense of schools and other community institutions

Politically and socially, the admission of Negroes to full civic status is a threat to the existing leadership of the South. Is it a threat to the existing economic leadership? I do not believe that it is, and in that fact - if it is true - lies the great, decisive influence which can end or soften southern resistance to Negro rights. The fact is, I think, that the southern economy is gradually but rapidly freeing itself of its old dependence on a bountiful supply of cheap Negro labor and that as a result the economic leadership of the region no longer has an interest in perpetuating segregation or any form of ethnic discrimination. In so far as the economic leaders are themselves entangled with the political leadership, ~~in~~ or in so far as they join in the defense of social institutions, they will share in the resistance. But their minds are divided, and the economic interest speaks ever more loudly and insistently. Place yourself in the

position of a southern industrialist or financier, and try to look at the present situation as he must:

Industry and social order

Negroes needed as manpower?
Farm?
Plant?

Purchasing power - spur to industrialization
Per capita income 1956

U.S. -	$1,940.
Fla. -	1,762.
Texas-	1,686.
Va. -	1,647.
La. -	1,444.
Ga. -	1,400.
Miss.-	964.

Negro family income, Fulton and DeKalb Counties
1949 - 20.5% over $3,000.
1956 - 46.5% over 3,000.
1956 - 2305 families over $7,000.

median up from $2,046 - $2,869., a 40% increase
(white increase, 35.8%)

If you were an industrialist or financier who was able to take a longer view, you would also be thinking such thoughts as these:

Manpower
Education
Supply (only Florida and Texas net migration gain 1950-54)
(Census Bureau estimates 1970 population: only Florida (sure), Texas, Louisiana (probable) to equal national increase. Arkansas and Oklahoma (sure), Mississippi (possible) losers.)

Va, NC, S.C (possible)

To sum up:

1. Negro equality of rights threatens the southern political leadership and will therefore continue to be fought bitterly. I think there is no likelihood that southern political leaders in the deep South will anytime soon drop their warfare against the Negroes; they may, however, invent more sophisticated and palatable tactics.

2. Negro equality of rights threatens white enjoyment on their own terms of the social institutions such as the schools and will therefore continue to be resisted. Because these institutions are the subjects of law and not the makers of laws, the rights of Negroes to their enjoyment will probably be secured. A likely, unhappy result may well be the withdrawal of affluent whites to residential areas which are safely all-white, and to private institutions (e.g. schools), leaving the central city and the public schools entirely to the lower income whites and the Negroes. A more rigidly demarcated class structure could well be the price paid for the ending of racial discrimination by law. I am not willing to make this a prediction. I think it is, however, a possibility too real to be overlooked. Human beings have deep, strong aversions to democracy. When democracy gains in one sector, a compensating loss often occurs in another. The democratization of race relations may result in the transfer to other activities of the desire for exclusiveness and invidious distinctions.

3. Negro equality of rights does not threaten southern economic leadership; in fact, there are definite advantages to southern industrialists in a mutually ~~satisfying~~ tolerable solution of the southern problem of race relations. I believe this economic interest is sufficiently clear-cut so that there do not lie ahead years of unremitting struggle.

What does this mean for the future of race relations. My guess is that it means that the economic leadership will not much longer tolerate the present climate of resistance and defiance, and that business leaders will succeed in bringing it to an end. This will not mean an end to prejudice, nor will it mean

a real integration of Negroes into the white communities. The acknowledged interests of the economic leaders do not yet extend that far. It will, however, mean an uneasy peace, and that, I think, is the prospect for southern race relations during the next decade or so. I wish that I could be more optimistic, and could believe that even greater victories lay near at hand. But an uneasy peace does permit the growing strength of Negro voters, with all that implies for the alteration of political power in the South; it does also permit the better and freer education of Negro youth (and perhaps white youth too) and all that that implies for the fuller opportunity of Negro men and women to be decisive agents in shaping the future of southern society.

File
LWD - gen

Excerpts from Political and Civil Rights in the United States, Second Ed., Emerson and Haber, Vol. 1., page 48.

1. CRIMINAL PROVISIONS OF THE ORIGINAL CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS

The major surviving criminal provisions of the Civil Rights Acts (in addition to the anti-peonage provisions) became Sections 19 and 20 of the Criminal Code, which became Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18 U.S.C. (1926 codification), which in turn became Sections 241 and 242 of Title 18 U.S.C. (1948 codification). In their present form Sections 241 and 242 read:

"Sec. 241. Conspiracy against rights of citizens.

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or

"If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured--

"They shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both."

"Sec. 242. Deprivation of rights under color of law.

"Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

In addition Section 243, 18 U.S.C. (1948 codification), makes it a criminal offense for "any officer or any person

charged with any duty in the selection or summoning of jurors" to exclude or fail to summon any citizen for service on Federal or state juries on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. And Section 244 of the same title prohibits owners or managers of public places of entertainment in the District of Columbia or territories from discriminating against persons "wearing the uniform of any of the armed forces of the United States."

Excerpts from Political and Civil Rights in the United States, Second Ed., Emerson and Haber, Vol. 1, page 79.

2. CIVIL PROVISIONS OF THE ORIGINAL FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS

The Civil Rights Acts contained, in addition to the criminal provisions, a series of provisions giving injured persons the right to sue for civil damages or to obtain injunctive or other civil relief. Of those remaining on the statute books, the two most important are Sections 1983 and 1985(3) of Title 42 of the United States Code. These provisions, originally Sections 1979 and 1980 (Third) of the Revised Statutes and later Sections 43 and 47(3) of Title 8 of the United States Code, will be referred to in comment or notes hereafter by their present designation. They read as follows:

"Sec. 1983. Civil action for deprivation of rights.

"Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress."

"Section 1985(3). Conspiracies: to deprive citizens of rights or privileges.

"If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire or go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws; or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of

of any state or Territory from giving or securing to all persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the laws; or if two or more persons conspire to prevent by force, intimidation, or threat, any citizen who is lawfully entitled to vote, from giving his support or advocacy in a legal manner, toward or in favor of the election of any lawfully qualified person as an elector for President or Vice President, or as a Member of Congress of the United States; or to injure any citizen in person or property on account of such support or advocacy; in any case of conspiracy set forth in this section, if one or more persons engaged therein do, or cause to be done, any act in furtherance of the object of such conspiracy, whereby another is injured in his person or property, or deprived of having and exercising any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States, the party so injured or deprived may have an action for the recovery of damages occasioned by such injury or deprivation, against any one or more of the conspirators."

Other provisions establish the right of all citizens to vote without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude (42 U.S.C. Sec. 1971; see Chapter II, <u>infra</u>); the right of all persons to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property, to the same extent as white citizens (42 U.S.C. Sec. 1981); the right of all citizens to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real or personal property to the same extent as white citizens (42 U.S.C. Sec. 1982); an action for damages against persons engaged in a conspiracy to prevent by force, intimidation, or threat, any person from holding office or discharging the

duties of office under the United States (42 U.S.C. Sec. 1985(1)); an action for damages against like conspiracies to interfere with parties or witnesses in United States courts, or to impede, hinder, obstruct or defeat justice with intent to deny any citizen the equal protection of the laws (42 U.S.C. Sec. 1985(2)); and an action for damages against any person who, having knowledge of wrongs about to be committed contrary to Section 1985, and power to prevent them, neglects or refuses to do so (42 U.S.C. Sec. 1986). The text of these and additional provisions is set forth in Carr, Federal Protection of Civil Rights, Appendix 2 (1947); Note, 3 Race Rel. L. Rep. 133, 141-4 (1958).

A provision of the Civil Rights Acts authorizing the President "to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as may be necessary to aid in the execution of judicial process" issued under the above provisions or "as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution" of said provisions (R.S. Sec. 1989; 42 U.S.C. Sec. 1993), was repealed by the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 634, infra).

Rare Revolutionary Path

file - Lwd Staff - Speeches concep relat to

Youth Speaks, And Listens, On The Task Of Civil Rights

By LARRY PRYOR

One of the 800 participants at the Youth Speaks 12th annual workshop rose yesterday and asked the guest speakers what teen-agers could do about the problem of civil rights.

The answer shot back: "Set an example for your parents—learn what civil rights is all about."

And learn, they did. From 9 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. delegates from 37 public, private, and parochial schools here and one delegation from Fort Knox discussed "America's Unfinished Task: Civil Rights."

Meeting at Waggener High School, they heard civil-rights speakers, gathered in small groups to mull over basic issues, and convened for a lively question-and-answer period.

At the end of the workshop, the group's third vice-president, Mike Perry of St. Xavier, announced that Youth Speaks would form a Youth Corps in Jefferson County.

The initial membership would be drawn from Youth Speaks, he said, but other qualified volunteers would be accepted.

Bolster Recreation Staffs

Members of the Youth Corps would form a pool from which recreation groups in Louisville could draw to help staff their institutions, Perry said. Their main aim would be to work with youth in the area of crime prevention.

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, spoke at the workshop.

He told the group:

1. The country faces many problems outside of the area of civil rights, such as foreign relations and arms control. But until the question of civil rights is settled equitably, the American political process will remain paralyzed and unable to cope with other problems.

Preferable To Alienation

2. We are lucky that Negroes are demanding to integrate. It is rare, he said, that a revolutionary movement takes this form, but we cannot count on this drive toward integration, rather than alienation, lasting forever.

3. There is a need to distinguish between political principles and political myths. First among political myths, he said, is state's rights.

Another speaker was Dr. G. Franklin Edwards, professor of sociology at Howard University, Washington, D. C.

In response to a question, he said that integration "refers to a process in which people assimilate the same rights and values. Equality under the law merely sets the stage for integration."

Staff Photo

YOUTH ALSO LISTENS at the 12th annual workshop of Youth Speaks held at Waggener High School yesterday. At left are the workshop's main speakers, Dr. G. Franklin Edwards, a professor of sociology from Howard University, Washington, D. C., and Dr. Leslie Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. At right are Youth Speak's participants, Ann L. Marshall, 17, 214 Brunswick Road, and Frank V. Smith, 16, 299 Winton.

NAACP (2nd Speech) **DRAFT**

A firm judgment regarding the South's acceptance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will have to be postponed until after November 3. We shall then be able to form a more clear opinion than is now possible on two crucial matters.

One is whether passage of the Act has further alleviated large elements of the white South from what appears to be a national consensus. For even though overt compliance with the law may be fairly good, we shall all be losers if the law has firmly created an enduring alliance between southern racists and the non-southern right wing. Although we often say that to change practices is of more social importance than to change attitudes, this is true only with large qualifications. Men who with deep reluctance accommodate themselves to changed practices all too often find or create new ways of organized ~~opportunities~~ opposition to the forces which produced the unwelcome change.

A second question which can not be clearly answered earlier than November 3 is whether the Act has made a significant contribution to curing Negro alienation and indifference. Neither of these traits has been characteristic of Negro leadership in the South, which is one of the differences between South and North. But large masses of Negro Southerners have learned to be indifferent to if not alienated from politics, and we shall see by how they turn out to vote on November 3 whether the Act has had much symbolic value for them.

On both these questions I am optimistic. There has been a definite and substantial acceleration of Negro voter registration since the Act was passed. There have certainly been other causes for this; but it seems realistic to believe that the Act itself has been a great stimulus.

And I tend to be optimistic also about the white South. As

November 3 approaches, it is above all important that we have a clear headed perspective. There is no longer a solid South, and that is a profoundly beneficial deliverance. In a recent issue of the Nation Frank Smith argued the paradox that an increasing Republican vote in the South, if it occurs not only in Presidential but in other elections as well, is good for civil rights, and Smith is right. The trend toward two parties has moved steadily since 1952, and continues. I do not believe that the Act of 1964 will accelerate that trend. The worrisome thing is not the trend, but the new leadership of the second party.

Samuel Lubell, in his new book White and Black, reports that after a survey of the South just before the assasination he felt than an historic opportunity existed. He felt that if President Kennedy were to stump the South in '64 and speak forthrightly on the race issue there were good grounds for believing that he could produce the region's first honest and open debate with itself on the moral issues. Lubell implies that he did not think that that debate would turn out badly. I believe the opportunity still exists, through perhaps no one except President Johnson and Senator Humphrey can seize it. If they will in the remaining weeks of this campaign take the time and the occasion to speak often and clearly and without indirection to the South, the mind of the white South will, I believe, be receptive. Such a campaign could mean more than a few additional electorial votes in 1964. It could, more importantly, mean a sharp and sudden delfation of the ballooning right wing.

All of this may sound not only optimistic but foolhardy. Some of us last Spring were optimistic about the South's readiness to comply with the pending law, and on the whole that has been demonstrated. In my allotted ten minutes a recapitulation of the

problems and progress of compliance is impossible; perhaps we can take up some of the details in the discussion period. Here I can only note that some of the experience has been bad, very bad. But - and this is a big but - nowhere is the region, not even in Alabama & Mississippi, is non-compliance led by the political chieftains or the economic overlords, and that is a basic fact separating these years of southern history from the immediately preceding ones. Only in Alabama is non-compliance receiving even much encouragement from the political chiefs, and not even these from the economic overlords.

A considerable amount of litigation has ensued, initiated by the Department of Justice as well as by Negro and white plaintiffs. In the Ollie's Barbecue case out of Birmingham a three-judge federal court drastically limited the coverage of the public accommodations law. If the Supreme Court, which has already heard the appeal, leaves any substantial qualifications on the constitutionality of the law, Title II will amount to little, and for further progress in desegregation we shall have to depend ~~as well~~ as we did in the recent past on persuasion, economic pressure, and sit-ins. Assuming, however, that the Supreme Court will find the law valid in its full coverage, full compliance with it throughout the South may not come for many years.

There are three chief problems. One is the vast stretches of rural areas, dotted by small towns, where testing is scant or non-existent, and intimidating pressures are great. A second problem is that of evasions, either too ingenious or too picayune for the law easily to reach. A third problem, and to me the most serious, is the spread of what, for want of a better term, I would call social isolation. The North has over the decades fashioned its own

insidious patterns and ideologies of social isolation, and in the South now we are experiencing a disturbing movement toward private clubs, closed municipal swimming pools and other public facilities, and - worst of all - private schools. Here again we see the inadequacy of the theory that changed practices will yield a resonably good crop of changed attitudes. Maybe so. Personally, I doubt that the extreme narrowing of the public sector of life is a small price for any democracy to pay which values its internal health. It is, and I happily concede this, quite possible that I am fighting a straw in the wind. I really hope so. But the spread of the social isolation principle departments and agencies issue their regulations on the funds cut-off provision, and until the equal employment provisions take effect.

Finally, a word about major premises, which, as Justice Holmes reminded us, are all important. Democracy is a thing we can not define, nor should we try. To define something is to stick it on a pin like a specimen to be labelled. Democracy, on the contrary, is something men in their generations are constantly perfecting and fashioning better to their hopes and to their intelligence. We shall never have a democracy; we shall have only the struggle for one. Democracy is struggle, unending. From this major premise, what has happened since World War II in the South can be seen as a bright chapter in the history of democracy, because American democracy has been given new meanings and a new depth of realism. The struggle continues, and the victories of the democratice spirit will continue also.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

To Know What We Do

In the Summer of 1958, I took a Greyhound bus one Saturday afternoon from Atlanta to Augusta. I sat on the aisle, because when I boarded all seats had at least one occupant with, as I was to notice more carefully later, the rear third or so being occupied by Negroes, most of whom were sitting one to a seat. They were, again as I was to note later, by their dress apparently working-class people. The long seat across the back end of the bus was altogether vacant.

When the bus made its first stop in Decatur, a town which is really part of Atlanta, a group of 15 or 20 young white ladies got on, prettily dressed in summer prints and gay hats and white gloves. They were obviously travelling together, perhaps as a garden club. They filled the vacant aisle seats next to the forward seated whites, but there were too few of these, and six or seven of the women hovered near me, for beyond were the Negroes. Because some, at least, of my childhood rearing was effective, I made a conditioned start of rising; I did not, however, because it had happened that just a short while earlier I had reached a policy decision about this matter - viz., that I would not give a lady my seat when, as a quick glance around confirmed, seats were available. Some muttering began among the several seated white men, one of whom sat on the aisle just behind me, a good looking, husky man of about 30 who was,

as overheard conversation was to reveal, a schoolteacher. Finally, he called - loudly and clearly - to the driver, to ask the Negroes (he said, "these people") to double up and to move to the back seat, so as to make room for the young matrons. The call was picked up by a few other white men, and repeated several times, very plainly. The driver, just as repeatedly, expressed his inability to hear or understand what was being shouted at him. The women's champions at last tired of the driver's game, and the women stood. Furtive glances from time to time over my shoulder showed the Negroes sitting impassively and unmoving. No one ever sat on the long, uncomfortable back seat.

A few miles before Athens - i.e., after about 40 miles of travel from Decatur - the schoolteacher rose and gave his seat to one of the women. In Athens we had a rest stop, for continuing passengers, where Negroes went to separate and blatantly inferior lunch and toilet facilities. Enough people ended their journey there, so that for the remainder of the trip to Augusta everyone sat, in ways approved and dicated by southern mores.

That Saturday afternoon bus ride bespoke rather accurately the South as it was in 1958 and up to 1960 or 1961, outside of its deeper regions where men then would (as now they still might) do more than mutter and shout. Here was present the long arm of federal law, undoing old patterns and recognizing new rights. And here were Negroes claiming and exercising those rights, yet also deferring to custom by sitting toward the back of the bus, though not doubling up and rejecting completely the long seat.

Two things more about the Negroes was revealing and suggestive of how far and how far only change had occurred before 1960: they were apparently not, as such non-cooperative ones would almost surely have been a few years earlier, professional or moneyed people; and they gave absolutely no impression of even being aware of the white displeasure all around them. Here was the bus driver, Southerner himself, coping with the situation by a typically southern ploy of not being able to hear. Here were the shouting white men who, futilely defending one southern tradition, had already for self-interest yielded an older one, chivalry, and were keeping their seats while women stood. And here was I, the white liberal, guiding my actions by "policy" that overcame but could never (all the way to Athens) pacify the naggings of affronted upbringing.

I suppose that today most, but not all, of the Negroes on a similar trip would seat toward the back; that most, but not every one, of the white ladies would remain standing; that there would be no shouting, because its all too well known about now; and that not all the Negroes would remain impassive. The waiting room at the rest stop would be desegregated, more or less. The chances that even one white man would relinquish his seat are probably smaller: the southern way of life progressively slips from us.

But I feel no security today in compact symbolic or verbal characterizations of the South. The reality is too diffuse,

the mind which has tried at each stage to comprehend is too tired. I do not mean, "my" mind is tired; that may be true, but is unimportant. The tiredness is pervasive and itself a fundamental part of the change, for it signifies a failure of interest, a loss of concern for this thing we call "the South," and for understanding it as a distinct reality, whose reality was, in fact, only that which we gave it in our thought. Now we see only scattered deposits of a moving culture, a string of digits not ready for summing up.

* * * *

Consider what we have done. During the generation since World War II we have devised and held to foreign policies that have, against the odds, avoided nuclear war. We have contributed greatly to the creation of sturdy economies in Western Europe, Israel, and Japan and have helped sustain India and an over-supply of other new states. We have enriched ourselves at the same time. We overcame some ancient scourges, such as polio and syphilis. We wrote some books that will endure and erected some structures that are beautiful. We learned things never before known about physics and biology. We seem to have retained a sufficiency of sanity despite enviornmental changes so furiously swift that mass neurisis could have been reasonably expected. We checked the blight that between the World Wars ravaged our educational system, and we met at the school doors the hordes of war babies not only with almost enough buildings, books, and teachers but also a new and germinal sincerity and intelligence about education. We put

down two rebellions, not, of course, finally but effectively: one led by Senator McCarthy and one by Senator Goldwater. We were ready for the Negro revolt, and brought America to the border of its historic promised land, where life and ideals can be in pleasurable companionship.

All this one generation of Americans did. If during the next 20 years we who stand now poised between the New Frontier and the Great Society can lay securely the foundations of that Society, we truly shall be heroes. The world will never before have seen our like. I say this with all seriousness.

* * * *

The "Negro revolt." Is it in fact a revolution? According to Robert M. MacIver, "revolution implies a deep division within the state," and leads to "the temporary destruction of the state, the substitution of dividing force for common will. After it is over, the state has to be re-built." Robert Michels, making little of the attribute of force, held nevertheless that revolution implies "a fundamental change of a legal order, no matter what means are employed to consummate it." C. J. Friedrich, noting the variety of revolutions as well as their basic classification into limited and unlimited ones, includes among the variety the successful attack on a fundamental part of the constitution by a group loyal to the rest of the constitution, consummated without seizing complete power.

Political science has a considerable literature on the subject, though not as large as one might expect. We do not need to examine more of it, in order to isolate what ~~if~~ is for our interests the important question. For all theories of revolution hold, I believe, that a fundamental change in the constitution must be involved. Does the "Negro revolt" imply, will it cause, such?

The answer depends, I believe, on whether we focus the question on a region or on the nation. If the southern region alone can be considered, we are undoubtedly engaged in a revolution. The political order is being opened, against its will and strong opposition, to the penetration of a large class of formerly disfranchised people. Shifts of power are occurring. The fundamental principle of every southern political and legal order - white supremacy - is being overthrown.

Now all this could be said as well about the nation, which as a whole is being required to admit Negroes into its political consensus, and which is being required to spit out its own unspoken conviction of white supremacy. But for the nation as a whole, the change is of greatly lesser degree, and in large measure consists of actualizing long proclaimed ideals. It seems to me misleading to regard it as a revolution, though I do not strongly object if someone does. Revolution or not, the change being brought about by the "Negro revolt" in our nation is profound. So profound that, if one subscribes to the maxim that every revolution has its Thermidor, one would just as soon not think of it as a revolution.

1964 brought to us so many books describing this profundity that I need not expand on that. It is enough to say here that for 300 and more years Negroes have been in some measure the outcasts of American society and in remaining measure the essential sub-flooring of society. From neither role can they be integrated into - or integrate themselves into - full and free participation in the social order without profound adjustments of it.

Can those adjustments be made, with all the consequent friction, error, ill-will, and failures of nerve, without dis-organizing our ability to govern and lead ourselves into the Great Society?

At least this much is clear. Without integration, we could not, by definition, have the Great Society. Moreover, one doubts that without the "Negro revolt" we would have either the idealism or the felt necessity to embark on it.

* * * *

Mankind has in our time a marvellous, amazing power to re-order its existence. We can and we do re-cast our social orders by will and plan. We know how. Does not every church-man need to question his relevance? Hearts and minds, we have seen, will be instructed by the re-ordering of the objective rules and conditions of social life; we do not need to wait on them to lead. Can we not, for example, re-make the culture of the South without waiting for the church bodies to reform their beliefs and teachings?

Can we, in fact, afford the luxury of concern for the white church? Granted that its membership embraces nearly all those who must be changed, can we not reach these far more surely through their other, less insulated, associations?

We find our catharsis in action, our release from fear of ourselves and our neighbor and of the strange. Religious man seeks salvation but man seeks only the salvage of his personality, and he finds that in being a contributing part of social action. This a concern for the welfare of the white church must not be allowed to impede.

And yet, with and because of all our marvellous power to direct our own lives, if we but once could know what we do! If we but once could achieve consciousness!

Modern men do not need the church to make them better. Nor, God help us, do we need the social or even the moral leadership of the church.

More importantly, we no longer need philosophy, theology, and poetry to make us better. (An earlier church than ours knew that it was the appointed guardian of all three of these.) In former days we did, perhaps. No longer. We can do well enough with our science and our prodigious collective memory of experience.

But where can we find awareness of what we are about, of what we are called to do with our great power, if not in philosophy and art? And who will lead the generality of men to these if the church withers on?

* * * *

Downtown Atlanta is in the midst of a building boom. It has been so ugly that one would believe that nothing done to it would not be an improvement. This would be, however, to reckon without human ingenuity. To put up a new office building, we unerringly chose to tear down the old Paramount, surely one of the few handsome movie houses anywhere, leaving untouched the common-place cinema next door. To enlarge a bank, we went into a block where architectural horror literally surrounded one of Atlanta's rare distinctions - the old Arcade - and with precision selected the Arcade to make way for the new.

The ways of men and their societies are less obvious in their rise and fall than buildings. We re-build now the cultural ways, the neighborly ways, of the South and, indeed, the nation. What will we tear down, in the midst of so much dross, in the process? We must never underestimate our human power to snatch death from life.

That, I have understood, is the everlasting teaching of all philosophy and art - and of all theology.

* * * *

What is it that can go wrong?

Some dangers can be surmised. One that can be predicted in the progressive narrowing of the public sector of life. We see the abandonment of municipal swimming pools and the conversion of restaurants and hotels into so-called private clubs. Of far greater importance, we see the retreat from public schools (aided in the South by state tuition grants for private school attendance).

The churches insulate themselves in the economic and social homogeneity of their respective neighborhoods. The unstated major ambition of the typical white made is that his wife and children shall not study or play or worship with, and only seldom see, anyone of lesser wealth, and no Negro.

Here if anywhere, in combat with this self-rightious spirit of self-protection through social isolation, the social ministry of the church is both needed and suited to the need; for most of these "killers of the dream" are its approved members.

What are other likely losses? For brevity, I suggest only two. A first is that as desegregation spreads and quickens, as sophistication grows among Negroes, the two great institutions which started it all and gave it muscle and vision may be rejected: the Negro church and the Negro college. We shall in all likelihood be too impatient for progress to take time to search them for the mysterious and life giving power they nourished and made a gift of to the rest of us.

A second is that North and South, Negro voters may come to predominate in the cities, and our politics be characterized by urban-suburban strife which will make the cure of the growth problems of metropolises terribly difficult.

* * * *

"UNTOUCHABLES' ATTACKED

Sholapur, India, April 4 (Reuters) - A crowd of 700 persons attacked a group of "untouchables" in Nironi village in north Mysore and set fire to their huts, killing three persons, including one woman, it was learned today.

dispersed

The police dispersed the rioters, killing one and wounding two.

- New York Times, April 5, 1963

SAVAGERY MARKS TRIBAL WARFARE IN RWANDA

WATUSI, ONCE FEUDAL LORDS, FLEE TO NEIGHBORING LANDS - BAHUTU KILL THOUSANDS

REGIME SAID TO PERMIT RAIDS AS REPRISALS FOR TERRORISM BY MONARCHIST GUERRILLAS

By Robert Conley
Special to the New York Times

Kigali, Rwanda, Feb. 8 - The savagery that has swept through this mountainous African land numbs the mind.

By authoritative accounts, at least 10,000 Watusi men, and women and children perished in the recent massacres here.

The Watusi, who often reach seven feet in height, were Rwanda's feudal overlords for more than four centuries. Now they are fleeing the Bahutu, a tribe of shorter people who used to be their vassals.

About 22,000 more Watusi are reported to have fled to neighboring Tanganyika, Uganda, Burundi and the Congo.

The Watusi have been beaten, clubbed and hacked to death to an extent that one investigator said approached genocide, the intentional eradication of a race.

Some are said to have been beheaded, and others burned alive. Bodies appear to have been thrown by the hundreds into Rwanda's rivers, which are thick with crocodiles.

One missionary reported having seen 48 bodies pass under a bridge in 10 minutes on the Biruruma River . . . . . .

The Rwanda radio, in its first mention of the massacre the other day, officially put the death toll at 750. Otherwise the Rwanda Government has said nothing.

According to several highly placed sources, the Rwandan Government did little to prevent the massacres. At one point, the Government instructed the Bahutu to take whatever action they thought necessary against the Watusi.

The massacres were in retaliation for raids by Watusi guerrillas . . . . .

Violence started with Rwanda's medieval revolution in November, 1959. Bahutu serfs, representing 53 per cent of Rwanda's population, overthrew the traditional monarchy of the Watusi minority, numbering about 400,000.

At least 6,000 Watusi were killed in the revolution and its violent aftermath, and 145,000 more fled the country.

With the new massacres, the Watusi death toll since 1959 is believed to stand at a minimum of 16,000 dead, and 157,000 more are in refuge in the neighboring countries ..Only 227,000 Watusi are thought to be left in Rwanda . . . .

In the massacres the Bahutu appear to have used mostly clubs and sticks so they would not draw blood. "We are not guilty if there is no blood," one said . . . .

In an intensive four-day tour of Rwanda this week, not a single body was seen. An unearthly calm covers the country. Vultures circle continually overhead, but not a single Bahutu will admit that killing has occurred.

"There is no record, no trace, no nothing," said one European working in the country. "Africa has swallowed them up."

- New York Times, February 9, 1964

HATRED DEEPENS BETWEEN BRITISH GUIANA'S INDIANS AND NEGROES

By Thomas Buckley
Special to the New York Times

Georgetown, British Guiana, May 28 - Bloody violence in the last three months has all but wiped out any good feeling between Negroes and East Indians in this British colony.

many of them have lived side by side in peace for years.

In villages where Negroes are dominant, scores of houses belonging to Indians have been destroyed by fire. The same thing has happened to the homes of Negro families where Indians are in the majority . . . .

-New York Times, May 31, 1964

STRIFE IN GUIANA

When slavery was abolished in 1834, the rulers of British Guiana, desparately short of labor for their sugar plantations, brought in indentured workers from the East Indies. Last week descendants of the freed African slaves and the East Indian laborers were locked in a bitter racial and political conflict which threatened to delay further the granting of independence to the British colony on the northern coast of South America . . . .

Last Sunday, two days after a state of emergency had been declared, British troops were flown into British Guiana, depleting still further Britain's already thin line of army reserves. But the interracial terror continued. On Tuesday, 1,300 East Indian refugees arrived in the capital, Georgetown, driven from their homes in a nearby mining town by Negro rioters. In the countryside, where East Indians predominate, the homes of Negroes were being burned down.

Editorial, New York Times, May 31, 1964

10 DEAD, 400 INJURED IN SUDAN RACE RIOTS

By Hedrick Smith
Special to the New York Times

Cairo, Dec. 7 - At least 10 people were officially reported killed and 400 injured in racial rioting between Africans and Arabs in Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, last night and today . . .

According to reliable reports reaching here, the crowds chanted such slogans as "Down with Arab slavery!" and "Down with

Arab merchants!" The reports said control of the crowd was suddenly lost by the leaders, who had managed to hold it in check in the absence of Government security guards at the airport.

According to witnesses reached by phone in Khartoum, this is what happened:

The crowd of Africans rampaged through the airport, breaking windows and overturning furniture. Then the Africans rushed through the streets toward downtown Khartoum, smashing and burning cars and attacking Arab pedestrians. About 50 cars were smashed.

When word of the African attacks reached the city, Arab northerners were said to have organized into fighting groups and to have counterattacked.

It was the third time in two months that violence had broken out in Khartoum.

- New York Times, December 8, 1964

KHARTOUM'S NEGROES CONFINED FOR SAFETY

Khartoum, the Sudan, Dec. 8 (AP) - Thousands of Sudanese Negroes were placed in Omdurman football stadium and a makeshift camp in the heart of this city today to shield them from Arab violence.

Army units joined in a rescue operation requested by leaders of the Negro community after racial violence in which 38 persons are believed to have been killed and more than 500, including five Americans, injured. None of the Americans was seriously hurt. . . . .

Negro leaders who are demanding the separation of the three predominantly African southern provinces from the Arab-dominated country, said racial hatred was the sole cause of violence that swept the capital Sunday night and continued for two days.

A delegation of black Sudanese prepared to fly south to hold peace meetings in Malakal, Juba and Wau before news of the violence reached the four million southern Negroes and provoked another rampage aganist the Arabs.

- New York Times, December 9, 1964

To break off the examples at this point is not fair and just, unless it may be instructive. Fairness would require the citing of the savagery of Afrikaaner against Bantu, of Portugese against Angolan Africans, of English against West Indian emigrants, of German against Jew. Justice would require that sad landmarks of American history be uncovered: Springfield, East St. Louis, Atlanta, Chicago, and other scenes of depraved riotous assault.

But it is in those lands where no Westerner is involved, and no West-East or North-South tension is present, that we can see to our shame how appallingly awful is the human sin of racism. Dreadful indeed is the spirit of fraternity, for it poisons the mind of the brother to all beyond his tribe!

Thomas Hill Green argued that here and only here, really, had mankind achieved any moral progress since the days of classical Greece. We recognize, and act upon, he said, no deeper moral obligation to our neighbor; we do recognize more people as neighbors.

In our day, ~~the~~ this expansion of the area of human fellowship has become a practical, a political, even a diplomatic necessity. In our day, morality does not summons politics; politics summons it.

* * * *

In a world sick everywhere with racism, the dimensions of our own seem puny by comparison, a Bull Connor and a Hoss Manucy seem but grats.

What, then, is our urgency? Less the cause than the vision, less the wrong than the hope.

The urgency is so painful because here - here and now, by us and because of us - we can master, in our corner of the world, one of the flaws of human history. We have the opportunity.

We - Negro and white. The urgency is so painful because a tenth of us or so - Negro and white - have wagered our careers - i.e., our callings as men - on the outcome. The urgency is so painful because a tenth of us will have wasted the lives and talents given us if the opportunity is not grasped. And could the future live with that defeat?

* * * *

To act consciously to re-direct history is to expose one's self to the danger of encountering God. That is risky business; it would be nice if the church were there at one's side.

* * * *

Spare us all, spare Africa and Asia - spare even the South - from missionaries. The missionary spirit is the shame

of Christanity. Where has it ever brought peace? The missionary comes to make me better. I flee from him, as from an assailant on a dark street. He comes in different clever guises. He wishes to make me (or the African or the Mississippi red-neck) over in the image of his more favored self. He is my opponent because he announces his own superiorty, and is the curse of my religion and of my cultural heritage.

Missionary?

I think the man called of God comes to be with one in his deadly encounter. I think we white and Negro people of the United States will need him acutely. We shall need him as we need life. For to live is to be conscious, to know the alternating swing of the self from joy to shame, from love to pain, from power to futility, to know that this is as it must be. But this any psychic quack can inform us. We need the man of God to tell us that the human self is ~~to~~ so great that it counts for nothing in itself, because it is of use to God. Especially <u>if we do</u> build the Great Society shall we need to know this, because if we do that job of building we shall take to ourselves much pride and glory.

One Summer's day in 1958, a bus load of people gyrated about Georgia held on the turning - spit of a governmental decree. <u>Those same people</u>, none other, will build the new culture of America. The simple truth they need above all to learn is who, this time, is their taskmaster.

If they learn it, they will need succor in <u>their</u> deadly encounter. We are, after all, going to have to live with the consequences of our actions, of our bold assault on history, of our re-making of it to our own needs. In our own handiwork, we must find our life.

Sandra - see me please before typing

DRAFT

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In addition to the sources footnoted, I have been ~~particularly~~ especially helped in preparing this paper by the following:

John I. Carnes, "Why Should I Obey the Law?" 71 Ethics 14, October 1960.

Leslie W. Dunbar, "Civil Disobedience," Convocation address at Earlham College, February 1961 (mimeographed).

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Marion A. Wright, "The Right to Protest", New South, February 1962.

Democracy means not only an openness to innovation of policies but of forms as well, though prudence advocates that the forms change cautiously. Confronted by new forms, such as civil disobedience in its contemporary character, we do well to pause & reflect. The questions we must ask ourselves are whether civil disobedience as practiced by the Negro protest movement is to be condemned, defended by ethical or political tradition, excused because of the grievance but without generally sanctioning its practice, or defended as a valid case of a legitimate method. I have tried to indicate that my answer to the first three questions is "no" & to the fourth is "yes".

#

in order between the sovereign & all that the individual stands for." No efficacious means in ~~that~~ latter conflict is illegitimate.

~~King~~
Russell
~~Carson~~
Wofford
Wright
~~Gandhi~~
~~Thoreau~~

Bibliographical Note

In addition to the source footnotes, ~~I am~~ I have been particularly helped in preparing this paper by the following: John D. Carnes, "Why Should I Obey the Law?," 71 Ethics 14, October 1960. Leslie W. Dunbar, "Civil Disobedience," Convocation address at Earlham College, February 1961 (mimeographed). Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," reprinted as ch. 5 of Why We Can't Wait, N.Y., 1964, and "Love, Law and Civil Disobedience," New South, December 1961. Hunter Lewis, "Superior Orders, Nuclear Warfare, & the Dictates of Conscience," American Political Science Review 3, March 1961. Bertrand Russell, "Civil Disobedience," 61 New Statesman 245, February 17, 1961. Harris Wofford, "The Law & Civil Disobedience." Marion A. Wright, "The Right to Protest," New South, February 1962.

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13 A

They derive from democracy's need to regulate itself & learn to govern well & make it effective. Among them I have no trouble in including a socially tolerated right of mass civil disobedience.

Nor do I have any difficulty in proposing that, under the ~~conditions~~ absurd complexity of modern democracy, we open our minds to the question of whether there cannot be "rights" which are non-legal ~~in~~ ~~or~~ acknowledged.

We may well continue to say that all rights must have Constitutional recognition. But the concept of a constitution as a legal order is a modern one, & a political science inclined by Aristotle should have ~~[illegible]~~ not found it strange to entertain the possibility of rights pertaining to citizens by virtue of their function within a political system. ~~The~~ Professor Gottlan said, "To [the] charge that the conflict between the individual and all that the sovereign stands for, we must apply the conflict also between the ~~individual~~ sovereign & all that the individual stands for." 10. I would add that mass civil disobedience, when it accords with Professor Bedau's definition, also can dangerous "all that the individual stands for." ~~B~~ The civilly disobedient person is engaged in the ideal world of individuals & society. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

January 20, 1956

THE SOUTHERN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SRC

By Harold Fleming

Resistance Groups

The January 1956 issue of Southern School News reports a total of 44 "opposition" groups, "large and small, more or less active in 15 states." At least a dozen of these may be classed as major movements, the most important being the White Citizens Councils (WCC) which claims a membership of 60,000 in Mississippi alone. Although these groups operate under various names from state to state, there is evidence of close coordination among them. The WCC monthly publication announced in its first issue (Oct. 1955) that copies would be received by all members of some seven other segregation groups. Moreover, the so-called Federation for Constitutional Government, which recently held a widely publicized meeting in Memphis, includes on its board representatives of the major resistance groups. Its avowed purpose is to "coordinate" the work of the WCC, States Rights Councils, etc.

The stated objectives of the Federation are patently political and economic; its platform calls for the promotion of measures which would limit the progressive income tax, curtail the President's treaty-making powers, secure "conservative" nominees for president and vice-president, and so on. Among its leadership are such well-known figures as Strom Thurmond, Fielding Wright, James Eastland, and Herman Talmadge. It is clear that this is the new manifestation of the Dixiecrat movement, seeking to enlist a large bloc of voters through appeals to racial fears and prejudices. This is significant for two reasons: (1) It means we are not up against mere wrong-headed "idealism" and emotionalism, but against a calculating leadership motivated by economic and political self-interest. (2) It means that the Southern resistance movement can draw heavy financial support from certain

nation-wide economic interests and form alliances with national right-wing groups.

Economic Pressure

The WCC et al. have quite naturally relied on the methods of intimidation and pressure that have served for generations to enforce the submission of Negroes in the Black Belt. Economic measures against Negroes who assert their rights are widespread particularly in Mississippi and South Carolina. Dozens of examples may be found in published reports in the files of SRC; there is no way to measure the full extent of such incidents which have gone unpublicized -- or the intimidating effect on Negroes who might otherwise have sought to exercise their full rights.

Violence

The resistance groups declare themselves strongly against violence, but their hate-mongering and intimidation lead inexorably to it. Negroes who refuse to yield to economic and social pressures are logical victims -- as the several recent slayings in Mississippi illustrate. The hatred that is being generated by segregation groups and demagogic politicians may well lead to outbursts of violence on a catastrophic scale.

Demagogy

Since the May 1954 decision, the extreme pro-segregationists have extended their hold on Southern state governments. The lopsided apportionment of state legislatures -- giving vastly disproportionate power to the Black Belt areas -- is one important factor here. The private resistance groups merge almost indistinguishably with public officialdom in Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana; virtually every powerful political figure in Georgia, for example, from the governor on down, is associated

with the States Rights Council. In Alabama, only the fortuitous influence of Folsom bars the racists from complete control of the state machinery. The resistance of these states was expected -- though the virulence of it has exceeded some expectations. However, an unexpected and serious blow was the capitulation of official leadership in North Carolina and Virginia.

Through their dominance of the state machinery, the segregationists wield enormous power. They can exert formidable pressure on the press, business and industrial interests, educators, and even religious leaders -- all of whom depend, to some extent, on the good will of the state. They can take official measures to penalize and stigmatize those who persist in advocating a moderate or liberal course. They can coerce local school authorities not only through statutory means, but also through their control of state educational funds. In short, they can put all the resources of their respective states into the effort to preserve segregation and stamp out dissenting opinion.

Public Opinion

In the South, the opposition has an automatic advantage in the fact that its spokesmen include leading public officials and other status figures; these men's frequent statements, however inane, are inevitably seen as newsworthy. On the other hand, influential individuals of more moderate or liberal views are largely silenced.

On the whole, the Southern press has moved to the right on the segregation question during the period since the 1954 decision. A few good papers -- like the Chattanooga Times the Norfolk Virginian Pilot and the Roanoke Times -- have maintained their liberal editorial policies. Others -- like those in Winston-Salem and Asheville appear to have regressed somewhat. Still others -- like the Atlanta newspapers -- have retreated to an overtly

pro-segregation position. Finally, a number of the conservative, influential dailies are waging an all-out campaign against integration; in this group are the Charleston News and Courier, the Richmond News Leader, the Arkansas Democrat, the Chattanooga News-Free Press, and the Savannah Morning News. Almost all of the dailies in Mississippi, led by the rabid Jackson Daily News, are mouthpieces for the White Citizens Councils.

The "public relations" of the opposition groups have been greatly enhanced by the fact that they have attracted people of undoubted influence and community status into their leadership. We may characterize this leadership as morally disreputable, but the fact remains that, in the local view, many of the segregation leaders are among the "best people."

Nationally, the press and other public media are predominately anti-segregation; but Southern propaganda has made some inroads even there. John Temple Graves recently wrote: "Among national publications and publicists presently inclined or leaning to the South are the United States News, the Saturday Evening Post, Newsweek, and Dorothy Thompson." Subsequently, the Virginia referendum has prompted the Wall Street Journal to suggest the possibility that the Supreme Court decision was a mistake and cannot be enforced. The Southern courtship of conservative economic interests in the North may lead to further defections among national publications.

Financial Support

There is no way at present of achieving a specific estimate of the money available to the opposition. But we can safely say that it runs into the millions.

Let us consider first private sources. The White Citizens Councils and several of the other segregation groups have been able to rally impressive mass memberships at $3.00 to $5.00 a head. In addition, they

undoubtedly have "angels" in the persons of those wealthy conservatives who support their Dixiecrat political objectives. To these private efforts must be added the demagogic campaigns of office-seekers in the pro-segregation states. In order to attain their political objectives, these professional Negrophobes spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on racist propaganda. For example, a gubernatorial campaign in Georgia is estimated to cost each major candidate approximately $250,000; and in the last race, all of the major candidates were trying to outdo each other in advocating segregation. The same is true, of course, of other deep South states. Free television and radio time made available to candidates and office-holders add to the total. More is spent on this type of propaganda for one primary election in one state than the SRC's budget for three years.

Private expenditures are only a part of the story. The resisting states are spending large amounts of tax money to finance state study commissions, to draft legislation, and to carry on litigation in defense of segregation. Louisiana has established a $100,000 state fund for the purpose of fighting desegregation. Georgia's attorney general has announced the employment of two full-time assistants for this purpose; according to the press, he "simultaneously invited county officials faced with integration problems to consult him and take advantage of the state's resources before taking action." State funds used for these and similar purposes undoubtedly add up to many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SRC PROGRAM

The pro-segregation forces have a tremendous advantage on their own ground: (1) control of governmental machinery; (2) influence on opinion-making media and individuals; (3) large financial resources; (4) a mass public opinion long conditioned by rabble-rousing and appeals to race hatred;

(5) conservative white control of the economy; (6) economic dependence and political impotence of Negroes in those areas where they are most numerous.

In the long run, however, the pro-integration assets are even greater. They may be summed up in the statement that all of the major national forces -- religious, cultural, economic, political, and international considerations -- are pressing the direction of integration. Our main efforts should be aimed at bringing these forces to bear more strongly on the South.

These pro-integration forces manifest themselves in the South largely in terms of choices. For example, Atlanta had to decide whether to admit Negroes to its public golf courses, or by closing them to deprive 70,000 white players of facilities and 100 city employees of their jobs. The golf pros and other employees were converted overnight into "liberals" who wanted to make golf-course desegregation work because of the prospect of unemployment if it didn't. In short, they had to choose between their personal prejudices and their livelihoods.

More and more national associations are reluctant to hold their conventions in cities where Negro members would be segregated. Large Southern cities are, increasingly, having to choose between segregation and the revenue and prestige which large conventions bring.

The Sugar Bowl incident was an impressive example of this phenomenon of choice. Many ardent segregationists (e.g., the chairman of the Georgia Board of Regents) wound up fiercely championing Georgia Tech's participation against a "mixed" team before a "mixed" audience. They chose money and fame for Tech over their personal adherence to segregation.

It is my belief that we will desegregate in the South not because a majority of white Southerners come to see desegregation as desirable, but

because they will find the alternatives to it intolerable. Such choices are shaping up in every area of life. Our task is to do what we can to help them develop, to interpret them clearly to Southern opinion-makers. Some illustrative possibilities:

(1) The uncertain status of public schools in the resisting states has adversely affected the marketability and interest rates of school bonds. This should be documented and widely publicized.

(2) The tension and unrest created by Southern defiance of the Supreme Court ruling have doubtless made many industries hesitant about moving South. A story in the Wall Street Journal, say, documenting this point, and dissemination of that information in the South would be of great value.

(3) The segregation leaders preen themselves on their "respectability". Every possible instance of oppression and reprisal should be spotlighted by public media to destroy this myth; also the ulterior political and economic motives of the resistance leaders. This can only result from skilled investigation and fact-finding by local people. Our deep-South state affiliates should develop the system and skills necessary for this kind of exposure.

(4) The segregationist South claims that it is willing to extend to the Negro every constitutional right short of integration. Yet, as we know, Negroes throughout the Black Belt are denied their well established right to vote. The disfranchisement of the Negro is, in fact, one of the chief reasons for the kind of leadership under which the South now suffers.) This would seem a highly propitious time to push the whole question of Negro suffrage. Local registration and voting efforts are probably the business of the NAACP and other Negro organizations. However, a thoroughgoing SRC study of Negro political participation could focus attention on the question. Further, the SRC should expose publicly and/or to the Department of Justice illegal efforts to deprive Negroes of the ballot. Much white sentiment,

though opposed to school integration, would support the right of Negroes to register and vote without hindrance. And, in the more difficult states, this is probably a precondition of integration.

RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS AND RACIAL DESEGREGATION

by Harold C. Fleming

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Since the era of Reconstruction, every period of crisis in the relations of the South and the nation has given rise to resistance movements below the Potomac. The archetypal pattern was set by the original Ku Klux Klan. Political developments around the turn of the century wove the ethos of white supremacy into the social, economic, and political fabric of southern life. During the past half century that fabric has been so stretched, patched, and retailored that in many respects it is hardly recognizable. But the tough strands of the Lost Cause have managed to hold together, providing today virtually the last reminder of a once-united white South.

Since the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, at least twenty prosegregation groups have appeared on the southern scene.[1] Among these organizations there are wide variations in ideology and effectiveness, but they have in common the aim of mobilizing resentment against "outside interference" in the racial affairs of the region. And a substantial number of them are loosely federated under the spiritual authority of the White Citizens' Councils.

KU KLUX KLAN

It is a measure of southern progress that the mummery and frontier methods of the old Ku Klux Klan are no longer respectable. There is, to be sure, a newly chartered organization which seeks to trade on the name. But it is little more than a pallid ghost of its adopted ancestor. Indeed, since the demise of the powerful Klan of the 1920's, successive incarnations have declined steadily in strength and in influence. The revival of the hooded order after World War II lasted only a few embattled years. Then it found itself denounced from the pulpit and the platform, legislated against in state capitols, and prosecuted by state and federal law enforcement agencies. Its bankruptcy was complete when it appeared on the United States Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The current Klan's attempts to exploit reaction to the Supreme Court's ruling have hardly been noteworthy so far. The self-styled Imperial Wizard is an Atlanta paint sprayer named E. L. Edwards. Edwards has made speeches and distributed literature in parts of Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas. Aside from these efforts to recruit dues-paying members, the Klan has shown little vitality. Ineptly led, unmasked by state laws, and inhibited by the unfriendly attentions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it is a "fringe" group in the full meaning of the term.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE

One of the factors contributing to the decline of the latter-day Klan has been its appeal to anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish bigotry. The South has its share of prejudice against these religious minorities, but extreme manifestations of it are generally considered disreputable. A case in point in the experience of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP), the first and most widely publicized prosegregation group of the present cycle.

The NAAWP--the personal creation of Bryant Bowles, a Floridian with a well-documented police record--won overnight notoriety for its role in the Milford, Delaware, controversy. At the beginning of the 1954-55 school term, the Milford Board of Education had admitted eleven Negro students to the hitherto white high

school. Bowles quickly seized the opportunity to rally resentful white people of the area and to direct them in a campaign of school boycotts and demonstrations. State authorities reacted with equivocal and confused public statements, which had the practical effect of repudiating the Milford school board. In the end, segregation was restored, the school board replaced, and Bowles elevated to a position of honor in segregationalist circles.

The outcome of this local skirmish unquestionably gave encouragement and impetus to the resistance movement throughout the South. But the subsequent career of the NAAWP has been anticlimatic. Bowles's attempt to exploit antidesegregation sentiment in Baltimore was thwarted by prompt and resolute action on the part of the civic groups and public officials. Unsavory details of Bowles's background came to light, and he found himself indicted on a charge of violating state school laws.

These liabilities alone might not have prevented Bowles from extending the NAAWP into the South and making of it the mass movement he had predicted it would be. It soon became apparent, however, that he was making overt and blatant use of anti-Semitism. He distributed to NAAWP supporters thousands of copies of such anti-Jewish nationalist publications as Common Sense and the American Nationalist. He also shared the platform with individuals whose anti-Semitic records were well known, and himself startled audiences with diatribes against "the Jews who are alien to the white race and most influential and instrumental in the spoiling, looting, and defilement of it. . ." (Charlotte (N. C.) News, July 25, 1955.)

By these tactics Bowles forfeited the possibility of securing influential community backing for his organization. During the summer of 1955, a segregation-minded group in Charlotte, North Carolina, invited Bowles to address a rally, looking toward the establishment of a local chapter of the NAAWP. A public airing of Bowles's anti-Semitic activities, however, caused several of the local sponsors to withdraw and evidently destroyed any prospects of an effective organization in Charlotte. At this writing, the NAAWP appears to have little or no following outside of southern Delaware, and its long-range hopes there seem none too bright.

SIGNIFICANCE OF EXTREMIST GROUPS

The contemporary Klan, the NAAWP, and other organizations of extremist temper cannot be dismissed as of no consequence. In a disturbed social situation, fringe groups of this kind can constitute a serious threat. During quiescent periods, they maintain a hard core of professional organizers and dedicated followers. When tension in a given area reaches a sufficinetly high level, these experienced agents may serve as catalysts of violence.

While the danger of mob action should not be overlooked, neither should it be exaggerated. There is reason to believe that even the most vocal champions of segregation among southern state officials would act to quell public disorders. They are well aware that widespread or prolonged violence would have disastrous consequences for their respective states, in terms of both economic penalties and possible federal intervention. Thus rioting and other forms of mob action, if they occur, are likely to be localized and of short duration.

THE BLACK BELT

In short, the organizations whose overt appeal is to the violence-minded are not yet extinct, but they are becoming obsolete. The legitimate heirs of the Reconstruction Klan use a subtler approach. They have translated the lawless elements of the resistance tradition into more modern idiom--modern, that is, in terms of the plantation culture which persists in the subregion commonly called the Black Belt.

This band of agricultural counties, stretching from southeast Virginia to east Texas, was the heartland of the slave South, just as today it is the last stronghold of segregation. Both the economy and the social system of the Black Belt have traditionally depended on the subservience of the large Negro population, which ranges from 40 to 80 per cent of the county totals. During the last century, the planter aristocracy of this area imposed its will on the reluctant, and sometimes rebellious, South of the highlands and the piedmont. And in the decades following the Civil War, the values of the plantation society were fixed in the states of the lower South by means of distorted legislative apportionment and similar political devices.

The agrarian Black Belt, weakened by a steady outflow of population and the ascendancy of urban industrialization, has made many concessions in the last generation. Nevertheless, in coalition with some urban business and industrial interests, it still exerts a powerful influence on the state governments of the Deep South, and it still clings fiercely to the doctrine of white supremacy. It is not surprising, then, that the most formidable of the existing prosegregation movements was born in the Mississippi Delta.

WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS

The first White Citizens' Council was established in Indianola, Mississippi, a few months after the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision. A state headquarters was later opened in Winona, Mississippi, the home of the executive secretary, a young planter named Robert B. Patterson. The movement was extended into surrounding counties through mimeographed mailings and semisecret meetings. By October 1954 the WCC, organized in some twenty-one counties, was strong enough to play a significant role in the passage of two state constitutional amendments--one designed to facilitate disfranchisement of Negro voters, the other aimed at circumventing the Supreme Court rulings.

Today the WCC claims more than 250 chapters in Mississippi, with a membership of 60,000. The organization has also established itself in Black Belt counties of Texas, Arkansas, Alabama, and South Carolina, as well as maintaining close ties with similar organizations elsewhere in the South. In the words of Robert B. Patterson, "In some of the states they go by different names, but we are all seeking the same goal, and that's what counts." (Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser and Alabama Journal, June 26, 1955.)

The constituency of this loose federation was defined, at least in part, in the first issue of the WCC's official publication. An introductory editorial announced that subsequent issues would be mailed not only to WCC members in the several states, but also to members of seven other prosegregation organizations.[2]

Official pronouncements

The WCC's published statements of purpose have been couched in relatively lofty and generalized phrases. The official slogan, for example, reads: "Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order, and domestic tranquility in our Communities and in our State and to the preservation of our State's Rights." ("The Citizens' Council," five-page leaflet, published by the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Miss. (n. d.).)

The main object of the WCC's official pronouncements appears to be two-fold: to create an aura of respectability around the movement; and to divest the central organization of responsibility for the utterances and actions of its component groups. Toward the first end, WCC literature has stressed the claim that its leaders are drawn from the "best" people and that its program is essential to the prevention of violence. The leaflet just quoted declares:

> The highest type of leadership has been provided in each community where councils have been formed. We intend to prevent violence, friction and race hatred. We intend to carry out the peaceful relations we have had with our colored citizens. . . .

Even critics of the WCC will concede that many of the leaders of the movement have community status in terms of political influence, economic power, or both. What these critics do not concede is that status of this kind automatically confers respectability on the aims and methods of the movement. As Hodding Carter has commented:

> . . .by and large, the men who thus far have led the Councils' movement have standing in their communities. They are, primarily, men with an obsession --namely, that integration of the public schools means blood integration as well--and this obsession is shared by many who abhor the Councils. It may be remembered unhappily, that at the outset of the Klan's revival in the '20's, men also gave way to their obsessions, whether about Negro, Catholic or Jew or all three. ("A Wave of Terror Threatens the South," Look, March 22, 1955.)

Some uneasy recognition of this fact may underlie the WCC's insistence on decentralized responsibility. The literature of the organization asserts that local councils are independent--a point that is repeatedly emphasized by spokesmen for the parent Mississippi association. One WCC official typically disclaimed knowledge of techniques being used with the statement, "You must realize that the Citizens' Council movement is not a closely controlled movement." (Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, August 22, 1955.)

Economic pressure an accepted method

The advantages of such vaguely defined lines of responsibility are obvious when one turns to the question of method. Initially, the WCC made no secret of the fact that its chief weapon would be economic pressure. One of the original leaders of the movement, former state senator Fred Jones of Inverness, Mississippi, issued a public statement in October 1954, in which he said:

> We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate, we can apply social and political pressure. (Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger, October 24, 1954.)

In the context of the Black Belt, this was little more than a verbalization of the obvious. The livelihood of Negroes in this agricultural area, except for an occasional professional man, has traditionally depended on the good will of white landlords, bankers, merchants, and local officials. This economic dependence has always been a major instrument of social control. For example, it largely accounts for the fact that the counties with the densest Negro populations have few or no Negro voters.

As the WCC spread outside the Mississippi Delta, however, the principle of economic coercion drew strong criticism. At an organizing rally in Dallas County, Alabama, one speaker spelled out the principle in this bald language:

> The white population in this county controls the money, and this is an advantage that the council will use in a fight to legally maintain complete segregation of the races. We intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit or renew a mortgage. (Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, December 1, 1954.)

Press criticism

This widely publicized statement was roundly condemned by many newspapers, in the South as well as elsewhere. The Montgomery Advertiser, for example, in an editorial entitled "Economic Lynch Law," declared:

> The manicured Kluxism of these White Citizens' Councils is rash, indecent and vicious. . . . This ("economic thuggery") is rash because the Negro himself holds a powerful and growing economic power of his own. The merchants, the bankers, the grocery stores and the autodealers could find that they have grasped a two-edged sword that cuts wickedly in two directions.
>
> . . . What is proposed is indecent and vicious because we find a dominant group standing in the shadows threatening to confiscate the meat, drink, and shelter of dissenters. (Ibid.)

Organizational responsibility minimized

Since that time, leaders of the WCC have minimized or disavowed organizational responsibility for economic reprisals. Illustrative was the answer to press queries given by Alston Keith, chairman of the Dallas County WCC, after some sixteen Negro signers of an integration petition lost their jobs. Keith declared that the council would not take credit or censure for what he called a "spontaneous reaction" to the filing of the petition. But he added, "I don't believe there would have been the unity of action that there was without the educational work of the citizens. They did just what we have been advocating right along." (Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, September 8, 1955.)

More circumspection is displayed by some, as witness this endorsement by South Carolina's Lieutenant-Governor Ernest F. Hollins:

> It is my belief that the Citizens' Councils, by mobilizing the best leadership at the community level, can help to restore decency in government and maintain peace and security for all people, both white and Negro. I am glad that responsible spokesmen for the movement say they do not use organized economic pressure as a weapon against anyone. . . . The organization of pressures is full of dangers. (Winston-Salem (N. C.) Twin City Sentinel, September 16, 1955.)

Effectiveness of economic sanctions

Whatever degree of direct responsibility may be attributed to the WCC, both economic and social pressures have been widely used against advocates of desegregation. Negro teachers have been discharged, Negro farmers have been denied credit, and Negro merchants have been boycotted by wholesale distributors. In a number of instances, signers of desegregation petitions directed to local school boards have recanted after their names and addresses were published by the newspapers. In a few cases, white persons believed to hold unorthodox racial views have been "advised" by organized groups of their neighbors to move; and a small but growing number of white ministers have lost their pulpits because of their opinions on segregation.

The relatively few publicized incidents of this kind clearly do not measure the full extent of economic and social pressure. Furthermore, "economic lynchings," like the physical lynchings of years past, are intended as object lessons; they are meant not only to penalize the individual victim but to silence and neutralize other potential dissenters. The effectiveness of this inhibiting function is a matter of speculation, but there is no doubt that a climate of fear and repression is widespread.

It should be noted, however, that the double-edged quality of economic sanctions has been felt in some communities. In Orangeburg, South Carolina, merchants and food distributors who co-operated in the WCC program found themselves boycotted by the Negro students of State College. Reports from other communities in the Black Belt indicate similar declines in Negro patronage of business establishments operated by WCC members. A countermeasure of another sort was the deposit of $250,000 in the Tri-State Bank of Memphis by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations to supply credit to victims of the WCC economic blacklist. The outcome of this economic tug-of-war cannot yet be foreseen, but it is apparent that Negroes will not be the only ones to suffer.

Fundamentally, the Southern resistance movement is a desperate rearguard action against the slow but inexorable advance of democratic values. The plantation culture's area of influence has shrunk steadily, until today it clearly dominates only four state governments--those of Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana--and in most of these states it is not wholly unchallenged. The resulting awareness of threat, from both within and without, has heightened the intolerance of the resistance leaders.

The propaganda of the WCC and related groups advances the segregation dogma with inquisitional fierceness. Integration, according to this orthodoxy, is an aim of the Communist conspiracy, designed to bring about "mongrelization" of the races and the consequent collapse of our society. The NAACP and other organizations with like purposes are stigmatized as agents of this vast alien plot. The Supreme Court is vilified as the "political tool" of the conspirators, while the schools and churches are represented as honeycombed by "neo-communist and neo-socialist teachers and preachers."

Political implications

Indeed, the new resistance doctrine has political implications far transcending the issue of racial segregation. Doubtless for the rank and file of adherents negrophobia is the sole motive force. But the leaders of the movement evidently view the segregation issue as a rallying point for broader purposes. W. J. Simmons, executive secretary of the Jackson, Mississippi, Council, made this revealing statement in an interview with Associated Press reporter Bem Price:

> I think (the WCC) is much more than a white supremacist group and I think it is much more than a protectionist group. I think it is fundamentally the first real stirrings of a conservative revolt in this country, judging by the responses we've gotten from other states. . . . Some of the people who are attracted to this movement may not be concerned about the Negro. What would be classed as the old white supremacist movement has no place. It is too narrow. (Montgomery (Ala.,) Advertiser, August 22, 1955.)

The WCC lays great stress on political participation by its members. Each local council, declares the prospectus, should have a Political and Elections Committee.

> This committee studies candidates for local and state elections and presents their qualifications to the voters. It attempts to get candidates to voice their opinion on vital subjects prior to election. It can reach each voter personally to present the truth on all matters to the people. ("The Citizens' Council,"five-page leaflet, published by the Association of Citizens' Councils, Winona, Miss. (n. d.)

The criteria to be applied in judging candidates are not stated. But in the same leaflet appears this suggestive passage:

> The idea now is seemingly to pride ourselves in the fact that everybody in the world should be made equal by law, regardless of aptitude or heritage. The "have nots" must share equally with the "have gots" in this new world order. . . .
>
> This integration scheme ties right in with the new, one world, one creed, one race philosophy fostered by the ultra-idealists and left-wingers. (Ibid.)

The political orientation of the resistance leadership emerges even more clearly in the announcement of a new regional organization called the Federation for Constitutional Government. This superorganization lists among its officers the principals of the WCC and its affiliated groups; it also boasts the sponsorship of many of the leaders of the 1948 States' Rights, or "Dixiecrat," party, including J. Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright, who were the presidential and vice-presidential nominees, respectively.

The preservation of segregation is, of course, one of the aims of the new federation; but this aim is overshadowed by such purposes as "resisting nomination of leftist candidates for president and vice-president and other offices" and "opposing adoption of socialistic (national party) platforms." Plainly, a new political movement is under way, its voting strength hopefully vested in the membership of the WCC and other resistance organizations.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Any assessment of the southern resistance movement at this date must be tentative. So far, attempts to implement the several desegregation rulings of the Supreme Court have not reached a decisive stage in the Deep South. Only as litigation is carried to its ultimate conclusion will the effectiveness--and the dangers--of the prosegregation groups be fully measured.

Maanwhile, it is possible to sum up the strengths and weaknesses of the resistance movement as it appears today.

Strengths

1. In areas of the South with proportionately large Negro populations, white sentiment is overwhelmingly opposed to desegregation. The very real anxieties and fears of the public offer a fertile field for racist exploitation.

2. Negroes are politically impotent and economically dependent in precisely those areas where their numbers are largest; hence, they are unable to make their full weight as a group felt in the struggle against oppressive measures.

3. Advocates of extreme prosegregation views are far more vocal than moderates or liberals; many white southerners who are opposed to the resistance groups fear the consequences of speaking out.

4. Political control of at least four southern states is in the hands of politicians who are wholly sympathetic with the aims and methods of the resistance groups; the States Rights Council of Georgia, for example, was organized by the Governor and other leading officeholders. In four additional states, the resistance groups exert strong, if not always decisive, influence on the legislatures and public officials.

Weaknesses

1. The once Solid South is solid no more. School desegregation is proceeding apace in such border states as West Virginia and Oklahoma; is under way in parts of Texas, Arkansas, and Kentucky; and appears in prospect in eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina. As the domain of segregation shrinks, the resistance groups' claims on sectional loyalty will be steadily weakened.

2. The growing Negro vote is gradually but relentlessly eroding the political base of die-hard resistance to racial change.

3. All the principal religious bodies active in the South are officially committed to the principle of desegregation. Although opposition to this principle is widespread at the congregational level, church leadership is not likely to recede from its position. As time goes on, more and more clergymen and church people may be expected to challenge segregation on moral grounds.

4. While the individual Negro in the Black Belt is relatively powerless, Negroes in the mass are capable of formidable economic retaliation. White merchants and businessmen are becoming uncomfortably aware of the potentially disastrous effects of organized boycotts by Negroes.

5. The ultraconservative political aims of the resistance leadership may ultimately alienate much of its following. Many rank-and-file members of the WCC are working people whose economic interests conflict with those of the "Dixiecrats," who are generally hostile to organized labor, progressive tax measures, and government programs benefiting low- and middle-income groups. This conflict of interests is presently obscured by racial feeling, but it is likely to be recognized in time.

6. The "respectability" of the WCC is threatened by its affinity with extreme nationalist movements elsewhere. The WCC has admitted distributing the anti-Semitic literature published by such groups, with the defense that only the anti-Negro content was considered relevant.

7. Despite loud public denials, leaders of the resistance movement realize that it can only be a delaying action. No one seriously believes that the Supreme Court's decisions will be reversed or that a handful of states can resist the national policy of desegregation indefinitely. And, although delay might be extended for a long time by determined efforts, the knowledge that defeat is ultimately certain should have an increasingly demoralizing effect on the movment.

In sum, the southern resistance movement is a foredoomed effort. The question is, how long can it be sustained and at what cost in human suffering and degradation?

[1]U. S. Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, National Association for the Advancement of White People, Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (also White Citizens' Councils of Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Texas), Constitution Party of Alabama, American States Rights Association of Birmingham, White America, Inc., of Arkansas, Christian Civic League of Georgia, States Rights Council of Georgia, Knights of the White Christians of Louisiana, Society for Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity of Louisiana, Southern Gentlemen of Louisiana, Maryland Petition Committee, Baltimore Association for States Rights, North Carolina Patriots, South Carolina Committee of 52, States Rights League of South Carolina, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, Tennessee Society for the Maintenance of Segregation, Defenders of State Sovereignty of Virginia, Virginia League. This list is based on reports in Southern School News and files of the Southern Regional Council.

[2]Tennessee Society for the Maintenance of Segregation, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, American States Rights Association of Birmingham, Georgia States Rights Council, Patriots of North Carolina, Defenders of State Sovereignty of Virginia, The Virginia League.--The Citizens' Council (Jackson, Mississippi), Vol. I, No. I (October 1955).

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Department of Social Education and Action
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April, 1956

CHP

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SEGREGATION

By Harold C. Fleming

(A speech delivered to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, American Psychological Association Convention, Chicago, September 1, 1956.)

It is heartening to me, as a Southerner working in the difficult field of race relations, to know that a group like the SPSSI is seeking ways in which it can make a practical contribution to the social transition confronting the South.

I very much hope that through the efforts of this group new channels of cooperation will be opened. We have long needed a more active working partnership between the social scientists and the practitioners -- and I use "practitioner" in its broadest sense, to include not only professional intergroup workers, but also leaders of voluntary organizations and public officials who are concerned with human relations. Today, the need for such a partnership in the field of race relations is desperate.

My own area of activity is the South. But there is no such thing as a "Southern" race problem in the sense that its causes and effects are neatly bounded by the Mason-Dixon Line. In ways that I need not spell out to you, Negro-white relations in the South are perhaps the most critical domestic challenge this nation faces. And whatever the final outcome, it will be achieved in a national rather than a merely sectional context.

What is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the United States can muster to make the transition to a desegregated society as speedily, effectively, and harmoniously as possible. Unhappily, no such mobilization has taken place. On the contrary, it is the forces that are determined either to prevent integration, or failing that to see that it is accomplished at the greatest social cost, that have been doing the mobilizing.

THE SOUTH IN THE LAST TWO YEARS

Without attempting a detailed summary of the developments of the last two years, I should like to give you briefly my notion of what has happened:

First, there is the too-often neglected success story. In the Border States and those at the outer layer of the South, desegregation is making heartening progress. There have been a few flare-ups, but on the whole the experience has been smooth and orderly.

In the lower South, however, the climate of opinion with respect to desegregation has steadily worsened. Outmoded political arrangements, coupled with the Negro's lack of political power and prestige, have invited exploitation of the public's fears, anxieties, and prejudices. The instruments of government and social control have been largely directed to enforcing the segregation orthodoxy and punishing dissenters. White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements have fed and mobilized this emotionalism. They now claim more than half-a-million members. The myth of racial inferiority has been revived and propagated with considerable effectiveness. National opinion seems, at least for the moment, to be in a state of uncertainty and confusion. On the other hand, Southern Negroes are showing a dignity and determination of purpose -- as, for example, in Montgomery -- which commanded respect even from those who most bitterly oppose them.

POLITICIZATION

In short, since the Supreme Court handed down its school decision in May 1954, the issues surrounding desegregation have become almost exclusively the property of politicians and folk orators on both sides of the debate. What is worse, some of our most intelligent leadership seems to have resigned itself to this state of affairs. The prevailing attitude is that we are

confronted here with dark, atavistic passions so deeply rooted in the human breast -- or at least the Southern breast -- that they are inaccessible to any kind of rational consideration. Hence the conclusion that the whole unpleasant business must somehow be resolved by incantation, imprecation, breast-beating, and other primitive rituals. Time -- time, in and of itself -- is also assumed to have magical properties. How much time, and who is to make use of it for what purposes, are questions that are seldom entertained.

There are those "realists" who argue that the political arena and the marketplace are the only natural and proper forums for social questions such as this. But this comfortable realism overlooks the fact that Negroes are not proportionately included in the political process or proportionately influential in the marketplace. It also fails to recognize that the archaic political systems of the South were conceived in white supremacy and dedicated to the proposition that men must not be equal.

The same realists would be appalled if, given analagous circumstances, other problems of human behavior were relegated so freely to the political sphere. Despite the enlightenment of our age, for example, juvenile delinquency is a rampant problem on the American scene. Certainly we are far from applying what knowledge we have to its elimination. But there is widespread understanding that juvenile delinquency is not merely a manifestation of original sin; that it is a social problem, subject to cause and effect, and not to be left exclusively to the police and penal authorities.

There are other more pertinent examples of highly charged social issues that have come to be regarded in a more mature fashion. Venereal disease, for instance, which only a few years ago could not be discussed above a whisper. Mental illness -- and its converse mental health -- furnish another instructive precedent. I am not equating these issues with the segregation controversy.

I mean only that these also are public issues that have been obscured by a cloud of irrationality and emotionalism, but in recent years something of the cooly scientific attitude toward them has permeated the national consciousness; a sufficiently thoughtful climate of opinion has been generated to make possible sound public policy and procedures in these fields.

SOCIAL SCIENCES

A similar job is urgently called for in the field of race relations. As an antidote to the emotionalism that now governs, we need the dispassionate diagnosis and prescription which the scientific method affords. Here lies a great opportunity for the social sciences to gain added maturity and to stake out new claims to leadership in the life of our nation.

If the intellectual leadership is not assumed by the social scientists, it will most certainly be exercised by others far less qualified. For willy nilly, the process of social change is under way in the Southern and Border states. The mass media have already expended on it some millions of words and some miles of film, much of it interpretation and analysis. Self-styled authorities have sprung up on every hand. The air is thick with psuedo-psychology, psuedo-sociology, psuedo-anthropology, and the rest.

We are told, for example, that desegregation inevitably produces tension and conflict; that the inclusion of Negroes in schools and other public institutions can only mean debased standards; that Negroes have never produced a civilization worthy of the name. The discredited doctrine of inherent racial differences in intelligence and character is enjoying wide new currency. It may seem to you that these misconceptions were decisively disposed of long ago; I can only reply that they are not dead yet in the popular mind. Nor are they limited to the South. Many non-Southerners have absorbed elements of these cornpone theories.

Meanwhile, I get the impression from many social scientists that until

some body of social theory is magnificently vindicated, they consider it rash and improper to involve themselves by word or deed in the practical situation.

I hasten to add that there are others who have been willing to take the risks of involvement, and they have made a valuable contribution. Let me mention only a few instances in which I have had the good fortune to cooperate:

(1) The study of bi-racial education in the United States which came to be called the "Ashmore Project" and was sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This was an exciting example of collaboration by scholars and non-scholars across the country. Included were social scientists from various disciplines, experts on constitutional law, race relations practitioners, and, as director and author of the overall report, a journalist. The result was a series of books and articles that had wide distribution and influence.

(2) The Southern Regional Council, under a grant from the Fund for the Republic, has been seeking to establish strong, professionally staffed human relations agencies in each of the twelve Southern states. A major part of this task is to acquaint the lay boards and staff members of these groups with effective organizational and program techniques. Under the direction of John Hope II of Fisk University a team of social scientists was assembled to serve as consultants to the state organizations. This consultant program has been in effect for less than a year, but it has already proved extremely valuable, not only for the state groups, but I think for the consultants themselves. We hope to be able to extend this service in the coming months to national organizations operating in the South, to local agencies, and to such official bodies as school boards.

(3) Finally, I might mention as another example of collaboration the Southern Regional Council's fact-finding program. With the assistance of

social scientists and others throughout the region we are collecting detailed information on Negro suffrage, pro-segregation movements, and the race relations aspects of industry and labor unions. These findings will be related statistically to county data on population characteristics, income, education, farm tenancy, urbanization, and the like. The results will be released in popularly written reports, through the press and the other public media.

These few examples of social scientists' participation in Southern action programs are not exhaustive, but they come uncomfortably close to being so. It is only fair to recognize here that it is not often possible for the individual social scientist to will himself into such activities. Group planning and financing are necessary. Moreover, some faculty members are unable to do all they might wish because of their vulnerability to official or social penalties.

QUESTIONS

Nevertheless, a great deal of practical inquiry and application is needed. I should like very briefly to raise some of the questions about which we in the human relations field know far too little.

First, there is the whole broad area of opinion, opinion-making, and opinion-measurement. I realize that much work has been done in this field. But how can the theory that has resulted be applied specifically to the Southern racial scene? It is evident, for example, that white Southerners, like other Americans, identify with various reference groups and opinion leaders, some of which heighten racial prejudice and some of which diminish it. What factors influence these identifications? Are there social action techniques through which the favorable identifications can be strengthened?

There is a great lack of meaningful opinion or attitude measurement in this field. The little that has been done has been of the crude yes-or-no variety -- and as might have been predicted the results have invariably shown

that most white Southerners prefer segregation. But the gradations in intensity of these attitudes and their significance for predicting behavior in specific situations have been almost wholly neglected.

Closely related is the question of how self-interest is perceived. In this complex modern society, there are many conflicting claims on self-interest. The white South has an increasing number of such conflicts -- legal, economic, religious, cultural -- as it seeks to maintain segregation in opposition to other values. The question is how to heighten the public perception of favorable claims on self-interest in contrast to the unfavorable. Along these lines, I believe, lies the greatest promise for an ultimate solution.

All of these considerations are closely bound up with the question of communication. In this day of universal television, radio, and mass circulation periodicals, intergroup activity still uses mainly the horse-and-buggy techniques of tract and pamphlet and goodwill slogan. And I might add that the urgently needed messages of social science are transmitted in highly specialized journals of small circulation -- and for good measure are coded so that no one outside the profession will suspect them of having practical implications.

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I have perhaps dwelt too heavily on those areas where official resistance to desegregation is the rule. There are also the states and communities where desegregation is in process or in early prospect. There, school authorities and others are grappling with complex questions of policy and procedure -- for example, "gradual" versus "across-the-board" changes in racial patterns. What can we tell them about the effects of varying techniques of desegregation under varying circumstances? And who is available, on what terms, to consult with them on these and other questions?

This is only the sketchiest suggestion of the kind of questions that are being dealt with today by laymen, mainly without the benefit of social science findings and insights. I am aware that it is easy for me, as a non-social scientist, to view with alarm and urge you and your colleagues to find the remedies. I realize that there are professional problems involved -- the problem of public relations, the problem of maintaining scientific standards, the problem of too much diversion from fundamental research, the problem of financing the efforts called for.

I can only say that a process of social change of these dimensions is not likely to recur in our time. In fact, what we do or fail to do now may determine whether we will continue to have a society in which change is possible through the democratic process.

* * * *

MEMORANDUM

October 11, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: Essay on Information for Quarterly Report

The State of Public Opinion

Few people who read the newspapers doubt that the "climate of opinion" with respect to desegregation has worsened in the South -- and for that matter in the whole country. It is commonly assumed that this negativism (or defeatism in the case of integrationists) is the result of a spontaneous grass-roots rebellion against the Supreme Court's edict. This is a big -- and unhelpful -- oversimplification. True, a majority of white Southerners, if they had their ruthers, would prefer segregation; true the raw material of prejudice and anxiety is plentiful in the white South; true, the South has, as always, a fanatical fringe ready to seize on an excuse for violence.

But none of this means that what happened was inevitable, or that there need be a lot more of it from now on. The neglected factor is leadership. As Louisville School Superintendent Carmichael pointed out on "Face the Nation," if Virginia had had the right kind of leadership, Richmond could have done what Louisville has done.

There needs to be much more thoughtful consideration of how "climates of opinion" are formed. Generally speaking, rank-and-file people take their cues from those in positions of authority, influence, and power: public officials, top political figures, preachers, educators, newspaper editors, business and industrial leaders, and so on. Nor is the Southern "climate" purely a result of Southern opinion leadership. National prestige figures

and nation-wide mass media are also potent. (For evidence, consider the expensive and extensive efforts of Southern segregationists to project their viewpoint to the "North.")

There also needs to be more recognition of the complexity of opinion and attitude on race. Most people hold no simple, single-minded, coherent opinion on the subject; rather they have a number of vague, shifting, often contradictory notions of what their position should be. For example, I think it is safe to say that most white Southerners believe (1) that segregation is "best for both races"; (2) that the law should be respected; (3) that the public schools should be preserved; (4) that the Negro should have an "equal chance"; (5) that the South shouldn't appear benighted and bigoted to "outsiders"; (6) that Negroes don't want integration; (7) that Negroes will "take advantage" of whites under integration. This list of "beliefs" for any given individual could be greatly extended. What passes as public opinion at any given time reflects the depth, intensity, and balance of the various notions at the moment. And this, in turn, depends on how the situation is defined by those whose words are regarded as authoritative.

SRC's Information Program

Over the years, SRC has tried to exert a favorable influence on the balance between positive and negative elements in Southern public opinion. We haven't been so arrogant as to assume that we could alone have much effect on so vast a problem. And, as the challenge grows, we are even more convinced that simply dealing with the press and other public media ourselves is only a small part of our task. As an agency working and thinking full-time about

Southern race relations, we can usefully "cue" journalists, other agencies, and key individuals to effective opinion approaches. We have been doing some of this job, but we could and should do considerably more. The methods we are now using are generally sound, as far as they go; they can be quickly characterized as follows:

(1) Press relations. One of our strongest assets is such reputation as we have achieved for being a reliable center of information and interpretation for newspapermen and other writers. By supplying honest facts and analysis, rather than "loaded" propaganda, we can reach individuals whose writings reach millions.

(2) Television. Here is a medium on which we need to concentrate more of our thought and effort. A certain amount can be done through direct approaches to local TV stations. But because of the unusual sensitivity of television to the perils of "controversy," the local approach is severely limited in the areas of greatest need. In this respect, the centralization of the TV industry is an asset. Network programs that reach into every corner of the South are conceived and executed in New York and Los Angeles. We would be short-sighted indeed if we did not find more ways to develop our stake in nationally originated TV treatments of race relations.

(3) Publications. The SRC has never gone in for random or "shotgun" pamphleteering, and the present situation encourages this approach less than ever. Rather, we need to do an even more effective "rifleshot" job with our publications -- that is, putting the right material into the hands of the right people. We have fairly consistently sought to develop special articles, pamphlets, and leaflets that would carry weight with opinion makers in various interest groups -- religious, economic, journalistic, educational, professional, and the like. Our greatest need in this area is to improve and

extend our channels of distribution.

(4) Special Fact-Finding. This should be distinguished from "research" (in both its academic and its popular usage) which has fallen into disrepute among action-minded people as being an abstract art. Our object is to assemble - and disseminate - specific bodies of fact that (a) make possible a diagnosis of practical problems and (b) point the way to effective remedies. Thus we seek to document recent Southern industrialization as a basis for persuasive economic arguments for desegregation - arguments that will command respect from economic leadership. Similarly we document the status of Negro voters in the South in order to focus attention on this vital key to progress and to guide the shaping of national policies to protect the ballot. In the case of the desegregation study, our aim was to contribute to a revival of confidence in the inevitability and workability of integration. The possibilities and effectiveness of this kind of strategic fact-finding are very great, provided we do an adequate job of disseminating the findings.

(5) Clearinghouse. The SRC is looked to by a host of organizations and key individuals for counsel. By giving this function more staff time and skill we can greatly increase the outreach of SRC's information and insights. In this way we can enlarge our contribution to the effort to bring all of the nation's positive resources to bear on the urgent domestic problems of segregation and discrimination.

HCF:mbo

The South and Segregation: Where Do We Stand?

by HAROLD C. FLEMING

THE SOUTH is surely one of the most rediscovered areas on earth. Since the end of the Civil War, the South's role in the nation has resembled nothing more than that of the black sheep who is conveniently ignored until some particularly scandalous behavior jolts the family into shocked attention. Then with a mixture of surprise, distaste, and avidity, the respectable relatives indulge in a journalistic orgy over the doings of their wayward kin. Soon this too palls, and the South slips back into obscurity—until the next time.

This is a time-honored process. But since the U.S. Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954, the tempo of the cycle has increased. Racial trouble in the South is now likely to make the headlines and newscasts several times a year, and is almost certain to do so at school-opening time in September. (The audience has grown, too; the headlines are likely to be as big in New Delhi as in New York.)

Nineteen fifty-seven was a banner year for this perpetual rediscovery of the South. Little Rock was barely nosed out by Sputnik as the biggest news story of the year. And this was in addition to the Congressional wrangle over civil rights legislation which dominated front pages during most of the long, hot summer.

Yet what do the millions of words and television images add up to? Have they given Americans—to say nothing of foreigners—a clearer understanding of the South's malaise? As a result of them, will the national shock be less or the insight greater if a similar eruption accompanies school desegregation in Dallas or Charlottesville or Knoxville? We can hope so, but not with much optimism. Only a few major newspapers, like the New York *Times*, a few thoughtful television and radio commentators, and a few good magazines sought to give a meaningful perspective to their reports from Little Rock.

Conspicuously lacking in most interpretations is any sense of continuity. The upheavals in Tuscaloosa, Clinton, and Little Rock were not isolated events, but episodes in an unfolding drama of social change. The title of the drama will have to await the last act. My own hopeful view is that it will be something like "The Death Agonies of an Old Order." But one thing is certain: it is a drama of change and transition, and at its end not only the South but the whole country will be significantly altered.

To assess the developments of the past year in these terms requires a review of what has happened since the Supreme Court outlawed the "separate but equal" doctrine in 1954.

The school decision was simply the most far-reaching judicial expression of our accepted national value system as applied to race. Such expressions, through the courts, Presidential orders, Interstate Commerce Commission rulings, religious pronouncements, and so on, had been mounting since the end of World War Two. The school decision, however, finally went to the heart of "discrimination" and the question of whether there can be any real equality in legal segregation. Outside the South, the Court's answer was generally regarded as the "proper" one, expected of us by a world full of emerging underdogs and required by our good opinion of ourselves—much as the politician is expected as a matter of good form to pay his respects to "the rights of every American regardless of race, creed, or national origin."

The Supreme Court was conscious, of course, that its ruling had tremendous practical implications. It not only stated the principle of desegregation, but later made it plain that community realities might be considered in the implementation. Thus the Court spoke of "deliberate speed" and "practical flexibility" and left the details of adjustment to the discretion of the district courts.

For the South, the decision presented the challenge of a social change more profound and far-reaching than any ever before required of Americans by court order. The weight of history and tradition, augmented by outmoded but powerful political and economic institutions, meant that most top Southern leadership had—or felt it had—a great deal of self-interest at stake in this challenge to the status quo. Many whites of lesser social status, beset by fears and insecurities, had an equally large psychological and emotional stake in the continued subordination of the Negro.

■

Here was a natural and dangerous combination—fear and fantasy among the rank-and-file, and a powerful sense of threat to self-interest among leaders long accustomed to manipulating this particular set of anxieties in Southern society.

Nevertheless, there were new forces working, too—unprecedented industrialization, urbanization, mass communication, increased education, more prosperity, the ideological effects of the war experience. These are the forces behind the often neglected success story of desegregation in the border states. At the end of 1957, 762 out of 3,008 formerly segregated school districts had be-

HAROLD C. FLEMING is executive director of the Southern Regional Council, now in its 16th year, which is widely regarded as the foremost inter-racial organization in the South. The Council is composed of leaders of both races representing civic, church, newspaper, business, labor, and professional activities in 12 Southern states.

gun or completed desegregation. A cautious start in the schools of three North Carolina cities had moved that state out of the "die-hard" category, and a contested but successful beginning in Nashville had given desegregation a firmer foothold in Tennessee. Aptly-named Pleasanton, Texas, had become the first community to approve desegregation by popular referendum, under the terms of an ill-motivated state law.

The Supreme Court's 1954 dose was a strong one, bitter to the palate of most Southern whites. But the South might have choked it down without a crisis, given the necessary leadership and interpretation. Much depended on how the situation was defined in the public forum. And that depended, in turn, on the tenor of leadership. There was a beginning, notably in the press and the churches, toward a constructive interpretation. But these efforts were eclipsed by another strain of leadership, operating with the shrewdness and ruthlessness of professional gamblers.

There are reasons aplenty why Southern leadership failed this test. More perplexing was the failure of national leadership to provide a statesmanlike counter-force about which moderate and enlightened Southern opinion could crystallize. The Supreme Court thoughtfully allowed a year of grace in which public sentiment and organized effort favorable to compliance could be mobilized. Unfortunately, the opportunity went largely by default, and the precious time was used by the die-hard South to launch a crusade based on fear, frustration, and irrationality.

The national leadership, on the whole, practiced a pious inaction. Governmental, religious, intellectual, and economic leaders undertook little in the way of diagnosis of the Southern problems standing in the path of compliance. There were few understanding offers of help, in the form of technical services and specialized resources, to Southern states and communities. The one representative of all the people—the President—failed to use the prestige of his office to promote understanding of this crucial issue by all Americans, white and Negro, North and South.

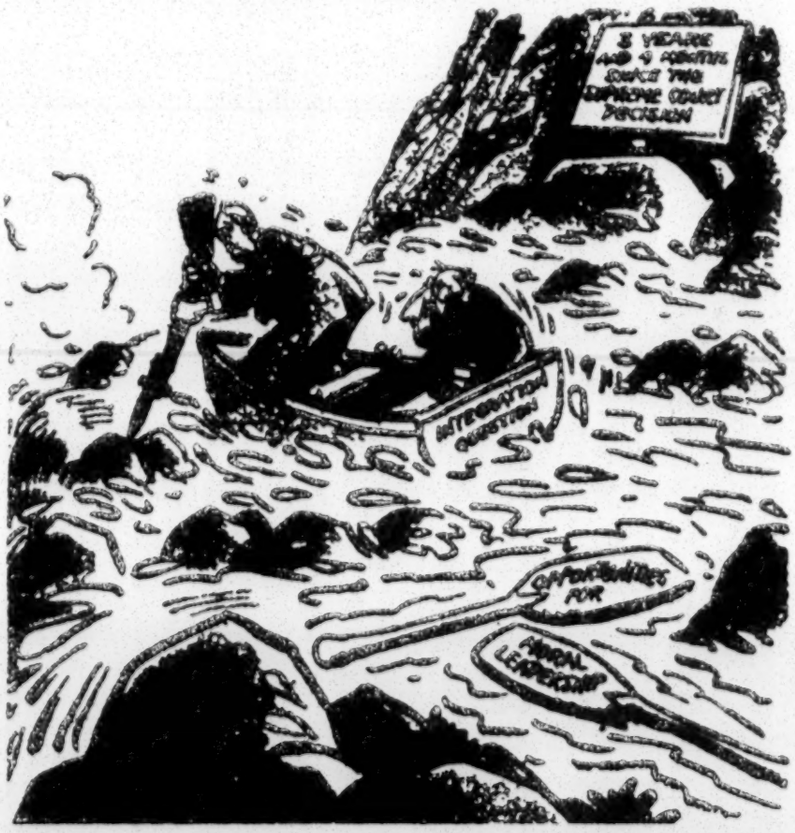
There was some new recognition of the North's and West's own shortcomings, but nothing that could be described as a concerted demonstration of the national will to wipe out segregation and discrimination. In fact, the pressures of Negro migration and efforts to change old patterns—particularly in housing—brought new manifestations of racial prejudice and tensions in the big Northern cities. At their last conventions, both national parties declined to take a clear-cut position on the Supreme Court decision. Nobody of the requisite official stature did a persuasive job of spelling out the importance of our domestic racial practices to American world leadership. Instead, public officials and others in the South used major forums to saturate the public with the argument that integration is a Communist objective, that those aiding racial progress are Communist sympathizers or dupes.

The leadership vacuum at the national level had two dire results: (1) It contributed to the demoralization of liberals and moderates in the South, facing pro-segregation intolerance with little backing by influential spokesmen for the national welfare; (2) it persuaded many white Southerners that the federal government and the "North" in general "don't really mean it." The pro-segregation leaders, emboldened by the failure of a counter-force to emerge, stepped up their offensive to harden the lines of resistance and to stamp out dissent.

The situation might have been likened to a poker game in which an aggressive player with a second-rate hand took the first pot by confident bluffing. His adversary, confused and vacillating, dared not play the magnificent cards he held, but gave the impression that he didn't really mean to get in the game in the first place and wasn't sure he really wanted to win.

Despite the turbulence of the year just past, there are some grounds for hope that it marked a turning-point in this uneven power struggle.

One of the most hopeful signs was the calm determination displayed by Southern Negroes themselves. The pro-segregation "resistance" movement was founded on the assumption that it could apply enough legal, social, and economic pressure to stifle



Herblock in The Washington Post

"Later On, I'd Like to Ask You Something"

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the Negroes' efforts to secure their newly defined rights. Hence, state actions aimed at ham-stringing the NAACP and cutting off Negro access to the courts; hence, the harassment, the economic reprisals, the dynamitings that have plagued the leaders of the integration movement.

But apart from some temporary and localized success, these repressive measures have failed. The NAACP is still in business in most states, and the pressure of court action continues. The Montgomery Improvement Association, led by Martin Luther King, Jr., raised the morale of Negroes everywhere—and won the admiration of people around the world. The dignity and courage of the nine Negro pupils in Little Rock, of Dorothy Counts in Charlotte, and of their counterparts in the other desegregating cities, symbolized the new self-image of the Southern Negro. Here, in short, is a force the segregationists hadn't recokned with—a force that, in the end, will be decisive.

Another development of major importance in 1957 was the passage of the Civil Rights Act. The decision of the liberals in Congress to concentrate on the right to vote was strategically sound. Southern resistance to desegregation is rooted in the outdated political systems of the deep South, which give inordinate power to the rural strongholds of "white supremacy." The wider use of the ballot by Negroes is an essential part of the remedy. Moreover, denial of the ballot is precisely the practice that the traditional Southern leadership can least comfortably defend. That the voting bill was passed without benefit of filibuster is eloquent testimony to that fact.

Finally, there was the sequence of events in Little Rock. Ever since May 17, 1954, thoughtful people have known that sooner or later there would be a head-on clash of federal *versus* state authority over segregation. No one, unless it was Governor Faubus, foresaw that the issue would be joined in his near-border state.

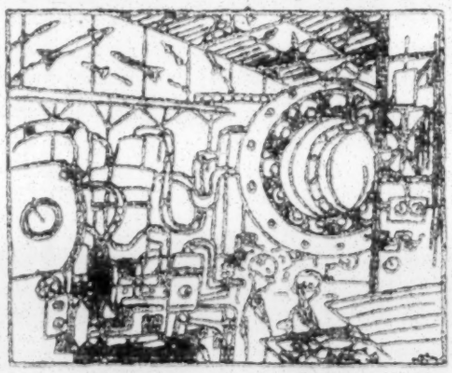
Here the importance of leadership to successful desegregation stands out in bold relief. Lack of moral commitment and unwillingness to prepare the community were no doubt grievous faults of the local school authorities. But it is most unlikely that these defects would have proved fatal had Governor Faubus not interfered. Once he threw the power and influence of his office behind continued segregation, there was evidently no counterforce short of the 101st Airborne Division sufficient to enforce the court's order.

Those who view this development as an inevitable expression of grass-roots opposition to desegregation might consider a hypothetical analogy. Let us suppose the Mayor of New York City suddenly took it into his head to block the admission of, say, a group of Puerto Ricans to a public housing project by the dramatic use of armed force, publicly declaring the alternative to be wholesale bloodshed. Can anyone doubt that a scene from Little Rock would be re-enacted, at least for a short time? The analogy is imperfect (no doubt the anti-bodies in sophisticated New York would quickly halt the infection), but it may help to bring home the problem of leadership that bedevils the South.

Since the negative implications of Little Rock have been thoroughly aired, it is perhaps worthwhile to consider briefly the positive aspects.

For one thing, this unhappy affair demonstrated for the first time that the federal government does not intend to let the orders of the courts be flouted with impunity. Thus the waning belief that desegregation is "inevitable" has been revived and strengthened among reasonable Southerners. From now on it will be harder for the demagogues to persuade the public that the courts and the executive branch can be forced to back down.

Southerners as well as Northerners were shocked by the extent to which a previously placid and law-abiding community can be disrupted by mob action when a public official espouses defiance of law. There is some evidence that inert "moderates" elsewhere in the South have been startled into awareness that their silence and inaction can have devastating consequences. The most tangible evidence so far is the adoption of positive statements on desegregation by clergymen in Atlanta, Macon, and Columbus, Georgia, Houston, Texas, and elsewhere. There are also indications, though less concrete, that businessmen, educators, and police officials feel some of the same concern.



Observer, London

"I'm Working on a Deterrent to Deter Deterrents"

Can these sparks of hope be fanned into a brush fire? The answer is shrouded in *ifs*: *if* the Presidency can come to serve as more than a military command post with respect to this great national issue; *if* the new Civil Rights Commission can escape the paralysis of internal dissension; *if* businessmen and industrialists, North as well as South, can begin to recognize their own stake in orderly desegregation; *if* Negroes wage a vigorous campaign of voter registration, and *if* the Department of Justice gives them the necessary support—these are a few of the variables.

Basic to all these specific factors is our ability as a nation to meet the stresses and strains of desegregation with more maturity and understanding than we have yet displayed. The alternative is despair and its twin, hopelessness. We need to renew our belief in the fundamental rightness and workability of desegregation. We need to remind ourselves that Southerners are Americans struggling against the handicap of a blighted inheritance.

The Southern Regional Council, as an organization of white and Negro Southerners, has found plenty of evidence that the handicap can be overcome. A Council survey of Southern and border states in 1956 found 1100 instances of desegregation in all fields after the Supreme Court's 1954 decision. As that survey concluded, "Obviously a large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harshly defiant."

To give the leadership and encouragement which will make that good will operative—that is America's challenge in 1958.

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Speeches

Scholarship and the Segregation Crisis

(Presented by Harold C. Fleming at the Annual Convocation of the Atlanta University Center, January 25, 1959)

The opportunity to address this distinguished assembly is for me an especially welcome privilege. For one who works in the field of human relations and particularly one whose activities are based in Atlanta, the Atlanta University Center is far more than an aggregation of outstanding educational institutions. It is both symbol and resource, seedbed of idealism and of practical skills in the struggle to achieve a truly free society. It is indeed, in Disraeli's familiar words, "a place of light, of liberty, and of learning."

Since its inception, this center has furnished many notable examples of how the life of the mind can influence and enrich the life of the general society. It is to this subject that I should like to address my brief remarks this afternoon.

We live today in a region convulsed by the imperatives of social change. Within the last decade and a half we have made giant strides toward the elimination of legal segregation and discrimination in the South. But during the last few years, we have also seen the emergence of resistance to change so intense and so irrational that it has endangered the well-being of the whole nation. I am not suggesting that there is any occasion for panic or pessimism. After all, the negative reactions, however severe, are in response to the inexorable expansion of individual freedom and opportunity. An old order is dying hard. It is causing a lot of damage in its death throes; but after all, it is dying.

The question is, how much of this destructiveness can be avoided? What can responsible individuals and institutions do to minimize the damage and to facilitate harmonious adjustment to change?

An important part of the answer, it seems to me, must lie in a better bridging of the gap between scholarship and social action. One of the great handicaps in meeting the desegregation crisis has been the lack of a close partnership between

educators, social scientists, and other specialists on the one hand, and public officials, community leaders, and other practitioners on the other hand. In order to illustrate this deficiency more clearly, I should like to summarize briefly the negative developments which followed the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954.

There is, of course, the too-often neglected success story. In the Border States and several of the mid-South states, school desegregation is making heartening progress. There have been a few flare-ups, but on the whole the experience has been smooth and orderly.

In the lower South, however, the climate of opinion with respect to desegregation steadily worsened after May 1954. Outmoded political arrangements, coupled with the Negro's lack of political power and prestige, invited exploitation of the public's fears, anxieties, and prejudices. The instruments of government and social control were largely directed to enforcing the segregation orthodoxy and punishing dissenters. White Citizens Councils and other resistance movements fed and mobilized this emotionalism. The myth of racial inferiority was revived and propagated with considerable effectiveness. National opinion often appeared to be in a state of uncertainty and confusion. On the other hand, Southern Negroes generally displayed a dignity and determination of purpose -- as, for example, in Montgomery -- which commanded respect even from those who most bitterly opposed them.

~~POLITICIZATION~~

In short, following the Supreme Court decision of 1954, the issues surrounding desegregation became almost exclusively the property of politicians and folk orators on both sides of the debate. What is worse, some of our most intelligent leadership seemed to have resigned itself to this state of affairs. The prevailing attitude was that we were confronted here with dark, atavistic passions so deeply rooted in the human breast --or at least the Southern breast -- that they are inaccessible to any kind of rational consideration. Hence the conclusion that the whole unpleasant business must somehow be resolved by incantation, imprecation, breast-beating, and other primitive rituals. Time -- time, in and of itself -- was also assumed by

many to have magical properties. How much time, and who was to use it for what purposes, were questions that were seldom entertained.

There are those "realists" who argue that the political arena and the marketplace are the only natural and proper forums for social questions such as this. But this comfortable realism overlooks the fact that Negroes are not proportionately included in the political process or proportionately influential in the marketplace. It also fails to recognize that the archaic political systems of the South were conceived in white supremacy and dedicated to the proposition that men must not be equal.

The same realists would be appalled if, given analagous circumstances, other problems of human behavior were relegated so freely to the political sphere. Despite the enlightenment of our age, for example, juvenile delinquency is a rampant problem on the American scene. Certainly we are far from applying what knowledge we have to its elimination. But there is widespread understanding that juvenile delinquency is not merely a manifestation of original sin; that it is a social problem, subject to cause and effect, and not to be left exclusively to the police and penal authorities.

There are other pertinent examples of highly charged social issues that have come to be regarded in a more mature fashion. Venereal disease, for instance, which only a few years ago could not be discussed above a whisper. Mental illness -- and its converse mental health -- furnish another instructive precedent. I am not equating these issues with the segregation controversy. I mean only that these also are public issues that have been obscured by a cloud of irrationality and emotionalism, but in recent years something of the coolly scientific attitude toward them has permeated the national consciousness; a sufficiently thoughtful climate of opinion has been generated to make possible sound public policy and procedures in these fields.

~~SOCIAL SCIENCES~~

A similar job is urgently called for in the field of race relations. As an antidote to the emotionalism that now governs, we need the dispassionate diagnosis and prescription which the scholarly method affords. Here lies a great opportunity for the social sciences in particular to gain added maturity and to stake out new claims to leadership in the life of our nation.

If the intellectual leadership is not assumed by those educationally equipped, it will most certainly be exercised by others far less qualified. For willy nilly, the process of social change is under way in the South. The mass media have already expended on it some millions of words and some miles of film, much of it interpretation and analysis. Self-styled authorities have sprung up on every hand. The air is thick with psuedo-psychology, psuedo-sociology, psuedo-anthropology, and the rest.

We are told, for example, that desegregation inevitably produces tension and conflict; that the inclusion of Negroes in schools and other public institutions can only mean debased standards; that Negroes have never produced a civilization worthy of the name. The discredited doctrine of inherent racial differences in intelligence and character is enjoying new currency. It may seem to the expert that these misconceptions were decisively disposed of long ago; we can only reply that they are not dead yet in the popular mind. Nor are they limited to the South. Many non-Southerners have absorbed elements of these homespun theories.

~~QUESTIONS~~

A great deal of practical inquiry and application are needed.

There is the whole broad area of opinion, opinion-making, and opinion-measurement. Much work has been done in this field. But how can the theory that has resulted be applied specifically to the Southern racial scene? It is evident, for example, that white and Negro Southerners, like other Americans, identify with various reference groups and opinion leaders, some of which heighten racial feeling and some of which diminish it. What factors influence these identifications: Are there social action

?

techniques through which the favorable identifications can be strengthened?

There is a great lack of meaningful opinion or attitude measurement in this field. Much that has been done is of the crude yes-or-no variety -- and as might have been predicted the results have invariably shown that most white Southerners prefer segregation and most Negroes prefer desegregation. But the gradations in intensity of these attitudes and their significance for predicting and influencing behavior in specific situations have been largely neglected.

Closely related is the question of how self-interest is perceived. In this complex modern society, there are many conflicting claims on self-interest. The South has an increasing number of such conflicts -- legal, economic, religious, cultural -- as it seeks to maintain segregation in opposition to other values. The question is how to heighten the public perception of favorable claims on self-interest in contrast to the unfavorable. Along these lines, I believe, lies the greatest promise for an ultimate solution.

All of these considerations are closely bound up with the question of communication. In this day of universal television, radio, and mass circulation periodicals, intergroup activity still relies heavily on the horse-and-buggy techniques of tract and pamphlet and goodwill slogan. And I might add that the urgently needed messages of social science are usually transmitted in highly specialized journals of small circulation -- and for good measure are coded so that no one outside the profession will suspect them of having practical implications.

- - - -

I have perhaps dwelt too heavily on those areas where official resistance to desegregation is the rule. There are also the states and communities where desegregation is in process or in early prospect. There, school authorities and others are grappling with complex questions of policy and procedure -- for example, "gradual" versus "across-the-board" changes in racial patterns, or the handling of individual differences arising from social and economic factors. What can we tell them about

the effects of varying techniques of desegregation under varying circumstances?

This is only the sketchiest suggestion of the kind of questions being dealt with today by laymen, mainly without the benefit of the findings and insights of behavioral science. This great educational center, which has already contributed so much to the advancement of learning and human relations, will hardly fail to meet this challenge.

In today's fast-moving world, there is no longer any place for the concept of a "Southern problem," a "Negro problem" or a "white problem." There are only human problems. And, as always in the history of mankind, the responsibility for solving these problems will not be equitably borne. We cannot wait for the responsibility to be assumed by reluctant leaders in high places, by those who wield political, economic, or social power. The burden of responsibility rests, as always, on those persons, regardless of race or position in society, who see the need and are willing to try to meet. In short, the responsibility is ours.

Weekly Calendar

January 25
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January 31
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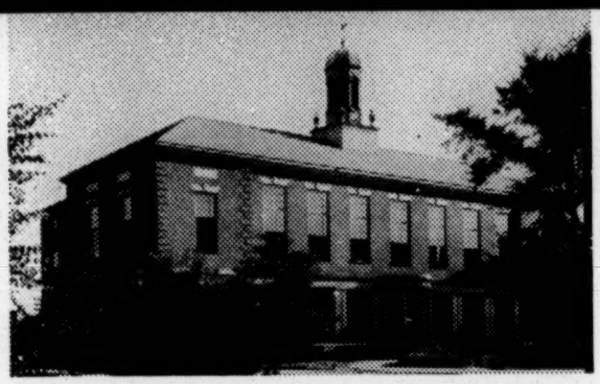

The Atlanta University System

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
SPELMAN COLLEGE

Sunday, January 25

9:00 a. m. Spelman College Sunday School, Howe Hall - Life Service Sunday
3:00 p. m. ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CENTER CONVOCATION, Sisters Chapel - Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Speaker
Student Art Exhibit Closes - Laura Spelman Rockefeller Galleries

Monday, January 26

REGISTRATION DAY - Trevor Arnett Library
8:00 a. m. - 12:30 p. m. 2:00 p. m. - 6:00 p. m.

(Doors close at 5:00 p. m.)

Tuesday, January 27

8:00 a. m. Spelman College Chapel, Sisters Chapel - Reverend Lucius H. Pitts, Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers Education Association, Speaker
9:00 a. m. Morehouse College Chapel, Sale Hall - President B. E. Mays, Speaker

Wednesday, January 28

8:00 a. m. Spelman College Chapel, Sisters Chapel - President A. E. Manley, Speaker
9:00 a. m. Morehouse College Chapel, Sale Hall - Dr. Edward Cahill, Minister, United Liberal Unitarian Church, Speaker

Thursday, January 29

8:00 a. m. Spelman College Chapel, Sisters Chapel - Reverend N. M. Rates, Speaker
9:00 a. m. Morehouse College Chapel, Sale Hall - Dr. S. Z. Westerfield, Dean, School of Business Administration, Atlanta University, Speaker
6:45 p. m. Mid-Week Meeting, Howe Hall

Friday, January 30

8:00 a. m. Spelman College Chapel, Sisters Chapel - Reverend Samuel W. Williams, Pastor, Friendship Baptist Church, Speaker
9:00 a. m. Morehouse College Chapel, Sale Hall - Program under auspices of the Morehouse College Personnel Department

COMING EVENTS

February 1 - Morehouse College Chapel, Sale Hall - Dr. George Sewell, Dean, Turner Theological Seminary, Morris Brown College
1 - Vesper Service, Sisters Chapel - Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College
10 - Atlanta University Forum - Robert C. Weaver
12 - Atlanta University Town Meeting
18 - Atlanta University Book Review Program

GENERAL SESSION

The Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting

of the

Association of

Social Science Teachers

and the

National Convention

of

Sigma Rho Sigma Honarary

Social Science Fraternity

Dean Sage Hall

Atlanta University

April 23, 1959

11:00 A. M.

OFFICERS OF THE

ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHERS

1958-1959

President	George R. Ragland, Prairie View College
President Elect	William P. Robinson, Texas Southern Univ.
First Vice-President	William McIntosh, Grambling College
Second Vice-President	Whitney Young, Atlanta University
Executive-Secretary	J. Erroll Miller, Lincoln University
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Assistant Secretary	Elva J. Howell, Tuskegee Institute
Treasurer	R. F. Russell, Arkansas A.M.&N. College
Founder	T. W. McKinney, Johnson C. Smith Univ.
Director of Publicity	R. Clyde Minor, Lincoln University

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Ex-Officio Members
Elected Officers

1959

C. E. Tellis, Alcorn College
Melvin J. Banks, Bishop College
William F. Nowlin, Texas Southern University
Elbert L. Harris, Livingston College

1960

Jesse E. Gloster, Texas Southern University
F. A. Jackson, Morgan State College
A. T. Stephens, Savannah State College
R. Clyde Minor, Lincoln University

1961

Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College
Robert Martin, Howard University
Josie Lawrence, Booker T. Washington High, Montgomery, Alabama
George Breathett, Bennett College

P R O G R A M

Presiding ----------	Dr. George Ragland, President, Association of Social Science Teachers
Welcome to the University ----------	Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
Vocal Selection ----------	Miss Marian Watson, Spelman College
Introduction of Speaker----------	Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
Address ----------	Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Vocal Selection ----------	Mr. Henry Johnson, Atlanta University

Adjournment

Newsday Garden City, Long Island, New York, *Telephone*, PIoneer 1-1234

Alicia Patterson, *Editor and Publisher*

William Woestendiek, *Editorial Director*

RECEIVED SEP 24 1959

September 23, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your assistance with the integration roundup. I am sending you a tearsheet of your piece, along with the enclosed check in payment for same.

$35.00 CR
RHA

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

William J. Woestendiek

William J. Woestendiek

file

WJW/ji
Enclosures:-

air mail special

September 2, 1959

Mr. William Woestendiek
Newsday
550 Stewart Avenue
Garden City, New York

Dear Mr. Woestendiek:

Here is a roundup on the school situation of no more than 1,000 words. I hope this is the kind of piece you wanted. If it runs, I'd appreciate a clipping.

We have placed you on our mailing list to receive the Council's publication.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL SITUATION

Harold C. Fleming

The gradual disintegration of the solid South is quickening this September as public schools open across the region.

The five states that make up the hard core of resistance to the Supreme Court's school decision -- South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana -- remain rigidly segregated. But they are finding themselves increasingly isolated in their last-ditch stand. Their sister states of the old Confederacy, including those which have suffered the practical consequences of defiance, are all admitting at least a few Negro pupils to formerly all-white schools.

Little Rock and Virginia, until recently the two big symbols of resistance, have tried the last resort of closed public schools and found it wanting. In each case, the long dormant "moderates" rose up in protest against the suspension of public education, the reliance on makeshift private schooling, and the economic damage growing out of industry's reluctance to locate amid dissension and uncertainty.

In Little Rock, five Negroes are attending high school with white students after a year of empty classrooms. There, the revolt against Governor Faubus's policy of obstruction and closed schools was openly led by the Chamber of Commerce element. The August opening of Central and Hall High Schools under a plan of token integration was largely generaled by

Everett Tucker, school board chairman and industrial development executive.

In Virginia, five communities are starting the school year with some measure of classroom desegregation. Although Virginia business men quietly expressed concern over school closings last year, it was Governor J. Lindsay Almond who led the retreat from the "massive resistance" doctrine which he himself had helped to fashion. This political about-face was an even greater achievement than it would appear on the surface. It meant not only beating down the opposition of legislators from the rural "southside," but also going against the wishes of U. S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, long the undisputed boss of Virginia politics.

The new pattern of compliance in the Old Dominion and Little Rock is similar to that in effect for two years in North Carolina and Tennessee -- that is, a state policy of local option, under which a few communities have chosen to admit a handful of Negroes to white schools rather than pay the price of resistance.

Next week, Nashville will take the third step in its grade-a-year plan of "stairstep desegregation." Four more North Carolina school systems will join the three industrial cities of that state which have already voluntarily adopted token desegregation. In Florida, the influence of industry-minded Governor Leroy Collins will be felt in the voluntary

desegregation of two public schools in Dade County (Miami), the first in the state. (It should be noted, however, that one of these, the Orchard Villa School, is in a transitional neighborhood which may soon be all-Negro.)

Thus grudging and limited extension of desegregation is the chief prospect as the South faces again what one newsman has called its "September sickness." And the hard-core states of the deep South will shortly stand alone in their official posture of defiance.

Yet no neat division can be made between the hold-out and capitulating states. Just as there are weak spots in the segregationist armor of the deep South, there are still large areas of unyielding segregation in the upper and middle South.

Prince Edward County, Va., for example, has taken a far-reaching step toward total abandonment of public education. Although it was the site of one of the five original school cases, a court order to desegregate became effective only this September. The Board of Supervisors promptly moved to cut off local school funds, thus automatically closing both white and Negro schools in this rural, southside county. The 1,570 white children will be taught, without benefit of public funds, in churches, lodges, and other private buildings; no provision has been made for the 1,715 Negro pupils.

Nor is all serene in Arkansas. The Dollarway school District, under court order to integrate three Negro children,

is the new center of agitation by organized segregationists. A sheriff and two deputies make up the total police force in this semi-rural adjunct to Pine Bluff. The immediate danger of violence is relieved only by the school board's decision to postpone the opening of school.

The goal of Southwide compliance with the legal principle of desegregated public education is still a long way off. The real heartland of segregation has not yet been breached. In that Old South territory, only Atlanta and New Orleans show early promise of breaking away from the dominance of their die-hard state governments.

Even in less defiant areas, pupil assignment laws are being used to achieve desegregation of so token a variety that it is little more than a new and subtler form of evasion.

These are the problems that will plague the South and the nation for many a September to come.

-END-

Statement by Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

~~REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR TO MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL~~

~~October 19, 1959~~

A national newspaper article, borrowing a phrase from the Southern Regional Council, describes the recent period in the South as one of "creeping realism." The phrase is apt. In recent months, ~~Since SRC's fifteenth annual meeting in November 1958,~~ there have been significant shifts in the posture of some Southern leadership. Grudging and minimal though they may be, these changes clearly reflect a more realistic trend in the region.

Consider these developments out of the last year:

Virginia's doctrine of "massive resistance" collapsed and was replaced by a policy of "freedom of choice." The attempt to substitute private for public schools in several cities proved intolerably expensive and inadequate. Under the new dispensation, 86 Negro pupils are attending classes with whites in 5 communities, although one rural county has abandoned public schools entirely.

In Little Rock, the business leadership finally rallied in opposition to the bankrupt policy of closed schools imposed on the city by Governor Faubus and the organized segregationists. The high schools reopened in September, after a year of disuse, and now have a token desegregation of 8 Negro pupils.

Florida dipped a gingerly toe into desegregation with the opening of Miami's Orchard Villa school to both races. Located in a transitional neighborhood, the school now has a scant four

white children out of a total enrollment of about 400. But this, plus desegregation of a nearby school serving military personnel, puts Florida into the category of complying rather than defiant states.

In North Carolina, token desegregation spread this fall into three new communities, making a total of seven. However, there was little evidence of willingness to make more than a symbolic showing of non-discriminatory assignments.

In Tennessee, Nashville inched forward another grade in its "stairstep" plan of desegregation; and anticipated trouble failed to develop as Memphis State University admitted its first Negro students.

In Virginia, Atlanta, and Little Rock, private citizens have organized to preserve public education through compliance with the law of the land. Many of these people may be classed among the "moderates" whose voices have been so conspicuously absent from the public debate. Their newly found articulateness is one of the best indices to the spread of realism in the South.

In short, the past year has been a time of slow but steady advance for the legal principle of desegregation. ~~March of SRC's program has been aimed at accelerating and directing the trend toward more realistic policies.~~ This ~~has called~~ calls for emphasis at a variety of points -- moral, economic, educational,

and governmental.

Southerners need reassurance that desegregation can be constructive and workable; we need to see more clearly that the price tags on defiance are prohibitively large and as certain as death; we need more familiarity with the techniques that have produced the best results in other communities; we need to discard the myths and stereotypes of the past that inhibit clear thinking and the logical weighing of alternatives. Above all, we need to become more conscious of the effect of our public policies on human beings. Legal and social abstractions have dominated the race relations debate too long; we need to be thinking about people, ~~not only~~ in moral terms, ~~but~~ and also in terms of the practical well-being of our society.

~~These have been the main themes of our program.~~

As a body of Southerners with some claim to authority in these matters, our opportunities have grown in the past year. Our market has expanded. People in decision-making positions in many Southern communities are coming to realize that social change is inescapable, and that the stakes are too high to rely on blind allegiance to the past. Recent experience has indicated that today an organization like ours can reach an influential audience among the unpersuaded. Our work is getting further into the mainstream of Southern life -- which means, of course, that our ~~responsibility is~~ growing commensurately greater.

Add insert #1 (p. 4, attached)
+ insert #2 (pp. 5+6, attached)

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for Delivery Wednesday, November 18, 1959
General Assembly, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Workshop on "ACHIEVING HUMAN EQUALITY."
Miami, Florida

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It would be simpler at times to adopt the posture of what is called in current jargon "the secularist," who as I u nderstand it handles the problem by ignoring it. But it is impossible to do that in the Southern interracial movement. This movement as a staffed, organized effort is now forty years old. (I will resist the temptation to dwell on the symbolic significance of the forty-year period, since the Promised Land appears nowhere in sight.) From the start in 1919, this effort to advance justice and democracy in Negro-white relations has drawn much of its leadership and most of its inspiration from religiously-motivated Southerners. As one might expect, numerically this leadership has been mainly Protestant; but in terms of influence the Catholic and Jewish contributions

have been no less important.

With this much background, it will not surprise you to learn that I believe the religious forces are potentially the greatest single influence for positive social change to be found in the region. I say "potentially" because the thrust of religious conviction in the white South must depend for the most part on clergymen and laymen acting as individuals. Our churches and synagogues, as community institutions, face dilemmas in this area that have paralyzed most of them and have even forced some of them into a negative role. This problem most often takes the form of division between the clergyman and the lay leaders in his congregation. This is often but not always a difference in principle; fear of community hostility or financial failure are also major factors in the "hands-off" policies of most churches.

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For the Jewish Southerner, rabbi or layman, there is another dimension with which you are well acquainted. Does Jewish identification with liberal racial sentiments and efforts create anti-semitism, and perhaps even damage the cause it is designed to help? It is easy enough to answer that Jews should join with other, non-Jewish elements in the white

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My own view, which is not particularly original, is that it doesn't matter much. Latent anti-semitism is likely to be exploited and to become more overt in any inflamed community situation, irrespective of the part played by Jewish individuals or institutions. By the same token, a calm and healthy community is unlikely to be visited by a plague of anti-semitism, whether or not Jews take part in liberal or unpopular causes. The recent polls undertaken in the South seem to bear out this point of view, at least tentatively. The only evidence of increased anti-semitism was found in crisis areas, and there was little or no correlation with actual Jewish behavior. If true, this would suggest that the first order of business for those concerned with anti-semitism is the resolution of crisis, which in today's South means acceptance of at least gradual desegregation.

Fortunately, progress in this direction does not depend wholly on moral suasion and religious leadership. Powerful

practical forces are making themselves felt as the spectres of closed schools, lawlessness, and economic catastrophe become present or prospective realities throughout the region. Particularly in the urban South, practical self-interest is beginning to be enlisted on the side of compliance rather than defiance of cou rt decrees and adjustment to Negro pressure for change. We have dubbed this trend one of "creeping realism."

During the past year there have been significant shifts in the posture of some Southern leadership. Grudging and minimal though they may be, these changes clerarly reflect a more realistic trend in the region.

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(Continued)

Insert #7 (Cont.)

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Speeches

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Yet, for most of the Southern states, segregation is no longer an absolute to be defended at all costs against the slightest encroachment. The problems of outright lawlessness and massive resistance are gradually being replaced by less dramatic, but more complex problems. The new strategy of resistance is a subtle one -- that is, to satisfy the bare

letter of the law, but to defeat its spirit.

For the religious leadership and institutions of the South, all these factors point toward a greater rather than lessened challenge. As the law advances in its outward forms, it becomes more urgent to advance the inward spirit, the recognition of the importance of the individual human being, the simple quality of kindliness. In short, now more than ever is the time to give vitality to the basic principles of the major faiths which Americans and Southerners profess.

The main points I would like to leave with you in this brief and inadequate presentation are these:

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via air mail

October 30, 1959

Mr. Gunther Lawrence
Director of Public Information
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Gunther:

In response to your recent request of workshop participants, I am sending in desperation the enclosed. I suspect I have company in not having yet had a chance to write out a speech. In lieu of one, I've pulled the enclosed "excerpts" out of thin aid and will promise to say them, if necessary, along with other remarks.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

Excerpts from proposed presentation at Workshop on "New Frontiers in the Social Order" by: Harold C. Fleming, Atlanta, Georgia.

A national newspaper article, borrowing a phrase from the Southern Regional Council, describes the recent period in the South as one of "creeping realism." The phrase is apt.

Insert #1

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Insert #2 to end

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of closed schools, lawlessness, and economic catastrophe become present or prospective realities throughout the region. Particularly in the urban South, practical self-interest is beginning to be enlisted on the side of compliance rather than defiance of court decrees and adjustment to Negro pressure for change. We have dubbed this trend one of "creeping realism." Insert #1

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(insert #2 prepared text.)

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November 23, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Wright, Jr.
CONCERN
P. O. Box 871
N ashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed are several pages on "creeping realism" and the churches which I have put together hastily from two recent speeches.

If Concern would like to use all or any part of these comments, I shall be more than glad for you to do so.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

STATEMENT BY HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

:

A national newspaper article, borrowing a phrase from the Southern Regional Council, describes the recent period in the South as one of "creeping realism." The phrase is apt. In recent months, there have been significant shifts in the posture of some Southern leadership. Gruding and minimal though they may be, these changes clearly reflect a more realistic trend in the region.

Consider these developments out of the last year:

Virginia's doctrine of "massive resitance" collapsed and was replaced by a policy of "freedom of choice." The attempt to substitute private for public schools in several cities proved intolerably expensive and inadequate. Under the new dispensation, 86 Negro pupils are attending classes with whites in 5 communities, although one rural county has abandoned public schools entirely.

In Little Rock, the business leadership finally rallied in opposition to the bankrupt policy of closed schools imposed on the city by Governor Faubus and the organized segregationists. The high schools reopened in September, after a year of disuse, and now have a token desegregation of 8 Negro pupils.

Florida dipped a gingerly toe into desegregation with the opening of Miami's Orchard Villa school to both races. Located in a transitional neighborhood, the school now has a scant four white children out of a total enrollment of about 400. But this,

plus desegregation of a nearby school serving military personnel, puts Florida into the category of complying rather than defiant states.

In North Carolina, token desegregation spread this fall into three new communities, making a total of seven. However, there was little evidence of willingness to make more than a symbolic showing of non-discriminatory assignments.

In Tennessee, Nashville inched forward another grade in its "stairstep" plan of desegregation; and anticipated trouble failed to develop as Memphis State University admitted its first Negro students.

In Virginia, Atlanta, and Little Rock, private citizens have organized to preserve public education through compliance with the law of the land. Many of these people may be classed among the "moderates," whose voices have been so conspicuously absent from the public debate. Their newly found articulateness is one of the best indices to the spread of realism in the South.

In short, the past year has been a time of slow but steady advance for the legal principle of desegregation. This calls for emphasis at a variety of points -- moral, economic, educational, and governmental.

Southerners need reassurance that desegregation can be constructive and workable; we need to see more clearly that the price tags on defiance are prohibitively large and as certain as death; we need more familiarity with the techniques

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even Mississippi, will face legal requirements to begin school desegregation. These showdowns in the heartland of segregation may well produce some of the bitterest reactions yet seen in the South's tortured transition.

Yet, for most of the Southern states, segregation is no longer an absolute to be defended at all costs against the slightest encroachment. The problems of outright lawlessness and massive resistance are gradually being replaced by less dramatic, but more complex problems. The new strategy of resistance is a subtle one -- that is, to satisfy the bare letter of the law, but to defeat its spirit.

For the religious leadership and institutions of the South, all these factors point toward a greater rather than lessened challenge. As the decision-makers of our society begin to take human relations problems seriously, out of a sense of practical urgency, they need more than ever the guidance and help of religious leadership. The overall task is to hasten the convergence of justice and expeidency -- and to make sure that justice is proportionately represented. Even the man who gives purely expedient reasons for doing the right thing may, deep down, be strengthened and supported by the claims of morality.

As the law advances in its outward forms, it becomes more urgent to advance the inward spirit, the recognition of the importance of the individual human being, the simple quality of kindliness. In short, now more than ever is the time to give vitality to the basic principles of the major faiths which Americans and Southerners profess.

EDGAR A. GOSSARD
editor

EDWARD R. WRIGHT, JR.
executive editor

P.O. BOX 871 • NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

November 18, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I note that Civil Liberties (November, 1959) quotes you as saying that "there is hope for the South in its new attitude of 'creeping realism.'"

I wonder if you might care to make a statement of any length in this regard for a forthcoming issue of CONCERN, a Methodist biweekly journal of social and political comment. We plan a special "civil liberties" issue for the latter part of December. Contents will include a historical survey with regard to the courts and civil liberties by Professor Herman Pritchett of Chicago, and a summary and discussion of the recent report of the Civil Rights Commission. Enclosed are past copies of CONCERN for your perusal.

Thanking you for your help and/or suggestions, I am

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Wright Jr.

Edward R. Wright, Jr.

ERW:em

Enclosure

Concern

A Biweekly Journal of Social and Political Comment

COMMUNES
AND THE CHINESE ECONOMY
by Gerald Clark

THE AFTERMATH
OF DISARMAMEN
by Hubert H. Humphrey

Concern

A Biweekly Journal of Social and Political Comment

See page 2

EGYPT'S NEW MOOD

by Georgiana G. Stephens, page 3

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA, *page 5*

6 NOVEMBER, 1959

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About This Issue

Americans are shocked to find that their favorite television quiz shows were rigged. Our editorial on page 2 suggests that the dishonesty involved in the shows is symptomatic of a deeper disorder in our society. A report on recent congressional investigations of big-money give-away programs is on page 6.

Georgiana G. Stevens reports on *Egypt's New Mood* on page 3. Mrs. Stevens, an associate of Middle East Research Associates has lived and worked in the Middle East and has just returned from an extended visit in that area. She has written frequently for the *Middle East Journal* and the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*. Our South African correspondent writes about recent developments in the Johannesburg treason trials on page 5.

Jim Hamilton, CONCERN's Washington correspondent, says on page 7 that the "peace issue" will be significant in the forthcoming presidential campaign.

We welcome Nashville artist Jean Penland to CONCERN's staff. Miss Penland provides the illustrations for this issue.

THE CONCERN STAFF

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EDITORIAL

TV TAKES A TUMBLE

(See story on page 4)

Television quiz shows long have been dear to the hearts of many Americans.

Who can resist the sight of an ordinary guy or gal—with an ordinary background, an ordinary smile, an ordinary job, an ordinary family—winning thousands of dollars for answering extraordinary questions, usually about dull subjects?

We are shocked to find that the tall, bashful fellow with the boyish grin, or the brash little guy with hardly any formal schooling were in cahoots with Madison Avenue publicity men. "I didn't think of it in terms of fraud," one contestant said. "The excitement appealed to me." Another stated, "I was perfectly blithe about it. They were having a happy time, I was, everybody was."

The recent television revelations are just a symptom of a creeping sickness of mediocrity. Any society which becomes generally complacent and apathetic with regard to its own customs and mores has contracted the germ of mediocrity. The way is opened for anyone to take advantage of the sickness—in this case Madison Avenue's advertising agencies. Television shows, mass media magazines, and daily newspapers to a greater or lesser degree have become subject to the half truths and deceit of American advertising.

We should have been incensed long before now. The ad man usually writes for the lowest common denominator so as to communicate with everybody. Most of what we get is aimed at a low level of mentality. There are obvious exceptions—Omnibus, Playhouse 90, and several news and public affairs programs. But these provide little relief from the likes of Zane Grey Show, Lawman, Colt '45, Johnny Ringo, The Rifleman, Law of the Plainsman, Wagon Train, Death Valley Days, Tales of Wells Fargo, Broken Arrow, Buckskin, US Marshall, Laramie, Sugarfoot, Lone Ranger, Sheriff of Cochise, The Texan, Wichita Town, Rawhide, Tombstone Territory, Black Saddle, The Deputy, MacKenzie's Raiders and Cheyenne.

The current state of television is now in the open for criticism, thanks to the uneasy consciences of a few quiz show contestants from the show "Twenty-One." The quiz shows have portrayed man as something which he is not—contestants mold themselves to please the gullible viewer, who identifies himself with the "ordinary, average" man or woman on the screen. Ordinary, average people could not give such a convincing portrayal of an ordinary person.

The shows also throw daggers at formal education. The ad man's philosophy says that to be successful and happy you just need to use the right products, memorize

(Continued on page 8)

Egypt's New Mood

By GEORGIANA G. STEVENS

The economic squeeze by Western nations has brought greater self-sufficiency to Egypt

OF THE MANY consequences of the 1956 attacks on Egypt by Israel, Britain and France, the most striking is the spur which it provided to Egyptian industrialization. Egypt's subsequent isolation by the Western world and the freezing of its foreign balances in Britain and the United States were designed by the West to reduce President Gamal Abdel Nasser through financial starvation. It was reckoned that whatever Russian aid was forthcoming would eventually complicate rather than improve relations between Egypt and the U.S.S.R. and that Nasser would then discover the errors of neutralism.

This series of developments had a curiously stimulating effect in Egypt. It heightened the sense of urgency among Cairo's economic planners and rallied popular sentiment in support of the Nasser regime. The tasks of immediate reconstruction at Port Said, damaged by the attacks on Suez, became the first of new, more energetic exertions to rebuild the national economy. Moscow's economic aid was welcomed with what now appears in Egypt to have been excessive gratitude. But what Egypt's prevailing anger against the West really did was to catalyze its determination to achieve much greater self-sufficiency.

This result was first made apparent by the skillful way in which the resumption of Suez Canal traffic took place in the spring of 1957, after the canal had been cleared of wreckage with the assistance of the United Nations. From the outset the Suez Canal Authority demonstrated the competence and pride in doing its job which characterize its operations today. Canal tolls now bring Egypt over $100 million a year in badly needed foreign exchange. Work is under way to widen the channel and to deepen it. Meanwhile, as a symbol of success, navigation of the canal by Egyptian and other non-Western pilots already ranks first among post-Suez achievements.

Industrialization Accelerated

Since the Suez crisis industrialization has been accelerated. The Nasser government wants Egypt to become the workshop and supplier of machinery and consumer goods to the rest of the Arab world, which, it is assumed in Cairo, will remain primarily agricultural. The need to industrialize the economy of Egypt so as to employ the country's surplus population has been one of Nasser's driving principles since the military coup of July 1952. One of the problems was how to get started. Suez provided the opportunity on grounds of necessity.

The result of this stepped-up industrialization is apparent today to even the most casual observer. In addition to textiles of fine quality and excellent design, the shops are filled with Egyptian-made medi-

(Continued on page 4)

EGYPT'S NEW MOOD

(Continued from page 3)

cines, furniture, clothing, tires, blankets and paper goods, to name only a few items. The first Egyptian cars, trucks and farm machinery, manufactured with local materials and German technical aid, will soon be on the market.

Egypt's post-Suez shortage of such vital items as oil was eased by its existing oil cooperative society. The post-Suez oil boycott imposed by the West gave this company a chance to begin the distribution of petrochemicals, butane gas and bunker oils previously distributed by Western concerns. With the formation of a new government Petroleum Authority in 1957 the government assumed direction of further expansion and development of the oil industry. A total of 130 million dollars has recently been allocated for oil projects under the five-year industrialization plan. Italian experts have been enlisted to help build a new oil port at Suez. Nearby is the government's flourishing Petroleum Institute where Arab graduate engineers are being trained in the latest refining and field practices so that they can carry forward Egypt's oil program.

Education Plans

In its plans for education the Egyptian government shows a clear awareness of existing deficiencies. For the first time technical education is being emphasized, with primary education slated for attention next. In 1958 some 2.7 million pupils were enrolled in primary and secondary schools. A system of three-year preparatory industrial schools for tested pupils has been inaugurated. These students are to go on to vocational schools where science, accounting, mechanical drawing and workshop skills are taught. The aim is to train foremen and accountants. It is recognized that Egyptianization of industry will not be possible unless such trained personnel is available.

This many-pronged drive toward the goal of self-sufficiency is having a tonic effect on the country. Further benefits have come from the land reform introduced in 1952. This reform has improved the lives of several million tenants by reducing their rents. It has also given the first purchasers of new land annual increases in income of from 50 to 100 per cent.

New Pace for Economy

Judging by the progress made in the last three years, it is possible to be optimistic about Egypt's internal revolution. Measured by Eastern standards, this revolution sets a new pace and points in a new direction. That direction is a mixed economy in which the government, through its over-all Economic Development Organization, will fill in the big industrial gaps which now exist with public funds, but will

encourage private investment in every way possible. The EDO is itself a by-product of the Suez struggle, having been set up to handle the takeover of British, French and Jewish firms sequestered after the 1956 Suez attacks. It now controls all government capital and has been the instrument for buying or selling sequestered businesses to Egyptian companies.

Egyptianization has thus come to have a visible meaning in Egypt today. For the first time, education, transportation, importing, are all in Egyptian hands—and they are there to stay. For aside from their economic value, these enterprises help to fulfill the "search for dignity" so well described by observers in recent books on Egypt such as *Nasser of Egypt*, by Wilton Wynn (Cambridge, Mass., Arlington Books, 1959) and *Egypt*, by Tom Little (New York, Praeger, 1959).

Nassar Seeks Support

At the same time the Nasser regime seems to regard it as necessary to enlist a wider following at home. The attempt to obtain this support by sponsoring elections for a new Parliament, which started with local elections on July 8, is a first step. However inadequate this step may seem from afar, there is no doubt that within Egypt it is based on a genuine desire to win friends at home; and eventually to share responsibility for a revolution which, if it succeeds, could change the pattern of 20th-century life in the entire Arab world.

(By permission of the Foreign Policy Association)

Congress Investigates T V Quiz Programs

Congressional investigations this fall cast a shadow over the honesty of American television.

Specific object of attack is the big-money-paying quiz show. Several contestants testified that they were given answers in advance, and that their brow-mopping, hesitating antics before answering questions were carefully rehearsed.

Major cog in the testimonies before the House of Representatives Special Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight is "Twenty-One" contestant Herbert Stempel. Stempel indicated last month that he received advance information telling when another contestant, Charles Van Doren, would lose. Stempel said that he himself received advance answers to "Twenty-One" questions. Such big winners as Van Doren ($126,000) and Hank Bloomgarten ($98,000) have been implicated.

Some of the big winners on Columbia Broadcasting System programs—"The $64,000 Question" and "The $64,000 Challenge"—told reporters they received no help.

(Continued on page 8)

SOUTH AFRICA QUIET ABOUT TREASON TRIALS

By CONCERN'S South African Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Things are quiet in South Africa these days with relation to the widely publicized treason trials.

Thirty persons are accused of a communist plot for violent overthrow of the government. In Johannesburg newspapers have been silent since the first week in September. At this somewhat cooler time it may be of value to review the trial and the reason for the present silence.

Beginnings

The beginnings go back as far as September, 1955, when the police raided the ANC offices (The African National Congress) in Johannesburg. Just before Christmas of 1956 the police made a nation-wide series of dawn raids and arrested 156 persons. At a lengthy 13-month preparation examination (often called a "trial" in the beginning) the court released 65, leaving 91 to face indictment.

The Crown (the government) indicted the 91 under the *Suppression of Communism Act* for conspiring to overthrow the government by violence. The big surprise came on April 20 of this year when the defence got the indictment against 61 accused persons "quashed" (thrown out). The Crown had divided the 91 into two groups: 30 were indicted on high treason and the other 61 as co-conspirators. This act of the court meant that of the total of 156, only 30 now face charges of treason.

The defence took the case of the remaining 30 to the Court of Appeals of the South African Supreme Court. Here the case was returned to the Special Court, for the 30 were still unconvicted.

However, during all this time—we are now up to April 1959—the other 61 had been re-indicted. Since the group of 30 are still untried, the second group cannot be brought to trial.

After the Appellate Court had returned the case to the Special Court of three judges, Mr. Justice Rumpff, presiding judge, ruled that the trial must begin—this was on August 5, 1959—30 months after the dawn arrests.

Present Trial

The present trial is formed in the following way:

1) a Special Court of three judges, Kennedy, Bekker, and Rumpff are sitting in a converted synagogue in Pretoria.

2) Two Europeans (white) and 28 Non-Europeans (African and Indian) are charged with high treason—attempting to overthrow the government by force. The charge of conspiring together has been dropped.

3) Evidence consists of 5000 documents—speeches, letters, circulars, bulletins, and constitutions of organizations of the accused. (The original amount was twice this. The Crown's case was contained in 40 volumes.)

The Crown's Case

At the rate of the first day of the trial, it will take the Crown six months or more to present the 5000 documents as evidence. In the Crown's opening address on August 10, 1959, the following can be considered the main point of the Crown's attack:

1) There is an international, communist-inspired movement which seeks for the violent overthrow of all non-communist governments.

2) There is a counterpart in South Africa made up of the accused (the 30), their co-conspirators (the other 61), and their organizations: These are subversive organizations according to the Crown:

a) The African National Congress (Bantu supported)
b) South African Indian Congress
c) The Peace Council (The Society for Peace and Friendship with Russia)
d) Congress of Democrats
e) Congress of Trade Unions
f) Coloured People's Organization (mixed ancestry)
g) Federation of South African Women

3) These organizations and persons charged have prepared to overthrow the State by violence and replace it with a fundamentally different kind of State.

At the present, the Crown is still presenting evidence before the Special Court. There is little excitement about it, but in several months we can expect new fireworks when the defence has its chance to answer.

Totalitarianism and the Purge

THE PERMANENT PURGE. *By Zbigniew K. Brzezinski. Harvard University Press.*

• TOTALITARIANISM thrives on the "purge."

This is the thesis of *The Permanent Purge,* Zbigniew K. Brzezinski's historical analysis of the inner workings of the Soviet Union. The author's use of the term "purge" refers to periodic and terroristic cleansing of the organization in power to discourage divergent opinions and insure conformity to the "party line."

A significant and debatable part of Brzezinski's analysis is his assertion that totalitarianism—or a social and political machine which encompasses all aspects of life—is a phenomenon peculiar to the twentieth century. Only in the twentieth century, says the author, have we had conditions involving extreme consolidation of power within the state, and the accompanying "elimination of competing alliances and organizations."

Pursuing Brzezinski's more basic assumptions, this reviewer finds the distinction between "depotism and absolutism" and "totalitarianism" a meaningful one. For instance, the author says the ancient Greek "polis" had diversity as "essentially part of uniformity." On the other hand, "the totalitarian citizen cannot have a loyalty above that to his state and the party which directs it." Brzezinski points out that "old despotisms and absolutisms" were highly conservative: "Order and internal tranquility were the trademarks of a successful depotism—not rapid social changes." Totalitarianism, on the other hand, has as its most outstanding feature "the phenomenon of drastic internal change, planned to extend into more than the immediate future."

The goals of totalitarianism have been made possible by the advent of mass communications, and subsequent possibilities for centralized control over the mass media, education and the state police. These considerations raise what might be the unanswerable question of whether or not totalitarianism is a distinct phenomenon or simply an extension of absolutism to its logical conclusion, made possible by modern technological advances.

Brzezinski presents a concise and meaningful discussion of restraints on political power, distinguishing among direct, indirect, and natural restraints. Briefly, direct restraints are by the state; indirect ones are by the churches, political parties, economic-professional organizations, etc.; natural restraints refer to such influences as climate, geography, marriage and the family, etc. Mr. Brzezinski's judicious approach is discerned in his implied view that all these elements are significant and that some cannot be emphasized at the expense of others. His point is that these restraints, which are necessarily present in Constitutional governments, are subverted in totalitarian regimes.

The author's definition of totalitarianism should be repeated to adequately understand the role of the purge in a totalitarian society: *Totalitarianism is a system where technologically advanced instruments of political power are wielded without restraint by centralized leadership of an elite movement, for the purpose of effecting a total social revolution, on the basis of certain arbitrary ideological assumptions proclaimed by the leadership, in an atmosphere of coerced unanimity of the entire population.*

It seems clear that the "purge" fills a necessary role for the manipulators of a totalitarian society in helping to accomplish large-scale tasks of social reconstruction. The inevitable terror of the purge extends not only to the population as a whole but also to the supporters of the movement. Today's leader could well be a future victim. The purge, then, becomes a substitute for the restraints of the Constitutional system which has been destroyed. Brzezinski makes the point that the purge is inherent in the totalitarian system, as seen in the present-day Soviet Union. This reviewer would suggest that, in a sense, the purge becomes the dialectic of Soviet totalitarianism—the antithesis of the equalitarian philosophy, an inner quirk in the attempted practice of communism.

As Brzezinski points out, the basic question concerns how long the inevitable union between totalitarianism and the purge can endure, and whether it may constitute the structure's fatal weakness. Along these lines this reviewer would point to the "purges" since the death of Beria in 1953. Subsequent displacements of power at the pinnacle of the hierarchy have been bloodless and benevolent in comparison with the great purges of the Stalin era. Molotov is an Outer Mongolia. Beria and Malenkov have minor economic posts. Zhukov has "retired." But, significantly, they all are alive.

A question answerable only in the future concerns whether or not the "bloodless" purge can be as effective as the "bloody" purges of the past, in terms of safeguarding the leadership's power position.—ERW

THE RELIGION OF THE OCCIDENT. *By Martin A. Larson. Philosophical Library, Inc. $6.00.*

• "HERE," reads the preface of Harry Elmer Barnes, "for the first time in the English language, is presented in a single, readable volume, a scholarly and reliable exposition of the many cultural and intellectual trends that culminated in organized Christianity. It is a monument of research and a masterpiece of illuminating exposition."

The teachings of Jesus are traced to their immediate and ultimate sources in Essenism, Judaism, Pythagoreanism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and the mystery cults of Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt. The author culminates his study with an analysis of the Gospels and a survey of the early Christian heresies and formative movements.

This study provides a valuable supplement to the recent investigations into the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Sections include "The Pagan Origins," "The Jewish Sources," "The Inner Meaning of the gospel Jesus," and "Development in the Pagan World."

HOW WE GOT OUR DENOMINATIONS. *By Stanley I. Stuber. Association Press. $3.50.*

• THIS SKILLFUL condensation helps teachers, young people, all inquiring minds to see clearly, simply, and directly the course by which the church has come to be what it is today. In this new, complete revision and up-dating, it continues the unique primer approach that has made it the choice of church school teachers and laymen for more than thirty years.

This concise outline of the origin, development and organization of the Christian Church begins with the ministry of Jesus and the formation by his followers of a new religious group. Then in quick, accurate, vivid strokes, Dr. Stuber takes us through the period of persecution, the development of churches and creeds, the middle ages and the crusades, the Reformation.

The major part of the book deals with the modern church in America. Separate chapters describe the historical origins, major beliefs, and growth of 28 church groups.

A final chapter discusses various interdenominational organizations.

From the days of the Apostles to the latest movements for church unity and merger, the revised *How We Got Our Denominations* makes the facts easily and quickly accessible.

Peace and Politics

THE EISENHOWER-KHRUSHCHEV exchange has touched off an interesting horse race on the domestic political track. The prize is the so-called "peace issue" before which all other issues pale. The jockeying by both Republican and Democratic presidential aspirants can only be described as inspired horsemanship. In fact, the two frontrunners, Nixon and Kennedy, were last seen riding off with one foot planted firmly on each of two horses heading in opposite directions. The gamble of course is that they may wind up creasing their pants on the middle of the road rather than in the saddle at the White House.

Political By-Products

Some politicians are suggesting that President Eisenhower started negotiating with Nikita S. Khrushchev with one eye on the 1960 elections. The acrid smoke of this insinuation would seem to be too raw for even the non-thinking man's filter. Just as unfair, however, are those who say that the voters will be overjoyed by any peaceful result of the new negotiations with the Soviets, even a peace-at-any-price result.

In any event, President Eisenhower has emerged front and center as peacemaker, and some of the spotlight is flooding over onto Vice President Richard M. Nixon who waits in the wings. This fact constitutes a political problem of the first magnitude for the Democratic party, particularly for democratic presidential hopefuls.

Democratic Reactions

So what is a Democratic aspirant supposed to do? If he applauds the Republican administration for what it is already doing, he hardly stands out as the man who the people must call to lead the nation to peace with justice for all. On the other hand, if he attacks what the administration is doing, and Eisenhower comes home from Russia next spring with something that looks like peace in our time, what happens to the Democratic candidate who was running around the country saying that the President didn't know what he was doing?

Senator John F. Kennedy, the Democratic frontrunner, is trying to work both sides of the street. He says that he doesn't want to minimize the value of the talks since it is better to meet at the summit than at the brink. But he also says that in the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks we "gained nothing tangible, nothing enforceable, nothing essential to the achievement of our foreign policy objectives." Just what this says would make a good guessing game. What it seems to mean is that Kennedy doesn't know at this time which way he ought to jump.

Nixon Maneuvers

However, the ability to play both sides of the street is not the sole possession of politicians of only one party. Vice President Nixon has been doing some fancy stepping himself from curb to curb. On the one hand he jets to Russia and returns to bask in the results of public opinion polls and the lime-light of the President's invitation to Khrushchev. The rumor circulates that he convinced the President to issue the invitation and thereby broke up some of the cold war ice. On the other hand, Senator Barry Goldwater with whose political heart the vice president's has at times beat as one, tells the press that Nixon opposed Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. And we lecture children about eating their cake and keeping it too.

Aside from the humor marking these antics, however, the politicians may be warning us about something which we will do well to bear in mind in the months ahead. As has been said, talk is cheap. On the other hand when you haven't had too much talk in the face of growing international tensions, talk is welcomed if for no other reason than as an alternative to other methods of letting off steam. When talk can get expensive is when it lulls us into a sense of security, perhaps a false sense of security which we cannot afford.

JIM HAMILTON

METHODISTS END CARAVANS

Youth Caravans, a distinct feature of Methodist youth work for twenty years, will be discontinued next year.

Changes in local church needs and the growing interest of Methodist students in other types of voluntary service were factors in this decision, said the Rev. Joseph

(Continued on page 8)

LETTERS

The Editors of CONCERN *welcome letters from readers regarding subjects of current interest.*

ABOUT HIGHLANDER

Sirs:

As a member of the Executive Council of Highlander Folk School, it is my opinion that this issue of CONCERN [23 October, 1959] is a fair and accurate presentation of the position of the school and of the facts in the current legal controversy. I am especially heartened by the editorial, and wish to congratulate the writer on his perception and good judgment.

The Reverend Robert C. Palmer
Nashville, Tennessee

BOUQUET FOR CONCERN

Sirs:

I like the changes in CONCERN's format, and the new use of color.

Congratulations!

Roger Burgess
Board of Temperance
Washington, D. C.

DISARMAMENT VIEWS

Sirs:

Now you have the Democrats [Hubert H. HUMPHREY's statement, CONCERN, 9 October, 1959] tell us that there is a lack of interest in disarmament on the part of the "Executive branch" of our government; I insist that you permit the "Executive branch" to answer your charge in CONCERN.

Mr. Nixon is one of their leaders. Ask the chairman of the "Decisions for a Better America" group—Charles Percy—for his statement on this problem. (See *The Christian Century* dated Oct. 21, 1959.) I'll watch your policy and procedure.

Dr. E. C. Keboch
3008 Bay Shore Road
Sarasota, Florida

CYNICISM OR REALISM?

Sirs:

In a recent issue your editorial on Mr. Khrushchev and disarmament disappointed me a little. ["Khrushchev and Disarmament," CONCERN, 25 September, 1959]. "The West must at least appear to take seriously . . ." sounds like an open call to hypocrisy, despite your later words, "The United States must pursue every possibility . . . including the Khrushchev proposals." Beyond that, the whole tone of [the editorial] sounded a little cynical; granted, there is a thin line between realism and cynicism, but you are writing for Christian youth, and in that position I feel you ought to stay on "this" side of the line. I respect your right to see things as you see them, and the need for us all to take sober judgment, but I feel that even the Department of State sees more hope in this disarmament proposal than you do, and that is a sad situation for a Christian spokesman to be in.

The Reverend Robert H. Hamill
The Wesley Foundation
University of Wisconsin
Madison 5, Wisconsin

TV INVESTIGATION

(Continued from page 4)

Meanwhile, the networks are cleaning house. Much program content had been taken over by sponsors and advertising agencies. Networks have dumped most big quiz shows. The National Broadcasting Company says it is retaining "honest" quiz shows and will keep closer scrutiny over all programming. CBS is going a step further by eliminating all quiz shows. CBS also plans to abolish other "dishonest" practices such as "canned" (dubbed in) laughter on comedy shows.

Alternative to policing by the networks is increased restrictive legislation to regularize network operations. After the House Subcommittee investigations Congress will decide whether or not to consider such legislation.

CARAVANS

(Continued from page 7)

W. Bell, director of the General Board of Education's Youth Department.

At a recent meeting of the Board's caravan committee, plans were made to study new types of voluntary service which may be suggested for the 1960-64 quadrennium. The caravan committee is made up of representatives of the three divisions of the Methodist Board of Education. The committee indicated that in recent years students have shown special interest in work camps and travel seminars, while need for caravan participation has declined.

Since the movement began in 1939, a total of 4,519 young people have served as caravaners. The program was launched as the Youth Crusade of the former Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and became an important facet of the national youth program after unification.

TV TAKES A TUMBLE

(Continued from page 2)

an encyclopedia, and win lots of money on a quiz show.

Higher education, if it functions properly, attempts to bring an understanding of man and the situation in which he finds himself. Necessary for such understanding is a knowledge of relevant facts. But it is pointless to learn facts in a vacuum, as some of the quiz shows would have us do.

It would be easy to suggest that the public has received what it deserves. However, there is yet time for the American public to realize the necessity of taking a renewed and enlightened interest in the direction of its culture, in its social and economic problems, in its political forms and activities.

Americans have been led by the nose in an indiscriminate and vulgar manner. The individual can help reverse the trend by buying the car he wants—big, little, or medium-sized; by using the soap that washes best—not the one that makes the most and biggest claims; by avoiding the television programs which are saturated with misleading commercials and aimed at a low level of mentality. Part of the answer is to be more discriminating. But another part lies in more control over our media of communication, either by the media, themselves, or by more governmental regulation. Regulation by the television networks is preferable to increased control from Washington. If the networks fail, however, Washington must step in.

Something must be done to fill the vacuum of apathy and gullibility in American society which permits the ad man to dominate so much of our lives.—ERW

Concern

A Biweekly Journal of Social and Political Comment

COEXISTENCE

by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

THE U.N. AND OUTER SPACE

by William R. Frye

For Chr. Science Monitor

STATEMENT

By

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

March 8, 1960

The student demonstrations, now a month old, show no signs of abating. Though still mainly student efforts, they are no longer purely economic or limited to "sit-downs." And as the movement has spread from moderate North Carolina into the Deep South, tension and violence have mounted. Increasingly, state and local authorities are intervening, not merely to keep the peace, but to quell the demonstrations.

The Negro students' adherence to non-violent methods has been impressive; but provocation by belligerent whites puts a severe strain on the commitment to non-violence. The trend toward repressive police actions, mass arrests, and student expulsions ~~are~~ is an ill omens. Such measures are likely only to deepen the Negro protest and encourage white vigilantism, as has already happened in Montgomery.

Most Southern whites still cling to the belief that Negroes don't really want desegregation. The demonstrations, which have strong backing in the adult Negro community, are dramatic evidence to the contrary. Through them, Negro youth are expressing their dissatisfaction with segregation and the slow pace of change through the courts. Only in a few cities has the white leadership showed signs of heeding this deeper significance of the

protests. There, the mayors have appointed committees to try to negotiate settlements. A few successes would go far to point the way to solution for the whole region.

Whatever the outcome, there will be no going back. Non-violent protest and economic pressure are here to stay. One more strand in the old social fabric of the South is broken, and Southerners have one more warning that they must learn to live peaceably with change.

- END -

Politney Young agreed to
delete by phone 2/28/60
MF sent copy 2/28

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL March 14, 1960

Mrs. Frances T. Cahn
Director of Program Planning
White House Conference on Children and
Youth
330 Independence Avenue, S. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Cahn:

As promised, I am enclosing a copy of Mr. Fleming's speech to be presented at your Conference on March 29. Enclosed also is a glossy print which I would appreciate having returned when you have made use of it.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosures

Prepared for Delivery at the White House Conference on Children and Youth Forum XVIII, March 29, 1960

23
47

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE CASE FOR THE CHILDREN

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

In less than two months, we will observe the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision. It may be appropriate, therefore, to consider for a few minutes some of the vexing problems that have stemmed from the Court's ruling.

This was a decision about children. It may seem superfluous to say so, but unfortunately the fact is either forgotten or denied by many of our people. In the six turbulent years since the decision was rendered, the resulting public concern and controversy have centered on various issues: states rights versus federal authority; the legality -- or illegality -- of interposition; state-supported private schools; laws regulating the sale of dynamite; the use of troops to put down mob violence; injunctions, contempt actions; church-state relations.

The list could be extended, but the point is that the segregation controversy has been mainly a battle of abstractions. The "hearts and minds" of children, which Chief Justice Warren cited as the crux of the matter, have rarely been referred to since.

Of course, children have been mentioned in connection with desegregation. But they also tend to be abstract, statistical children, seen grotesquely in terms of median achievement scores, delinquency and illegitimacy rates, and the probable future incidence of interracial matrimony.

I am speaking of the area I know best, the South, where school desegregation is still a political and contested issue. There are indications that similar problems exist elsewhere in the nation; but, whether so or not, these difficulties in the South are of national concern, and the way in which they are finally resolved will depend heavily on national opinion.

The objective should be to deliver the problems of school desegregation from the exclusive control of lawyers and politicians, to bring into play the knowledge and skills of education, psychology, and other applied social sciences. To the extent that the children and youth involved can speak for themselves, we will do well to listen. To the extent that they cannot, let those who specialize in their development and education be heard.

It is clear that for some time to come the judgment of the courts will determine the speed and nature of desegregation. With all the conscientiousness in the world -- and most federal judges have shown a commendable amount -- they have been guided by little educational evidence. In most cases, desegregation plans have been created not by educators but by lawyers. So we should not be surprised to find that most such plans are devised to keep desegregation to a minimum, to placate extremists, to conform to folklore and popular preconceptions about racial differences, or to meet the intricate needs of local politics. In short, anything and everything except how best to meet the educational needs of the community's children through a non-discriminatory school system.

Let us look at one example of the kind of plan that results from the political and legal rather than the educational approach. In a Deep South city within recent months, the school board (or rather its lawyers) has proposed, and the federal district judge has approved, a plan that (a) puts the burden of seeking non-segregated assignments wholly on Negro pupils and their parents; (b) starts the process at the twelfth grade, moving downward one grade a year; (c) subjects the Negro applicant to pupil placement criteria that include law and order, psychological adjustment, home environment, health, morals, and "personal standards" -- as if these concerns should not apply equally to all schools and all pupils in the community.

Plainly the educational needs of children have little to do with such a plan. The educators' responsibility to establish sound and efficient school attendance areas is forfeited; instead, we find a haphazard pattern determined by which Negroes, if any, are hardy enough to run the gauntlet of a hostile school board.

Secondly, we have a grade-a-year stairstep plan beginning at the top, where the cumulative effects of discrimination make for the widest possible achievement gap between white and Negro pupils. It has the further effect of starting desegregation at the grade level where adverse racial attitudes are most firmly set and behavior problems are likely to be greatest. It is also the grade level at which transfer creates the greatest dislocation for the pupil, at the very end of his public school

career. Of course, all of these educational defects -- if they were considered at all -- were justified by the plan's effectiveness in discouraging Negro transfers and holding desegregation to an absolute minimum.

The irony is that, by local political standards, this dismal plan is downright radical, and may well be blocked by closing the public schools altogether.

On this score, the general public suffers even more than the courts from misinformation. The people have been long and repeatedly assured by influential spokesmen that their children will be as well off under a mass conversion to private schools. As yet, they have heard nothing ~~at all~~ (but a weak, equivocal statement) from the state education association, ~~or~~ and nothing at all from most official agencies professionally concerned with the welfare of the young.

Underlying this particular situation is a condition that is chronic in large areas of the country -- the acceptance of popular assumptions about school desegregation that are unsupported by experience, but are rarely authoritatively challenged. Chief among these is the assumption that desegregation leads inevitably to drastically lowered academic standards and heightened disciplinary problems. This belief buttresses the preference for makeshift private schools over even slightly desegregated public schools. It is also a mainstay of "token integration" and of the harsh pupil placement criteria that have achieved such popularity and have so far won the approval of the courts.

Yet, surveying the experience of desegregated school systems, the Southern Regional Council has not found a shred of evidence to support this dire assumption. We have found no studies that show any significant deterioration of academic or disciplinary standards as a result of desegregation. Nor have we found any statements by school superintendents complaining of such effects. On the contrary, a number of Southern superintendents, queried specifically on this point by the Civil Rights Commission, reported that academic standards had remained unchanged or had actually improved following desegregation. Some gave less definite answers, but not a single one held that standards had declined.

The few well-studied school systems desegregated in recent years provide impressive evidence of a favorable sort. In Louisville, which has a thorough-going testing program, the Negro pupils' academic performance improved markedly during the first two years of desegregation, and the white pupils also showed a slight gain. There was no perceptible increase in delinquency among whites or Negroes.

One of the most encouraging records is that of the Washington, D. C., school system -- which, ironically, is held up in the South and elsewhere as the horrible example of integration's evils. The well documented facts are that academic achievement has risen above the national norms in most subjects since the system was desegregated, and delinquency rates have substantially

declined. And this in a school system with an enrollment now 74% Negro. For the honest skeptic, these findings are available in detailed reports by Superintendent Carl Hansen and others.

My point is that hundreds of communities and a dozen or more federal judges are grappling with the issue of school desegregation on the basis of unfounded assumptions and fears widely accepted as facts. I am not contending that all the information needed is available, or that new evidence may not alter the optimistic findings just cited. But I am suggesting that public policies as crucial for the welfare of our youth as school desegregation should not be determined without the benefit of the best informed opinion available.

How can the gap be closed? Here are a few of many possible suggestions:

(1) The national government can help enormously by more assessment of the kind provided last year by Secretary Arthur Flemming in the case of closed schools in Little Rock and Virginia. Mr. Flemming's statement on the educational damage done to hundreds of young people in these situations had a sobering and salutary effect.

(2) There are now a host of communities where the problems and opportunities to be found in school desegregation can be measured. A massive fact-finding and information effort, preferably under official auspices, would dispel much of the fog

which now shrouds this major social change. And flesh-and-blood children would be the beneficiaries.

(3) The courts are steadily hearing school cases, and, unhappily, will continue doing so for some time to come. Educational and youth-serving agencies surely have something to say to them. Understandably, many would be reluctant to align themselves with parties to the litigation. But they could offer friend-of-the-court briefs spelling out the consequences for children of the alternative courses of action under consideration.

There are other, and perhaps better, ways to accomplish the purpose I have indicated. There are also other areas than school desegregation that call for intervention of this kind. The important thing is that it not be said of this time that no one spoke for the children -- or that too few spoke too softly.

via air mail special March 21, 1960

Miss Mary Alice Baldinger
National Civil Liberties Clearing House
1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mary Alice:

Well, you asked for it so I have hurriedly knocked out the attached pages. I have no idea what I would have said otherwise, or what I may say in addition to this, but if you want to use this for news release purposes, I promise that I will say it.

I am also attaching something in the way of biographical data, which Clarence Mitchell may draw on at will.

I am looking forward to seeing you on Thursday.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

For presentation at the Civil Liberties
Clearing House Annual Conference, March 24, 1960
by: Harold C. Fleming

To understand this, we first need to consider how is made

How do we get civil rights progress in the South? Or anywhere else for that matter?

In the case of the South -- the area I know best -- what is involved is a complicated interplay of forces: a variety of pressures from inside and outside the region, and the response of the powers-that-be to those pressures.

Clearly, this complex process can't be reduced to a formula. But if it could, we know what some of the main factors in the equation would be.

Finally, and most importantly, there is the

First and foremost is the ability and determination of Negroes themselves to achieve equal rights. This is the indispensable factor -- or, to change the analogy, the steam in the boiler, without which the engine won't move. And the steam is building up. The "sit-in" protests are the most dramatic evidence yet that Negro Southerners are no longer willing to play the part of contented subordinates, the role in which they were cast for so long by the white South. True, it is the young people who are have been doing most of the demonstrating, but they have widespread support among their elders. The demonstrations have fired the imagination of the Negro group, young and old, and there is no sign that the movement will fizzle out, panty-raid style, as so many complacent people assumed at the beginning. Rather it is broadening its range of both objectives and techniques. It may change form or direction, but its momentum is as permanent as segregation.

The most important effect of the "sit-ins" may not be the number of lunch-counters or other facilities desegregated -- although the total is impressive -- so far there have been very few -- but the communication they establish across racial lines. Southern whites cling tenaciously to the myth of the "happy Negro," who not only acquiesces in segregation, but finds a positive joy in it. All of the events that have transpired since May 1954 have not yet dispelled this wistful image. It is not hard to understand why. At some level of consciousness, even the most prejudiced ~~white~~ person knows that segregation is an impossibility if Negroes en masse refuse to play the game. Whenever and wherever a majority of the segregated group begin simply to refuse to play by the old rules, the only way segregation can be maintained is through continuous and ruthless coercion - in effect, through a police state. In our kind of society -- particularly the modern, urban South -- this is not a tolerable prospect. For it would mean sacrificing everything else the society is striving for -- industry, prosperity, law and order, and social progress on every other front.

Insert A

I do not mean that all of this has been perceived and understood by the white South; only that Negroes, through their actions, are sending the message loud and clear. Even the most unwilling receiver is bound to start picking it up eventually as the protests spread and continue.

The second factor in the our hypothetical equation is the readiness of white leadership in the South to come to terms with the new

4 (cont)

aspirations of Negroes, and the mandates they have won in the courts. In this respect, the Solid South abruptly falls apart. As the school desegregation issue has demonstrated, the enthusiasm for another Pickett's charge is by no means universal in the former Confederate states. To be sure, There never has been much power behind voluntary change in the South. What differentiates one part of the region from another is a quality of reasonableness, a willingness to make some concessions to the inevitable, and an unwillingness to cut off the nose to spite the face. These are not heroic virtues, but to anyone concerned about civil rights in the South, they are important ones. And fortunately they are spreading. The severest challenge of the die-hard segregationists is not coming exclusively from Negroes and the Federal courts; it is also coming from fellow whites who want to keep the public school system and the business economy intact.

The third factor in our hypothetical equation is what may be called the national will. Negroes are, after all, a minority in the South, as in the country as a whole. The rapidity and the extent of their achievement of equal rights depend on the support they get from the federal government and other national institutions.

I confess that I have always been one to view with alarm viewed with some uneasiness the depth of the national commitment to civil rights. This probably stems from my exposure, limited and distorted though it was, to American history. It is an undisputed fact that once before at a crucial time the rest of the nation grew tired of

the wearisome problems of the South and turned its back on the problems of civil rights below the Potomac. Of course, this can never happen again in quite the same way, if only because the issue is now world-wide in importance and the mass media lay it on our doorsteps, or in our breakfast rooms with television, Garroway, every morning. But, as I follow the developments in Congress and read some of the statements made by influential Americans, my blood sometimes runs a trifle cold and the ghost of Rutherford B. Hayes seems to be breathing on my neck.

Maybe I am over-sensitive on this score. But, since we are dragging to the end of another congressional wrangle over civil rights, let me mention one or two of the reasons for my uneasiness.

It appears to me there is a chronic national tendency to underestimate the skill and tenacity of traditional Southern leadership. Perh aps the Senator Claghorn stereotype is as deeply planted in the Yankee mind as the Stepinfetchit stereotype is in the Southern mind. In any case, it is unbearable I can hardly bring myself to watch those television shows on which a panel of hard-bitten newsmen are supposed to grill a Southern Congressman or Senator. Too often, I have watched the questioners start out with a patronizing air to make mincemeat of their Southern victim, only to wind up being minced and patronized themselves. Of course, this also happens on occasion when the intended victim is not an anti-civil rights Southerner, but not, I think, with the same appalling regularity.

What happens is that the Southern lawmaker has done his homework; he is steeped in anti-civil rights lore; he is on home ground, and he knows how to turn his opponents' arguments against them. This may not be very important on a television program, but it becomes vital on the floor of the House or the Senate. There, it frequently seems that only a handful of liberals are either as committed or as well prepared as the traditional Southerners..

The outcome of this Congressional skirmishing is, in some ways, less important than what it seems to say about the depth and sincerity of the national commitment to civil rights. When you add to it the persistence of de facto segregation in housing, schools, and employment in the North and West, there are grounds aplenty for uneasiness.

Don't misunderstand me. I'm not interested in playing the old game of "You're Another" that is so popular in my part of the country. If Chicago or New York were practicing outright apartheid, it wouldn't affect my views of what should be done in the South. But I am painfully conscious, as we all must be, of the effect of such attitudes on Southern reactions to civil rights pressure. To the extent that Southerners can find evidence to support the argument that the rest of the nation -- or, as we say, the "North" -- is insincere or hypocritical in its allegiance to civil rights, to that extent they can deny the inevitability, and even the rightness, of desegregation. When the Congress of the United States refuses to endorse the Supreme Court's school decision, resistance to the decision gets a new

lease on life. For what I express as a fear is a hope for many Southerners -- the hope that 1877 will come again and a bored and disgusted nation will leave the South to handle the race problem in its own way.

Even though this won't happen, developments that encourage that hope will postpone the day when Negro and white Southerners will live together as equal citizens, in law and in fact.

THE SIT-INS AND THE SCHOOL ISSUE IN ATLANTA

The responsible business and political leadership of Atlanta has made it plain that keeping the public schools open is a paramount objective. Implicit in this aim is the need for certain changes that will permit Atlanta to comply with the desegregation order of the Federal district court during 1961. Peaceful school desegregation will call for political and legal changes at the state level -- and for the maintenance of a calm and harmonious climate of race relations in the Atlanta community.

It has been argued by some that opening of eating facilities to both races now (or soon) will endanger the success of legal desegregation of the schools. The burden of this memorandum is that just the opposite is true. A dispassionate analysis of the facts suggests that persistence of the present stalemate over eating facilities will jeopardize the racial climate of Atlanta in general, and the prospects for orderly school desegregation in particular.

Proposition 1.: The Negro students and their adult sympathisers will not discontinue their protests without assurance of desegregation by some specified and reasonably early date. Agreed or not, this is one of the realities of the situation. The student leaders simply do not accept the validity of the argument that the opening of eating facilities should be deferred until the school issue is settled. Their whole

movement rests on the belief that there has already been too much delay and accommodation, which accomplished little or nothing. The success of the protest movement in achieving desegregated eating facilities in more than 100 Southern cities within a matter of months has convinced them thatlonger indefinite delay is unnecessary and unwise.

It is entirely likely that, with a settlement, the demonstrations will still be taking place at the time of school desegregation -- with all the attendant perils that will pose to public order.

Proposition22.: The longer the stalemate exists, the more militant will become the methods and leadership of the protest movement. The older Negro leadership which champions traditional methods of negotiation and gradual adjustment is steadily being displaced and discredited as the stalemate continues. The younger, more aggressive leadership -- which views the student protest as a means of dramatizing injustice and symbolizing new determination among Negroes -- gain commensurately in power andprestige. As the contest is prolonged, the relatively inert mass of ordinary Negro citizens tends slowly but surely to unite behind the students and the more militant leadership. (Evidence of this from other Southern cities is abundant.) Furthermore, as the impasse continues, the dynamics of the protest movement require that ever new and more dramatic devices be employed to keep alive the spirit of the participants and hold the attention of the general

community, white and Negro. Each innovation brings its own danger of incidents and heightened racial feeling.

Proposition 3.: The corollary to this militant cohesion of the Negro community is increasing organization and activity by the white segregationist opposition. The steady aggravation of public attitudes provides a magnificent opportunity for local demagogues to rally disgruntled (but heretofore isolated and silent) white Atlantans, many of them recent immigrants from rural Georgia. GUTS, of course, is the immediate case in point. The potential adverse effects on Atlanta politics are too obvious to require comment. It is worth noting, however, that a strong organization of die-hard segregationists in Atlanta could, through public pressure, contribute tommore direct intervention in Atlanta's racial affairs by the state government.

Proposition 4.: Experience to date indicates that the anticipation of social change usually creates far more tension and anxiety than the fact of social change. People's fears are magnified, rumors spread readily, and illusory horrors spring up over night when theppublic is disturbed over the prospect of a contested racial change. Atlanta has faced such a prospect -- that of school desegregation -- for some time; the crucial months, as the final deadline nears, lie just ahead. To add to the inevitable resulting tensions the further strain of a war of attrition over lunch countersiis to court serious trouble. The fact that this dispute is aired in the streets,

stores, and other public places enhances the danger of violence. The best policing in the world may fail to prevent isolated incidents in the crowded downtown area, and such incidents can too easily touch off large-scale disorders.

We have recently witnessed such developments in other cities -- for example, Chattanooga, Jacksonville, Montgomery. In Nashville, unresolved tension culminated in the bombing of a Negro leader's home and the coalescence of an indignant Negro community on a scale Atlanta has not yet approached. There is no reason to think that the advent of violence will lead to anything but intensified Negro protest and the deterioriation of Atlanta's reputation throughout the country.

If the above propositions are correct -- and an impressive amount of Southern evidence can be cited in support of them -- only one conclusion is possible: Every effort should be made to end the stalemate between Negro students and downtown merchants. This imperative addresses itself less to the contending parties than to those persons concerned solely with the overall welfare and future of the city.

It is extremely improbable, at this point, that either party would concede all that the other is demanding. But it is equally unlikely that the search for mutually acceptable terms of settlement has exhausted all possibilities. The fact that the principals in this dispute have met for calm discussion only once -- and that at the twelfth hour before the recent resumption of the sit-ins -- suggests the poverty of the effort.

Atlanta has an enviable reputation (already seriously threatened_ for settling its interracial problems with a minimum of fuss and disorder. If the present disagreement is allowed to run a prolonged and bitter course, Atlanta may not have the chance again for a long time to handle its racial problems in the same quiet and constructive way. If the present leaders of the city, white and Negro, can produce no early solution, the leadership in these potentially explosive matters will most assuredly pass to other, less genteel hands. Should this happen, the chances for uninterrupted and peaceful public education in Atlanta and the state will be slim, indeed.

HCF Copy

For presentation at the Civil Liberties
Clearing House Annual Conference, March 24, 1960
by: Harold C. Fleming

How do we get civil rights progess in the South? Or anywhere else for that matter?

In the case of the South -- the area I know best -- what is involved is a complicated interplay of forces: a variety of pressures from inside and outside the region, and the response of the powers-that-be to those pressures.

Clearly, this complex process can't be reduced to a formula. But if it could, we know what some of the main factors in the equation would be.

First and foremost is the ability and determination of Negroes themselves to achieve equal rights. This is the in-d ispensable factor -- or, to change the analogy, the steam in the boiler, without which the engine won't move. And the steam is building up. The "sit-in" protests are the most dramatic evidence yet that Negro Southerners are no longer willing to play the part of contented subordinates, the role in which they were cast for so long by the white South. True, it is the young people who are doing most of the demonstrating, but they have widespread support among their elders. The demonstrations have fired the imagination of the Negro group, young and old; ~~and there is no sign that the movement will~~ they did not fizzle out, panty-raid style, as so many complacemt people assumed at the beginning. It may change form or direction, but its momentum is as permanent as segregation.

Insert #1

(Continued)

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Continue Insert #1

I do not mean that all of this has been perceived and understood by the white South; only that Negroes, through their actions, are sending the message loud and clear. Even the most unwilling receiver is bound to start picking it up as the protests spread and continue. ~~(Vandiver reaction) (Carmover voting)~~

The second factor in the equation is the readiness of white leadership in the South to come to terms with the new

aspirations of Negroes, and the mandates they have won in the courts. In this respect, the Solid South abruptly falls apart. As the school desegregation issue has demonstrated, the enthusiasm for another Pickett's charge is by no means universal in the former Confederate states. There never has been much power behind voluntary change in the South. What differentiates one part of the region from another is a quality of reasonableness, a willingness to make some concessions to the inevitable, and an unwillingness to cut off the nose to spite the face. These are not heroic virtues, but to anyone concerned about civil rights in the South, they are important ones. And fortunately they are spreading. The severest challenge of the die-hard segregationists is not coming exclusively from Negroes and the Federal courts; it is also coming from fellow whites who want to keep the public school system and the business economy intact. (Self-interest)

end Insert 1

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Maybe I am over-sensitive on this score. But, since we are dragging to the end of another congressional wrangle over civil rights, let me mention one or two of the reasons for my uneasiness.

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lease on life. For what I express as a fear is a hope for many Southerners -- the hope that 1877 will come again and a bored and disgusted nation will leave the South to handle the race problem in its own way.

Even though this won't happen, developments that encourage that hope will postpone the day when Negro and white Southerners will live together as equal citizens, in law and in fact.

2 Dangers: 1, (Token deseg.)
Waring strategy
2. Baker County

Justice

McCormick County et al

Directory of Negro institutions of higher education. Roster of sororities - Negro teacher assns etc.

50 cc NY. memo for file

NVT piece to Curriers

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd and the copy of the Report of the Committee on Education. I have read the Report with great interest and think it is a very good one. I am very much pleased with the Committee's attitude on the school question and I think it will be a great thing for the South if this plan can be put into effect. I am very much pleased with the Committee's attitude on the school question and I think it will be a great thing for the South if this plan can be put into effect.

Sincerely yours,

Harry S. Truman

Honorable Harry Ashmore
Director, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

IN THE MAGAZINE

A Liberal Southerner Sees Racial Turmoil Part of Forward Growth

By HAROLD C. FLEMING

ATLANTA.

The turbulence accompanying Negro student demonstrations has thrust the South, once again, into the glare of publicity. Not since the tension in Little Rock subsided has the United States faced as great a danger of international scandal over the region's racial problems.

The stolid young faces of the Negro demonstrators, the grimaces of white rowdies, and the mouthings of white-supremacist politicians are made to order for Communist propagandists. Not that they need strain at the task; the normal functioning of the democratic press will do most of the work.

Coincidentally, President Eisenhower has just created a committee of leading Americans to survey our overseas information programs and policies. It may be hoped that they will concern themselves to some degree with the effectiveness of American efforts to counter exploitation of the periodic eruptions in the South. A fair number of foreigners have had some opportunity of their own to make such a judgment. For the years since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 have brought a steady flow of overseas visitors to the South. A turban in Atlanta, a fez in Montgomery or a sari in New Orleans—to say nothing of a British or German accent—is no longer the rarity it once was.

Foreign Reaction

What do these foreign visitors volunteer about our racial problems? Very little, indeed. But, more often than not, behind a courteous and noncommittal demeanor lies a well-developed set of preconceptions. Visitors from the emergent young nations of Asia and Africa are especially likely to harbor strongly negative views. To most of them, Southern racial incidents are atrocities of an undemocratic and unchanging society. Here, to their mind, is the arch enemy colonialism in American dress and on the ascendancy.

As one young Nigerian expressed it, "How do your people expect to win our friendship when they exalt the very evils we have been fighting against?"

ing fact that as the pressures for change mount in the Deep South, more severe reactions may be expected. But these, too, will represent the backlash of a mortally stricken system of inequality, not a rebirth of oppression.

A middle-aged Southerner can remember a time when race relations stagnated peacefully, at least on the surface. There was occasional violence, to be sure, but it was mainly the ritual brutality of lynching, so common that it caused little public outcry. Segregation in its multitudinous forms was virtually unchallenged. Even the grossest inequalities—in schools and teachers' salaries, in trains and buses, in sanitation and medical care—were accepted by all but a few as part of the natural order.

Many Southerners, scarcely aware of the cruel injustice of those years, look back on them as "the good old days" of race relations. Yet even they, hurled suddenly backward in time, would be shocked at the price in human suffering and denial that was paid for interracial peace.

High Price

During the last twenty years, a high price of another kind—of violence and turmoil—has been exacted of Southerners, white and Negro. But at least it is a price paid for something worth having—the elimination of injustice systematically practiced against a large segment of Americans. As a result, in Little Rock and elsewhere, countless children still unborn will get a better and more democratic education; some children already are. A mob drove Autherine Lucy out of the University of Alabama, but the same general effort peacefully opened the doors of more than 200 colleges and universities to Negroes.

Americans a hundred years hence may well look back on the race relations changes of our day as a major social revolution. While many may wonder what all the fuss was about, the more thoughtful will marvel that it was accomplished as rapidly and peacefully as it was. In any case, without minimizing the harsh costs of these changes, we can appreciate the value of

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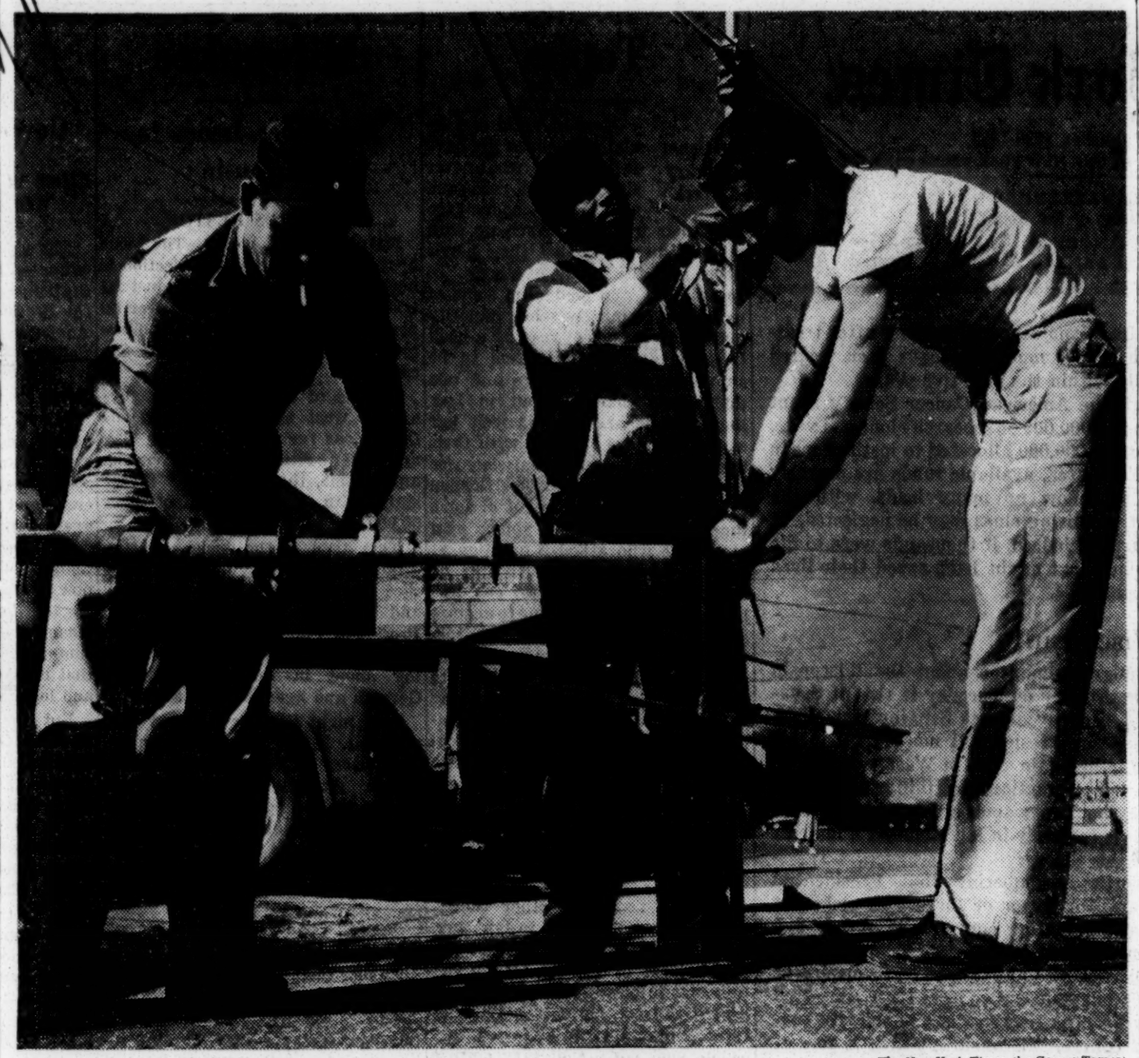

The New York Times (by George Tames)

Negro working with whites in a television antenna plant in the South.

WEIGHING RACIAL CLASHES

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"In my country," he said "we try to conceal the difficulties we face in eradicating caste. I regret this. But we are not the self-appointed leader of the free world, like the United States. My people measure your anti-Negro acts against the high democratic standards you yourselves profess. At the height of the Little Rock disorder, the American information bulletins I read made almost no mention of it; instead, they talked of the exceptional American Negroes who have won fame or acceptance in spite of discrimination. So we were left to the simplification and sensationalism of the press."

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Novelist Depicts in Lyrical Prose A Quest for Life's Meaning

RICH TAPESTRY

CLEA. By Lawrence Durrell. 287 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $3.95.

THE BOOK: With this book, Lawrence Durrell completes his tetralogy of novels bearing the over-all title "Alexandria Quartet." Each of the volumes contains many of the same characters; all of them center in the port of Alexandria, before and during World War II; and, in each case, an overlapping story is told from a somewhat different point of view. The first novel, "Justine," described the passionate love affair of an English poet with the girl of the title. "Balthazar" continued the ill-starred chronicle of their love; "Mountolive" told of the rise and comeuppance of an English diplomat of that name, deeply involved with characters in the earlier volumes. The present book, played out against the stormy backdrop of war, and the uneasy peace that follows, presents the young poet—now reasonably mature—and tells how he rids himself of the love tyranny of Justine and finds happiness, of a sort, with a girl of his own class.

THE CRITICISM: "One of the most important works of our time has now come to an end. This tetralogy is already producing serious comparisons in London and Paris with the novels of Marcel Proust, because it deals in such a masterly fashion with 'the intermittences of the heart,' with man's quest for life's meaning. As before, Mr. Durrell's prose is both fervid and lyrical; as before, he has broken with the 'tough-minded' schools of fiction to put his emphasis on the mytho-poetic references that underlie fact. The method has its occasional weaknesses: not all of 'Clea' is as moving as the unshakable sadness exhibited in parts of the earlier novels. But these are minor defects in a large and on the whole splendidly sustained work. In its entirety, it celebrates 'heraldically' the beauty that is still to be found, even today, by a genuine poet."

—*Gerald Sykes.*

CONSUL AT SUNSET

SOMETHING OF AN ACHIEVEMENT. By Gwyn Griffin. 284 pp. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $4.95.

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and economic evolution has observed trends in Japanese life for many years from the vantage point of an important editorial chair in Tokyo; he has also studied American mores as a teacher in America. His book covers Japan's part in World War II, and the early years of the American Occupation that followed surrender in 1945. In his view, this "extraordinary interlude" produced something new under the rising sun, a change of orientation which the Japanese "will never slough off completely." Though he does not overlook the mistakes that were made by zealous administrators, he believes the over-all impact of the Occupation was beneficial.

THE CRITICISM: "Very few figures in the Occupation had Mr. Kawai's qualifications for assessing the long-term effect of American ideas and methods, when imposed on an oriental people from above. He reminds us that the Occupation was in effect an entirely American show, despite the efforts of the Russians and others to have a say. He notes that it was guilty of numerous mistakes in judging the Japanese character; in some instances, he feels, the Americans tried to go too far and too fast in 'conferring democracy,' that the future of democracy in Japan depends upon developments elsewhere. Yet, for all its faults, he calls the Occupation a magnificent success in the main thing it set out to do—namely, to instill a lasting spirit of reform in the Japanese people."

—*Robert Trumbull.*

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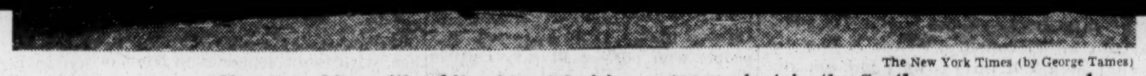

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As one young Nigerian expressed it, "How do your people expect to win our friendship when they exalt the very evils we have been fighting against?"

For the Negro or liberal white Southerner—the only ones likely to be asked such a question—a persuasive answer comes hard. It takes more time and interpretation than is afforded by an hour's conversation, or even a two-day stopover, to remold a sharply defined image of a whole region. The process has to start earlier, and continue later.

Admittedly the only satisfactory way to answer criticisms of our racial practices is to eliminate discrimination and segregation. Yet even the most optimistic prophets calculate the time this will require in years rather than in days or months. Let us, by all means, redouble our efforts. Meanwhile, more concern for the image we project to the rest of the world is imperative.

Court Ruling

The violence, injustices and political excesses that have fouled the wake of the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings cannot be denied or suppressed. To try to do this will only earn us the distrust and contempt of those whose goodwill we seek. But we can honestly present a more positive picture of the South; if we are accurate, we will do so.

The disturbances of the past few years are symptomatic not of regression, but of forward movement, bitterly contested but inexorable. The South's troubles are not caused by a resurgence of an old order; they are the results of an old order's last desperate rally against new forces it can neither understand nor control. It is a disheartening

During the last twenty years, a high price of another kind—of violence and turmoil—has been exacted of Southerners, white and Negro. But at least it is a price paid for something worth having—the elimination of injustice systematically practiced against a large segment of Americans. As a result, in Little Rock and elsewhere, countless children still unborn will get a better and more democratic education; some children already are. A mob drove Autherine Lucy out of the University of Alabama, but the same general effort peacefully opened the doors of more than 200 colleges and universities to Negroes.

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It should not be assumed that the new aspirations and rising status of the Negro are the sole cause of the traditional South's malaise. The region is also shaken by the chills and fever of profound economic change, of huge population shifts, of big-city growth and rural decay.

Industrial Change

Within a few short years the South has experienced an industrial revolution that was spread over generations in the rest of the country. In the decade following World War II, the South added 4,000 new manufacturing plants, and the number of Southerners living in cities swelled by 39 per cent, as against only 15.4 per cent elsewhere in the country. At least four million native Southerners, more than half of them Negroes, have moved out of the region entirely.

As these trends continue, the South is being abruptly transformed from a rural agricultural society to an urban, industrial one. But factories can be built and people shifted about far more speedily than attitudes and customs can be changed. Old roots have been torn up and new ones not yet put down. Outworn patterns of decision-making and political power have still to be reshaped to drastically changing circumstances. The central cities are choked with rural newcomers, under-educated, unskilled, and uninitiated in urban ways.

Racial antagonism is a ready outlet for the fears and frustrations bred by economic and social upheaval. The old isolation has broken down, leaving the South unprotected against the influx of people and ideas alien to its once impervious way of life. Seeking to hold on to the familiar, to a sense of continuing identity, many a white Southerner has rallied to the call for solidarity on the segregation issue. But to even the most recalcitrant it daily becomes clearer that this cause, too, will be lost. The racial patterns of the South cannot remain fixed and immutable while all else is in flux.

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The dark-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa are peculiarly well-equipped to understand the conflict of old and new that disturbs the peace of the South. For, though different in detail, in essence it is not unlike the revolutionary ferment they know in their own countries. The upthrust of a people long denied, the fearful and sometimes cruel resistance of the privileged group, the clash of new technology and ancient custom—in one form or another, these are the common realities of our time, in southeast Asia and southeast United States alike.

One need only consider the persistence of caste and religious intolerance in India, tribalism in Nigeria, internecine strife in Indonesia, ethnic and language barriers in Malaya, revolt in Algeria, unrest in the Belgian Congo—and everywhere the stumbling blocks of ignorance and superstition, poverty and disease, inexperience and apathy. The path of progress, there no less than here, is clogged with this detritus of the past.

Perhaps the obstacles to creating abroad a more mature understanding of the South are insuperable. But it might be worth trying bold analysis, rather than silence or embarrassed mutterings, when our domestic revolution spills over into violence. After all, most of the uncommitted peoples of the world also know what it is to live through a revolution.

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A Walk on Prospekt Mira

Moscow Street Offers Some Glimpses Of Day-to-Day Life in the Soviet

By MAX and TOBIA FRANKEL

MOSCOW.

Speak of Moscow anywhere in the world and the image is the Kremlin, that pentagonal walled compound of palaces and cathedrals, seat of Communist power, symbol of endurance and mystery. To us, though, and probably even more to our Russian neighbors, the Kremlin is the fortress down the street, three miles down.

We live on Prospekt Mira, Number 74. At home, we sense the Kremlin's shadow, but we never see it. The sound of Soviet power to us is the rumble of green, always green, trucks on our street. We write home about the Kremlin; we buy sour pickles, hunt for eggs and stroll with our son on Prospekt Mira.

In the spring we usually stroll down the street past the children's library, past Products Store 27, where we sometimes check on new cake mixes in stock, past our region's Communist party headquarters to the Botanical Garden. Kindly old peasants sell cut flowers along the way; you cannot enter the garden with cut flowers but the caretaker will keep them in a vase while you stroll.

In the lanes of the garden sit pensioners and grandmothers hired to watch over groups of youngsters for whom there is no room in the kindergartens. Little boys toss pebbles into the pond; little girls play potsy. This is our oasis on Prospekt Mira, as isolated behind its green fencing and clapboard houses as when its flora were moved here in 1706 from the side of the Kremlin wall for the production of medicinal herbs.

Green Trucks

Open green trucks rush along Prospekt Mira three abreast in each direction to and from the linen mills, machine shops and shipyards of Yaroslavl, to the north. On Prospekt Mira itself the trucks call at plants producing machine tools, electronic instruments and musical instruments, textiles and petroleum products.

The trucks carry people, too. Lively peasants haul surplus goods of the season to the free market and take rubber boots, fabrics and knickknacks back to the collective farms. Families chosen to move from their quaint wooden quarters into the giant brick homes rising at the end of our street pile into the trucks with fold-up cots, a table, a bureau, some chairs. Mourners ride the same trucks draped in red and black and accompany their dead to Pyatnitskoye Cemetery.

Others come to Prospekt Mira by railroad, to the Riga (Rizhsky) terminal opposite the cemetery. The station, named for the destination of its trains, is a bizarre green-gabled structure with white frosting. Inside its pink waiting halls sit passengers beneath huge portraits of Lenin, President Voroshilov and Premier Khrushchev, with wreaths or skis, cord shopping nets that bulge with unwrapped breads and bagels, suitcases sheathed in white linen cloth and cheeses and salamis wrapped in old Pravdas.

Hot Tea

The waiting passengers fill their teapots at a water trough from faucets marked "boiling" and "fresh." They queue for tickets beneath large signs that decree priority for military officers and civilian Heroes of Socialist Labor. They drink kvass, a slightly alcoholic malt beverage, at the buffet and buy *odekolon* (eau de cologne) at the apothecary stand.

The residents of Prospekt Mira are linked by address, by a single regional administration, by trolleybus and autobus and by a new subway line from the old stop at the Botanical Garden to three new ones called Riga, Peace and Exhibition. But no special sense of community unites them.

In the stretch near the Botanical Garden, tall, sturdy and shallow apartment blocks, ornamented hunks of gray and brown, stand like turreted sentinels on both sides of the street and shield cowering communities of wood. Grand archways in the stone facades lead to winding lanes with homes and woodsheds of plastered lattice and unpainted clapboard. Among them stand mushroom-shaped kiddie shelters, pigeon houses and tables for dominoes and chess. Between them hang washlines laden with lavender undergarments and gay Chinese towels. Aluminum pots and bottles of milk stand behind double windows sealed in winter with fluffy cotton. Sturdy green plants lean against curtains of lace the year round.

Lace Curtains

In the section of Prospekt Mira beyond the railway station, similar lace curtains shield windows in mammoth houses of stone. Here in the early Nineteen Fifties, Stalin's men built, preciously and monstrously. Each monument of their craft stands glowering at a rival across the way; and the lively trade in shoes and bread in their ground floors hardly disturbs the pompous scene.

Shopping along Prospekt Mira, in the state stores, at the peasant market and sidewalk stalls consumes a good deal of time, energy and nerves. An errand for cream cheese can take hours and end in disappointment. On the other hand a routine stroll can result in unexpected retail triumphs, a bunch of bananas at a push-cart or a lone set of fired-clay tea cups at the household-goods store.

Search for Goods

People rush along our street in frenetic search of the novel or long-awaited commodity, straining to see over the heads of every crowd that gathers, wistfully interrogating every accessible clerk.

Both the state and private entrepreneurs serve our street. All the stores—the undertaker and barber shops at No. 14, shoe store 38 at No. 45, the half-dozen bakery shops within walking distance from our house, the Riga restaurant and the wine-bar automat—are owned and run by the Government. A glass of port comes easily in the bar at No. 80; three rubles fifteen kopeks purchase a token that releases a glassful.

Only the crowding in the stores appears to justify the state-owned wooden kiosks and carts under awnings that clutter the street. Men and women, bundled up against the cold, offer newspapers and postcards, cigarettes and matches, shoe shines, insoles and laces, ice cream and sometimes frozen peas. The street venders emerge with odd assortments of goods, now grapes, now lemons, dried fruit or onions, yellow soap and milk, white underdrawers and shopping nets. On Sundays peasants join the line of venders with homemade tables or clothes hangers and sacks of sunflower seed.

Separate Entrance

Our house, No. 74, is probably Prospekt Mira's oddest institution. It is one of the few buildings around Moscow partly set aside for foreigners. Five of its wings are occupied by diplomats and correspondents, four by Russians; but the Russians enter from the street while we must come through a courtyard whose extraterritoriality is protected by a militiaman.

Catercornered to our bedroom window is the window of our Russian neighbors. We think we know how they live, where they shop and where they catch the bus. We know they use lace curtains, own a parakeet and goldfish. We wish we knew who they are.

The New York Times (by Max Frankel)

A newsstand on Moscow's Prospekt Mira.

producing serious comparisons in London and Paris with the novels of Marcel Proust, because it deals in such a masterly fashion with 'the intermittences of the heart,' with man's quest for life's meaning. As before, Mr. Durrell's prose is both fervid and lyrical; as before, he has broken with the 'tough-minded' schools of fiction to put his emphasis on the mytho-poetic references that underlie fact. The method has its occasional weaknesses: not all of 'Clea' is as moving as the unshakable sadness exhibited in parts of the earlier novels. But these are minor defects in a large and on the whole splendidly sustained work. In its entirety, it celebrates 'heraldically' the beauty that is still to be found, even today, by a genuine poet."

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CONSUL AT SUNSET

SOMETHING OF AN ACHIEVEMENT. By Gwyn Griffin. 284 pp. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $4.95.

THE BOOK: This novel belongs on an increasingly-crowded shelf in British fiction: it is another example of the "consul at sunset" genre, the dissection of the complacency, and the inner dry-rot, of so many British civil servants abroad, as they continue their bumbling way, unaware of the rapid break up of the old colonial techniques, as well as the old top-nation status of the mother country. Mr. Griffin's civil servant is an administrator in a crown colony in West Africa, a man of middle-class background, unshakeable belief in his own rightness, and a mediocrity that is impervious to outside influence. The main events of the story are his marriage to a nice girl from back home, their hopelessly muddled life together in the colony, her accidental death, and his entirely unwarranted promotion for "heroism."

THE CRITICISM: "We leave Spurgeon shaken by his loss, somewhat older, but once more a contented bachelor, in good standing with his club and dreaming of a possible knighthood before retirement. Having cut free of reality, he is invincibly himself again. This is a devastating portrait of the Nasty Englishman, fit to be set beside our own Ugly American. It speaks volumes for the change that has come about in Britain and for the determination of her writers to renounce the hallowed past."

—John Barkham.

NEW RISING SUN

JAPAN'S AMERICAN INTERLUDE. By Kasuo Kawai. 257 pp. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. $5.

THE BOOK: The author of this study of a country in social democracy, that the future of democracy in Japan depends upon developments elsewhere. Yet, for all its faults, he calls the Occupation a magnificent success in the main thing it set out to do—namely, to instill a lasting spirit of reform in the Japanese people."

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THE CRITICISM: "As the breathless narrative accelerates, the sadistic-exhibitionistic elements come more and more to the foreground. The author's 'hero' is as pitiful as Kafka's bugman: one is tempted to speculate that Kafka would have welcomed this reversal of his 'Metamorphosis.' Of course, readers who go only for 'naturalistic' novels should stay away—but devotees of Poe and Tennessee Williams will welcome the pseudonymous English novelist Sarban, a craftsman who is better known in England than America. His book is a stunning tour de force, a horror-thriller with depth."

—Richard Plant.

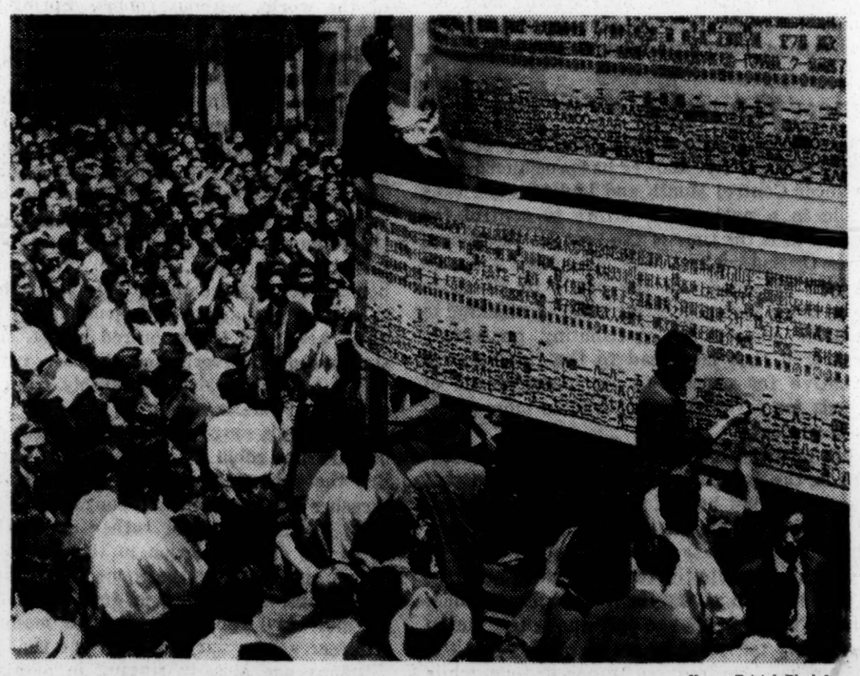
BEST SELLERS

FICTION

(1) *Hawaii*—Michener.
(2) *Advise and Consent*—Drury.
(3) *The Constant Image*—Davenport.
(4) *Ourselves to Know*—O'Hara.
(5) *Two Weeks in Another Town*—Shaw.
(6) *The Devil's Advocate*—West.

GENERAL

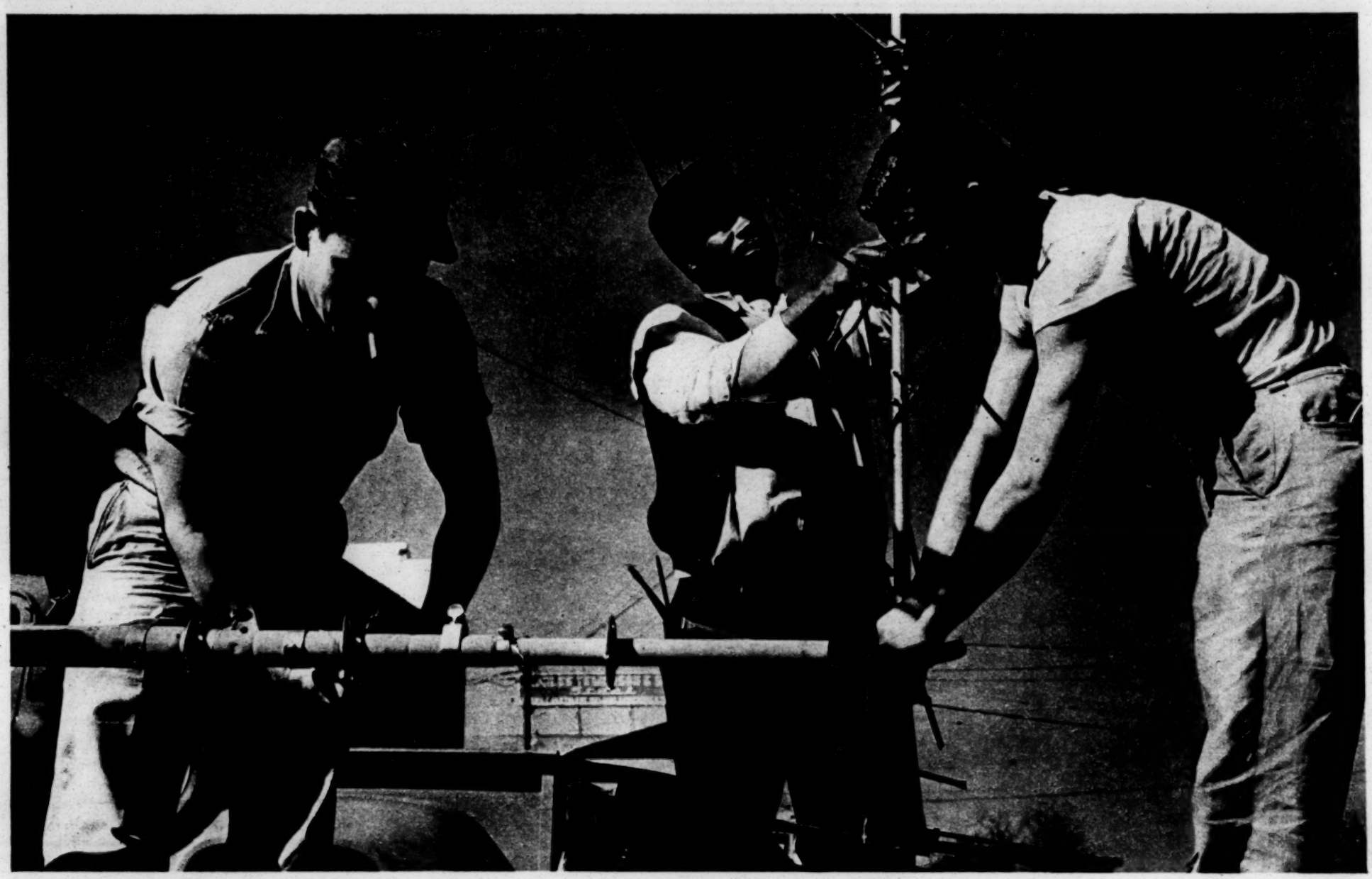
(1) *May This House Be Safe From Tigers*—King.
(2) *Folk Medicine*—Jarvis.
(3) *Act One*—Hart.
(4) *My Wicked, Wicked Ways*—Flynn.
(5) *The Enemy Within*—Kennedy.
(6) *Grant Moves South*—Catton.



Horace Bristol, Black

Election returns being posted in Tokyo.

The New York Times Magazine



The other side of the picture—Negroes and whites work side by side. The scene is a television antenna plant in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

A Southern View of the South

A liberal Southerner sees the racial turmoil as part of revolutionary, forward-moving changes—changes that must be better explained to foreign critics.

By HAROLD C. FLEMING

ATLANTA.

THE turbulence accompanying Negro student demonstrations has thrust the South, once again, into the glare of publicity. Not since the tension in Little Rock subsided has the United States faced as great a danger of international scandal over the region's racial problems.

The stolid young faces of the Negro demonstrators, the grimaces of white rowdies, and the mouthings of white-supremacist politicians are made to order for Communist propagandists. Not that they need strain at the task; the normal functioning of the democratic press will do most of the work.

Coincidentally, President Eisenhower has just created a committee of leading Americans to survey our overseas information programs and policies. It may be hoped that they will concern themselves to some degree with the effectiveness of American efforts to counter exploitation of the periodic eruptions in the South. A fair number of Southerners have had some opportunity of their own to make such a judgment. For the years since the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 have brought a steady flow of overseas visitors to the South. A turban in Atlanta, a fez in Montgomery or a sari in New Orleans—to say nothing of a British or German accent—is no longer the rarity it once was.

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Admittedly the only satisfactory way to answer criticisms of our racial practices is to eliminate discrimination and segregation. Yet even the most optimistic prophets calculate the time this will require in years rather than in days or months. Let us, by all means, redouble our efforts. Meanwhile, more concern for the image we project to the rest of the world is imperative.

The violence, injustices and political excesses that have fouled the wake of the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings cannot be denied or suppressed. To try to do this will only earn us the distrust and contempt of those whose goodwill we seek. But we can honestly present a more positive picture of the South; if we are accurate, we will do so.

THE disturbances of the past few years are symptomatic not of regression, but of forward movement, bitterly contested but inexorable. The South's troubles are not caused by a resurgence of an old order; they are the results of an old order's last desperate rally against new forces it can neither understand nor control. It is a disheartening fact that as the pressures for change mount in the Deep South, more severe reactions may be expected. But these, too, will represent the *(Continued on Page 123)*

HAROLD C. FLEMING is executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an organization in Atlanta that has been working to improve race relations in the South since 1919.

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New Act in South Africa's Tragedy

Nowhere in Africa is the struggle between black man and white more menacing than in the Union of South Africa. There 3,000,000 "Europeans" seek to maintain—and strengthen—white supremacy over 11,500,000 non-whites. The country is reverberating to an explosion touched off when thousands of Africans demonstrated against a long-standing law that they must carry passes limiting their freedom of movement. Police fired into the crowds, killing at least seventy-two and wounding 184. The world was shocked; the U. N. Security Council met in special session. Shown are some of the principals and events in South Africa.

AFRIKANERS—Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd, above, is South Africa's chief spokesman for the policy of racial segregation called apartheid. He also is determined to make South Africa a republic, perhaps to take it entirely out of the British Commonwealth. His Nationalist party draws its strength from the descendants of the country's early Dutch settlers, the Boers, such as the Afrikaner farmer, at left.

AFRICANS—Chief Albert Luthuli, above, is leader of the African National Congress, the major African political organization in the Union. His call for a one-day work stoppage in mourning for the victims of the recent riots was effective but brought fresh violence. South Africa's economy depends upon the cheap labor provided by Africans, such as the men, right, working in an open-pit gold mine.

A Southern View of the South

(Continued from Page 23)

backlash of a mortally stricken system of inequality, not a rebirth of oppression.

A middle-aged Southerner can remember a time when race relations stagnated peacefully, at least on the surface. There was occasional violence, to be sure, but it was mainly the ritual brutality of lynching, so common that it caused little public outcry. Segregation in its multitudinous forms was virtually unchallenged. Even the grossest inequalities—in schools and teachers' salaries, in trains and buses, in sanitation and medical care—were accepted by all but a few as part of the natural order.

As for the Negro's right to cast a meaningful ballot, to attend a high school or university, to swim in a municipal pool, in many areas there was no question of inequality—such opportunities for Negroes simply didn't exist. There were occasional gains within the rigidly separate framework, but these were so slight and scattered as to be almost imperceptible.

Many Southerners, scarcely aware of the cruel injustice of those years, look back on them as "the good old days" of race relations. Yet even they, hurled suddenly backward in time, would be shocked at the price in human suffering and denial that was paid for interracial peace.

During the last twenty years, a high price of another kind has been exacted of Southerners, white and Negro. Homes, schools and churches have been bombed by small bands of hate-filled marauders. Mobs have rioted in the streets of Clinton and Tuscaloosa and Little Rock. Negro children have walked the gantlet of jeering adults and suffered abuses from bullying classmates. A few Negroes have died at the hands of the rabble who interpreted the inflammatory words of their betters as license to kill.

THIS is far from a complete tally; nor has it yet ceased to mount. But at least it is a price paid for something worth having—the elimination of injustice systematically practiced against a large segment of Americans. As a result, in Little Rock and elsewhere, countless children still unborn will get a better and more democratic education; some children already are. A mob drove Autherine Lucy out of the University of Alabama, but the same general effort peacefully opened the doors of more than 200 colleges and universities to Negroes.

Americans a hundred years hence may well look back on the race relations changes of our day as a major social revolution. While many may wonder what all the fuss was about, the more thoughtful will marvel that it was accomplished as rapidly and peacefully as it was. In any case, without minimizing the harsh costs of these changes, we can appreciate the value of what is being won by and for Americans.

It should not be assumed that the new aspirations and rising status of the Negro are the sole cause of the traditional South's malaise. The region is also shaken by the chills and fever of profound economic change, of huge population shifts, of big-city growth and rural decay.

Within a few short years the South has experienced an industrial revolution that was spread over generations in the rest of the country. In the decade following World War II, the South added 4,000 new manufacturing plants. A third of this new industrial growth was accounted for by only thirty - seven metropolitan areas; the lesser cities showed similar gains. By 1955 the average per capita income of Southerners had climbed to 257 per cent of its 1929 level, as compared with 141 per cent for the rest of the nation.

Population changes have been equally spectacular. During the Forties, the number of Southerners living in cities swelled by 39 per cent, as against only 15.4 per cent elsewhere in the country. At least four million native Southerners, more than half of them Negroes, have moved out of the region entirely. A smaller but sizable group of Northerners and Westerners have moved in with the new industry.

As these trends continue, the South is being abruptly transformed from a rural agricultural society to an urban, industrial one. But factories can be built and people shifted about far more speedily than attitudes and customs can be changed. Old roots have been torn up and new ones not yet put down. Outworn patterns of decision-making and political power have still to be reshaped to drastically changing circumstances. The central cities are choked with rural newcomers, under-educated, unskilled, and uninitiated in urban ways.

It is no wonder that widespread feelings of insecurity and anxiety lie close to the surface. Even the stabler elements of the society are uneasy in the face of rapid changes whose magnitude and significance they can only dimly perceive.

Racial antagonism is a ready outlet for the fears and frustrations bred by economic and social upheaval. The old isolation has broken down, leaving

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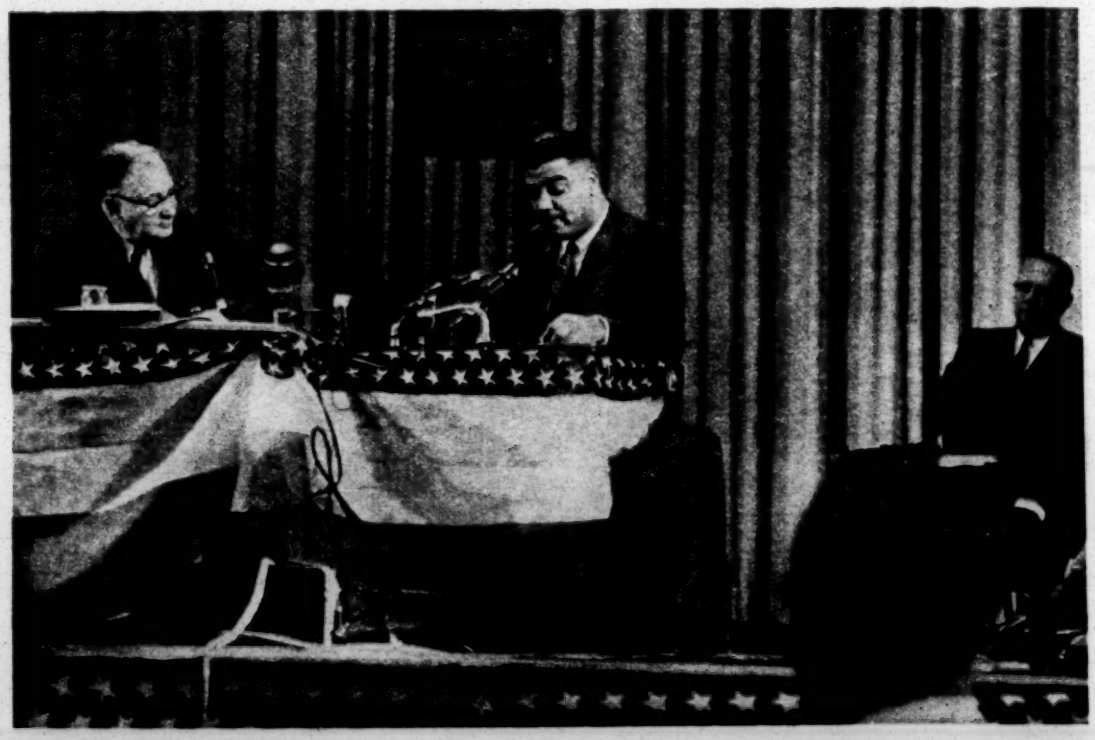

ON THE EDUCATION FRONT—In Georgia a state commission is inviting both Negroes and whites to give their views on school integration. Above, a Negro leader in Atlanta is heard by the commission.

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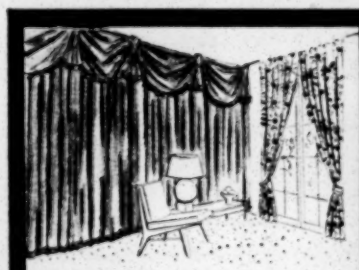

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SEPARATION—Police, one on horseback, hold back a crowd near a Negro meeting in Montgomery, Ala.

(Continued from Preceding Page)

the South unprotected against the influx of people and ideas alien to its once impervious way of life. Seeking to hold on to the familiar, to a sense of continuing identity, many a white Southerner has rallied to the call for solidarity on the segregation issue. But to even the most recalcitrant it daily becomes clearer that this cause, too, will be lost. The racial patterns of the South cannot remain fixed and immutable while all else is in flux.

THESE are the realities of the Southern revolution—and he who tries to find the meaning of racial discord apart from them is on a fool's errand.

The dark-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa are peculiarly well-equipped to understand the conflict of old and new that disturbs the peace of the South. For, though different in detail, in essence it is not unlike the revolutionary ferment they know in their own countries. The upthrust of a people long denied, the fearful and sometimes cruel resistance of the privileged group, the clash of new technology and ancient custom—in one form or another, these are the common realities of our time, in southeast Asia and southeast United States alike.

One need only consider the persistence of caste and religious intolerance in India, tribalism in Nigeria, internecine strife in Indonesia, ethnic and language barriers in Malaya, revolt in Algeria, unrest in the Belgian Congo — and everywhere the stumbling blocks of ignorance and superstition, poverty and disease, inexperience and apathy. The path of progress, there no less than here, is clogged with this detritus of the past.

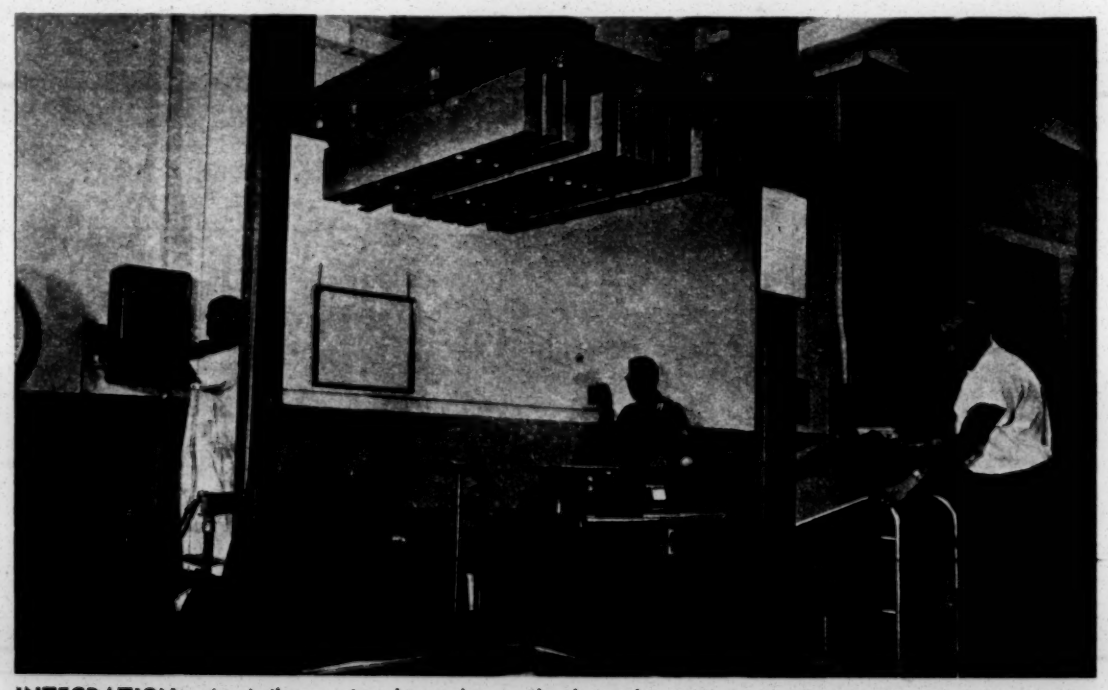
The failure to see the South's difficulties in these terms, a failure shared with foreign observers by many Americans, betrays a lack of historical perspective.

The South is perpetually being rediscovered in times of crisis by reporters and pundits and moralists. But in the obscure intervals between these moments, the flow of history continues. The outbreaks in Little Rock, Clinton or Tuscaloosa must be viewed against a backdrop, as part of a drama of sweeping transition rather than as self-contained incidents.

In Atlanta not long ago, a sensitive and well-informed visitor from India addressed himself to this problem.

"In my country," he said, "we try to conceal the difficulties we face in eradicating caste. I regret this. But we are not the self-appointed leader of the free world, like the United States. My people measure your anti-Negro acts against the high democratic standards you yourselves profess. At the height of the Little Rock disorder, the American information bulletins I read made almost no mention of it; instead, they talked of the exceptional American Negroes who have won fame or acceptance in spite of discrimination. So we were left to the simplification and sensationalism of the press."

PERHAPS the obstacles to creating abroad a more mature understanding of the South are insuperable. But it might be worth trying bold analysis, rather than silence or embarrassed mutterings, when our domestic revolution spills over into violence. After all, most of the uncommitted peoples of the world also know what it is to live through a revolution.



INTEGRATION—A missile part is subjected to a shock test by workers in a plant in Winston-Salem, N. C.

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THE SOUTH'S SPRING OF DISCONTENT

By: Harold C. Fleming

Three months ago, the course of desegregation in the South seemed immutably set -- and a slow and tortuous route it promised to be. It ran through the tangled thickets of litigation, with occasional breakthroughs into small clearings of token desegregation of schools and other public facilities. A gradual increase in the ranks of Negro voters, a slow rise in Negro social and economic status, and the evolutionary growth of more liberal white attitudes could be expected to nudge the legal process along.

As a report of the Southern Regional Council grimly put it, "The new strategy of resistance is a subtle one -- to satisfy the bare letter of the law, but to defeat its spirit ....When the crises are past, the effort to get legal gains realized in everyday practice will be a wearisome and unspectacular business."

This was the prospect as most observers saw it. At any rate, no one was prophesying the dramatic turn that events were about to take.

It began with deceptively little stir. On February 1, at 4:30 P. M., four freshmen from North Carolina A. & T. College in Greensboro walked into a local Woolworth variety store. They made a few purchases, then quietly seated themselves at the lunch counter and ordered coffee. There they remained, unserved, until the store closed an hour later.

Much energy and more verbiage have gone into the effort to depict this minor incident as the first move in an elaborate campaign plotted by outside forces to embarrass the South, to promote civil rights legislation, or simply to stir up trouble for variously defined subversive purposes. So far, however, nobody has traced the action back to anything more insidious than four young students with a grievance and the idea of expressing it in this particular fashipn. Where did they get the idea? One of the four, Joseph McNeill, said, "I guess it was in some books we'd read." Another, David Richmond, added, "We decided it was time for somebody to do it. I'm trying to fix it so my children won't have to live with this thing."

If they had conceived their plan differently or at another time, or if the Woolworth manager had decided to go ahead and serve them, this might have ended as a minor, isolated episode in the turbulent progress of integration.

As it happened, the Greensboro incident ignited the smouldering discontent of Negro youngsters throughout the South. Less than two weeks later the "sit-in" movement had spread to Negro campuses in eight other North Carolina cities; at the end of a month it had jumped to 32 cities, in six states; and at the end of two months the total stood at 68 cities in 11 states and was still mounting.

In all of these places, the demonstrating students have committed themselves to the non-violent methods of Mohandas K. Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Some of them have attended

training sessions in the art of turning the other cheek. Although this discipline has broken down in a few instances -- notably those involving high-school students -- most of the young demonstrators have displayed a degree of dignity and self-control that adults might envy. In almost every case where violence has occurred, it has been initiated by white-teenagers, Kluxers, or in a few of the uglier situations by the police themselves. The contrast between the demonstrators and their hecklers was described this way, in an unusual attack of candor, by the militantly segregationist Richmond News Leader:

> ... Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen. Eheu! It gives one pause.

(The pause, unfortunately, was short-lived. A few days later, the News Leader was attributing the sit-ins to the machinations of Communist forces intent on creating public disorder.)

The protests in their most common form are concerned with a seeming triviality -- the question of who perches next to whom on a lunch-counter stool. Moreover, how many cups of coffee and blue-plate specials will be interracially consumed is still in doubt. So far only a handful of eating places have yielded to the pressure of the students. But the real meaning of the protest movement goes deeper; it makes unmistakably clear that the Southern Negro's discontent is real and growing, that the

time is rapidly approaching when segregation can be maintained only by continuous coercion and the intolerable social order that it would create.

In dramatizing these realities, the demonstrations have struck at the heart of the major assumptions underlying the desegregation controversy of the past six years. Among these are the assumptions that most Southern Negroes are satisfied with segregation; that Negroes are committed irrevocably to the techniques of legal and political action; that token integration breeds complacency; and that no significant white support for integration can be won on moral grounds.

Nothing is more fundamental in the segregationist dogma than that the great mass of Southern Negroes are content with their lot. The stormy developments touched off by the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 have left this conviction remarkably intact. It is supported by the traditional image of the Negro as an inherently docile and subordinate being who rebels only when synthetically aroused by "agitators." Under this construction of reality, school integration is the brain child of the NAACP, adopted by a leftist Supreme Court and forced upon a reluctant people by legal deception and federal might.

There are good reasons why the segregationist clings tenaciously to this belief. It not only soothes his conscience; it reassures him that he need resist only an abstract, outside force -- that the Negroes, "our Negroes," will continue to play the game of race relations by the old inequalitarian rules laid down after Reconstruction. Any segregationist worth his salt

can produce testimony, usually extracted from a cook or yardman, that "colored folks don't want this race-mixing any more than we do."

The quiet, well-disciplined ranks of Negro youngsters seating themselves at lunch counters, filing into segregated public libraries, or marching in eerie silence before state capitols and county court houses, offer a powerful rebuttal. In the face of it, the die-hard insistence on the myth of the contented Negro has taken on a desperate quality. In troubled Marshall, Texas, a local judge declared that the student demonstration was "not a child of local citizens" and urged the Grand Jury to track down the "outside influences" responsible. Governor Buford Ellington of Tennessee found, of all things, a CBS television crew in the conspiratorial woodpile. Georgia's Richard B. Russell angrily assured the United States Senate that the whole protest movement was concocted by the Congress of Racial Equality, a ~~small~~ liberal organization headquartered in New York.

The most far-reaching indictment of all was made by Senator Russell's nephew-in-law, Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia, who was provoked not by a demonstration, but by a student pronouncement. Titled "An Appeal for Human Rights," the statement ran in the Atlanta newspapers as a full-page advertisement bearing the names of Negro student leaders of the Atlanta University Center. Among other things, it said:

> This protest, like the bus boycott in Montgomery, has shocked many people throughout the world. Why? Because they had not quite realized the unanimity of

> of spirit and purpose which motivates the thinking and action of the great majority of the Negro people. The students who instigate and participate in these sit-down protests are dissatisfied, not only with the existing conditions, but with the snail-like speed at which they are being ameliorated.... The time has come for the people of Atlanta and Georgia to take a good look at what is really happening in this country, and to stop believing those who tell us that everything is fine and equal, and that the Negro is happy and satisfied.

Governor Vandiver's denunciation of this "left-wing" document was swift and to the point. "Obviously, it was not written by students," he said; "nor, in fact, did it read like it was written even in this country."

It is beguiling to imagine what Thoreau's writings on civil disobedience would "read like" to the Governor. But the question is really irrelevant; for to Governor Vandiver, as to thousands of his fellow whites, it is inconceivable that Negro Southerners could harbor such ideas, much less express them eloquently and forthrightly.

Some of the more sophisticated defenders of the racial status quo have sought comfort in the fact that the protests have been mainly student affairs. The chain reaction set off by the first sit-in in Greensboro inevitably called to mind the panty raids and other frivolous epidemics that have swept American campuses. "Throw the book at a few of them," said one Deep South mayor, "and the whole thing will fizzle out; the grown-ups will put a stop to it."

Ironically, this official attitude has done more than anything else to assure the solidarity of young and old in the Negro communities. Mass arrests as in Nashville, tear gas as

in Tallahassee, and student expulsions as in Montgomery have served only to unite the students and their elders in common defense of the right to protest. It is true that the role of Negro adults has been mainly limited to cheering from the sidelines, putting up bail and providing legal counsel for the arrested youngsters, participating in a scattering of embryonic boycotts. But this is largely by choice of the students themselves. They have guarded the autonomy of their movements with a vigor that has surprised many of their elders and has frustrated some of the organizations that regard non-violent crusading as their special province.

This is not to suggest that all Negro leaders view the student protest with unmixed feelings of enthusiasm. Many of them regard with uneasiness the shift from the orderly arena of the court to the crowded and chaotic marketplace, and from the leadership of older and supposedly wiser heads to that of the young and inexperienced. For practical purposes, however, their fears are probably academic. A Negro business man in Atlanta spoke for many of his contemporaries when he confided:

"If these students had consulted me, I'd have advised against it. Demonstrations can breed mobs, and boycotts can cut both ways. But that's water over the dam. The youngsters have made their decision, and you've got to be proud of the way they've handled themselves. Whatever happens from now on, I'll back them up all the way."

Fortunately, what happens from now on need not be altogether negative. In some parts of the South, the legitimacy of the students' demands has been recognized by a surprising number of whites. In many communities, white students have either actively participated in the sit-ins or have supported them by public statements and editorials in campus newspapers. For their part in the demonstrations, white students were arrested in Winston-Salem, N. C., Nashville, Tenn., and Tallahassee, Fla. Some church groups and ministerial associations have also spoken up for desegregation of eating places.

Less expectable, perhaps, has been the support of the Negro students' objectives, if not always their methods, by public officials of some Southern cities. Atlanta's Mayor William B. Hartsfield, in sharp contrast to Governor Vandiver, reacted to the Negro students' appeal with the sensible comment that "some of the things expressed... are, after all, the legitimate aspirations of young people throughout the nation and the entire world." In a growing number of cities -- Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, Nashville, Knoxville, and Miami, among them -- the mayors have appointed bi-racial committees to try to work out changes acceptable to both the Negroes and the merchants.

In a good many places, the press has taken a moderate stand on the sit-ins, and in some it has openly advocated desegregation of lunch counters. Early in the game, the Raleigh News and Observer said bluntly: "In effect, he [the Negro] was cordially invited to the house but definitely not to the table. And to

say the least this was complicated hospitality." The Greensboro Daily News commented that "the only sensible course is to find some way to serve all of those customers who want to be served." And, more recently, the Winston-Salem Sentinel gave an editorial the simple, declarative heading: "When Lunch Counters Reopen, They Should Serve All Customers."

Most impressive of all has been the liberal position assumed by Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida. On March 20, Governor Collins addressed a statewide radio and television audience on the crisis generated by the sit-in protests. He startled friend and foe alike, and broke all precedents for a Southern governor, by delivering what amounted to an informal sermon on the moral indefensibility of lunch-counter segregation. To add to the general astonishment, he proposed to do something about it -- namely, to appoint a bi-racial state commission for mediation of this and other race relations problems and to stimulate the formation of similar committees at the community level throughout Florida.

If there were those who doubted that Collins meant business, their skepticism was quickly laid to rest. Within six days, the promised state commission held its first meeting. A week after that, with the help of two staff members assigned by the Governor, it was setting up advisory panels, meeting with merchants' associations, and promoting local bi-racial committees. The end results of Collins' bold approach can only be guessed at. Given enough skill and a great deal of luck, he could introduce a new

era of racial adjustment in Florida and blaze a trail for less adventurous political leaders of the South. But, even if he achieves far less than this, he will have one impressive accomplishment to his credit: More than any other public figure, he has succeeded in provoking discussion of segregation as a moral question.

The lunch-counter issue, as Collins posed it, is not one of law -- indeed, he was at some pains to emphasize the merchants' legal right to choose their customers -- but one of fair play. In his words, "...if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, I think when it is unfair and morally wrong to single out one department ~~though~~ and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department." Such talk from a governor, or a lesser public official for that matter, is unheard-of in the South. Yet it obviously struck a responsive nerve in many of Collins' white listeners; of the several thousand letters and telegrams he received, eight out of nine were favorable.

Encouraging though this development is, it is only a tentative note of hope in a regional cacophony. Florida is by no means typical of the Deep South, and even there a solution is far from won. In the hard core cities of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, ~~and~~ Mississippi, and Louisiana, the forces of government are solidly arrayed against the Negro protest and sympathetic whites are keeping their feelings to themselves. In more moderate

areas, despite the conscientious efforts of mayors' committees and many private groups, only San Antonio and Galveston, Texas, have solved the immediate problem by desegregating their lunch counters. The student protest leaders and their adult supporters appear, at the moment, uncertain of the direction their movements should take next.

While little can be predicted with any assurance, a few prospects seem reasonably clear. One is that the protest movement will not soon die out. It has already gained tremendous momentum, and is still gaining rather than losing. It seems equally sure, however, that the sit-ins will gradually be replaced by other forms of protest. Endless repetition of the lunch-counter demonstrations would be both sterile and dangerous, as some of the student spokesmen have acknowledged.

There are already signs of diversification of the protest to fit the circumstances of different states and communities. In the areas where the police and other officials have performed fairly and impartially, the original character of the protest as an economic tug-of-war between the Negroes and the merchants can be expected to continue -- at least until a settlement is reached. Morality will play an important part in the process, no doubt, but the arithmetic of profit-and-loss will be at least equally determining.

Two cities have shown the way to a solution in these terms, and a few others like Salisbury, N.C., are moving in the same direction. It should be noted, however, that ~~in neither of them was~~ the settlements were not

effected as ~~a~~ simple transactions between the students and the chain stores. Influential local citizens recognized ~~to~~ the problem as the concern of the entire community and undertook the task of mediation in that spirit. In both San Antonio and Galveston, religious leaders were the catalysts in this chemistry of community-wide change and acceptance.

In those parts of the South where the powers of government have been used to punish and intimidate the demonstrators, the issue is chiefly between Negro citizens and the state. Far from stifling the protests, harsh police measures and vindictive prosecutions have only succeeded in deepening the resentment and determination of the protesters. There the elusive strategy of the boycott--or "selective buying" as it is discreetly called -- is already taking its toll. There are also indications of major campaigns to get Negroes on the voter registration lists. And against their familiar antagonist the state, the Negroes are turning once again to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment and the federal courts.

Surprisingly to those who thought all the legal problems of race relations were settled, the protests have opened up new vistas of litigation. The right of merchants to deny service to Negro customers at one counter while serving them at another, the right of citizens to demonstrate peaceably on private property open to the general public, the right of the police to disperse peaceful assemblies because they may provoke

trouble-makers to violence -- these are some of the legal questions with which federal judges will be wrestling for months to come.

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the NAACP, rallied his corps of lawyers, sixty strong, at a recent meeting in Washington and devised strategy for the new legal battle. For the past six years, Mr. Marshall and his colleagues have been arguing school segregation cases with the law of the land firmly settled in their favor. Now they will be fighting once again on new and uncertain ground, against what many consider unfavorable odds.

One Southern lawyer, a liberal student of constitutional questions, privately expressed his doubts this way: "As long as the state was clearly the villain, Marshall couldn't lose. But getting the Supreme Court to tamper with the sacred rights of private business is something else again." He paused, and then added, "Come to think of it, though, I didn't believe he'd win the school cases either."

Whatever the outcome of the economic struggles and the court battles, the most enduring results of the current protests may well be in the realm of attitudes. The white South has been put on notice as never before that Southern Negroes intend to be rid of segregation, and more whites are recognizing the justice of that demand. On the other hand, Negroes have learned from the example of their young people that their capacity and resources for protest are far greater than they had

supposed. The effects of this new morale will be felt in every area of Southern life -- and perhaps in the rest of the nation also.

The spring of 1960 may well be recorded in the annals of civil rights not because Congress agonizingly passed another voting bill, but because four college freshmen ordered a cup of coffee in a five-and-ten cent store.

- END -

Advance text for NAIRO Middle-South
Regional Conference
May 6, 1960
Washington, D. C.
By: Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

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All of us, in our own organizations and in some of the sessions of this meeting, have been trying to make out the new handwriting on the dime-store wall. As we prepare to return to our respective treadmills and put this collective wisdom to work, I want to discuss for a few minutes one particular aspect of the current developments in the South -- namely, their significance for those of us who work professionally in the still adolescent field that NAIRO is trying to hustle into maturity.

It would be easy to dwell on the encouraging significance of the student protest, its effects on attitudes among both Negroes and whites, the new leadership and imagination it has spawned, the new opportunities it has opened up. But there is a less comfortable significance with which we must be concerned.

The sit-ins and other non-violent direct actions are saying, in unmistakable terms, that a large and growing number of Negro Southerners are fed up with segregation; they are tired of temporizing with the lack of progress in the Deep South and the glacier-like pace of change in the upper and middle South; they are, in short, demanding less deliberation and more speed. The protests have served the very useful function of communicating this mood to the South and to the nation. They have helped to dispel the stultifying myth that Negroes are content with segregation, that tokenism is enough, and that patience will endure until the slow grinding of the legal machinery puts everything to rights within a generation ~~or two --~~ or more.

Phenom
Deplorable condition
1. Segregation
2. Schools
3. Counters

Insert B

The trouble is, however, that the response of most white Southern leadership is lagging far behind the realities of the situation. Not all the reactions have been negative. Some white students and adults, some newspapers, some religious leaders, some public officials, and ~~even a few~~ some merchants have accepted the legitimacy of the goals, if not always the methods, of the protest. ~~A few~~ Some cities have risen to the occasion with a truly community-wide decision to open lunch counters to all patrons, and ~~a few~~ others more are trembling on the brink of democratic countermanship. But such instances are ~~overshadowed~~ more than matched by the sullen immobility or harsh repressive measures with which ~~most~~ many communities have met the demonstrations. Even the communities that have made progress have hardly realized and accepted the breadth and speed of change now required.

In short, the steam of protest is steadily building up in the boiler, but there is not yet a commensurate opening of the safety

continued

valves of adjustment.

I am not predicting a major racial explosion in the South as a whole. Hopefully, there are now enough escape valves -- in the form of the courts and a somewhat more realistic climate of opinion in the South -- to prevent any region-wide eruption of violence. In fact, the dismal portents in the South today are probably better balanced by hopeful ones than ever before. But it is not our business to comfort ourselves by dwelling on the bright side of intergroup relations. And it is a sober fact, I believe, that if we continue on the present course, much of the South is in for ~~an~~ further era of bad feeling, ~~unmatched in recent memory.~~

B (cont.)

The relevant question~~s~~, of course, ~~are:~~ is: How can a general upsurge of interracial hostility and tension be averted? ~~And,~~ More specifically, what can ~~intergroup~~ human relations agencies do to substitute orderly processes of change for a destructive war of attrition?

It is beyond my allotted ~~time~~ space -- to say nothing of ~~my acquired~~ competence -- to give a detailed answer, ~~to these questions.~~ But I will venture a few brief suggestions. ~~the opinion that a new and~~ ugly period of racial crisis can be avoided only by a wave of desegregation in good faith as dramatic in its own way as the wave of student protests in the South. The contagion of bigotry and violence is all too familiar; we are desperately in need of the opposite -- something approaching an epidemic of decency.

B end

This may sound like the sheerest utopian nonsense, and I confess that at the moment I see little chance of its happening. But can we honestly say it is impossible?

Looking back over recent Southern history, one can find several major turning points when a major breakthrough for equality might have been achieved, given more skill, devoted effort, good timing, and good luck. The most obvious was the Supreme Court's decision in the School Cases six years ago. For a brief moment after that ruling, Southern opinion was fluid enough to encourage many to hope that desegregation would be accepted voluntarily and uneventfully in large sections of the region. But there was a general failure of initiative and imagination on the side of compliance, from the White House on down. Virginia, which might have gone either way, went the wrong way. Little Rock, which should have managed desegregation smoothly, succumbed to Faubusism almost without a struggle.

Many people, in the South and elsewhere, were appalled by the rapid advances of the pro-segregation extremists, the spread of fear and resistance and paralysis over the region. But by the time the full dimensions of the danger were realized, the worst damage had been done; attitudes had set in a negative mold, and the paranoia of the die-hards had infected too many people and too many communities. We had to go nearly to the bottom before we could begin climbing back up. We're still painfully climbing.

Sfet

~~Phenom of deathbed conversion~~
a. Sep but equal
b. School decision
c. ~~Counties~~?

It seems to me that the current protests mark another turning point, similar in many respects to that of 1954. Now the basic attack is not so much on discriminatory patterns written into law, but on humiliating practices dictated by custom. Once again, we have been passing through a period of uncertain reactions, with a good many tentative signs of acceptance of the demonstrator's aims by white Southerners. But as we enter the fourth month since the beginning of the protest, there are too many indications of the same kind of stalemate and chronic bad feeling that succeeded the school decision.

Nevertheless, outside the hard-core states of the Deep South, the immediate issue is still undecided. Many communities, through bi-racial committees or less formal processes, are trying to achieve consensus for some movement in the direction of desegregation. Governor Collins of Florida has thrown the weight of his office behind a statewide effort of this kind. And a few cities have moved forward, to a greater or lesser degree.

Assuming, then, that at least a modest chain-reaction of positive racial change is still possible, let me summarize briefly some of the obvious things that intergroup agencies can do, or stimulate and assist others to do, toward this end.

Insert C

~~Clearly~~ Obviously, there cannot be too much sound an d persuasive interpretation of the deeper meanings of the protest movement. The great danger is that white leadership will underestimate the depth and seriousness of the Negroes' discontent and determination. Whatever we can do to dispel the usual miasma

Insert C (cont)

of myths and clarify the realities as we see them, should be done -- ~~or, rather, should already be well underway --~~ through the press and other media, through our own publications and speakers, through face-to-face consultation with leaders of our states and communities.

The current situation presents ~~a veritable smorgasbord~~ unlimited opportunity for the community relations specialist. In dozens of cities in the South, the push-and-pull of the decision-making process is going on in the face of, or in the wake of, demonstrations. No doubt in some of these places even a small-scale push by persons of professional competence in intergroup relations could tip the balance favorably.

There is a premium on the techniques of negotiation in many areas. With all due tribute to the students for their dignity and ~~ability,~~ courage, few if any of them have had any experience in the give-and-take of bargaining. ~~and negotiation.~~ And, ~~equally~~, few merchants or public officials know how to deal with Negroes, particularly Negro youngsters, as equals at the conference table. Intergroup agencies have a special obligation to help bridge this gap.

Nothing is more crucial in the protest situation than the performance of the police. Harsh, ~~and repressive~~ punitive law enforcement can almost be guaranteed to convert an economic tug-of-war between two elements of the citizenry into an ugly racial crisis. Where there is bad faith on the part of the police, ~~[illegible]~~ this is no doubt inevitable. But in many ~~Southern communities~~ places

poor judgment and ineptness rather than evil intentions lead to police mistakes. Here, intergroup relations agencies and the community leaders who work with them can make a decisive difference.

Insert C (cont.)

~~Finally,~~ we need to make the best possible use of successful precedents. There are ~~not~~ now a good many. ~~but there are a handful of~~ Southern cities that have rallied enough business, religious, and political leadership to desegregate lunch counters and, here and there, other public accommodations. We need to study these processes of decision -- as well as those that have failed -- and interpret them to the communities where well intentioned efforts are possible or in progress. Equally important, we need to help get these successful precedents perceived and understood in the public forum, south and north. Their morale-boosting effect may do ~~more than~~ as much as their ~~constructive~~ informational value to point the way for uncertain and faint-hearted community leaders.

Cont Insert over

NAIRO holds as a basic tenet that intergroup relations work is, or ought to be, a profession, not merely a sentimental journey into the realm of brotherhood. If it hasn't already passed, the time is surely here when we must deliver on this optimistic promise. In the South today, and in other areas as well, of course - we are no longer limited to the role of neglected prophets or voices in the wilderness. The South is full of people in decision-making positions who are beginning to want what we claim to offer -- if not out of moral commitment, at least out of the pinch of practical necessity. There will never be a better time to show what we can do in a seller's market.

End #

Learned in decade - (H Long)

1. Fallacy of one-shot, "crash" effort - Amer. myth "Solution" - or living creatively with continuing change

voting figs. inferiority myth counters

2. Role of "educational" orgn. (Sec 501 c 3 IRC)

Formulation current history - our truth - order on chaos.

Strategic fact-finding + projection

a. Prompt while fluid (e.g. sitins)

b. Media + rifle shot

c. Chain reaction - then others)

d. Drive-best

Jim Crow - Old crow

Insert

Finally, there is the general responsibility not only to prod but to assist the forces of government in this area. The new national administration presumably will need all the constructive advice and help it can get in implementing constitutional guarantees. This is a test of the competence of every agency concerned about discrimination. Having lamented loudly the shortcomings of the Federal establishment, what workable recommendations and what practical support are we now prepared to offer?

Advance text for NAIRO Middle-South
Regional Conference
May 6, 1960
Washington, D. C.
By: Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

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PHILIP A. HART
MICHIGAN

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 27, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Sent 5/4/60

Would it be possible to receive a copy of your speech by May 4th? Or if not the speech, how about a press quote of two paragraphs or so?

Please send to John Yoshino, President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Cordially,

John

John G. Feild
Legislative Secretary
to Senator Hart

Blue Ridge

May 31, 1960

Mrs. Betsy D. Taylor
P. O. Drawer T-3
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Taylor:

As you requested, here is an advance text for the session of June 17. It is something less than a copy of my proposed speech, and something more than an outline; it may be regarded as a partial text.

In any case, I hope it will serve your purpose and that the content represents the general approach that you wish me to take.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Speech)

Blue Ridge
YWCA Regional Conf.

June 17, 1960

THE SOUTH IN A CHANGING WORLD

By Harold C. Fleming

Someone has remarked that the world has grown too small for anything but brotherhood, too dangerous for anything but the truth.

The wisdom of this statement is borne in upon us by the headlines and news flashes from all parts of the globe. What happens in New Delhi or Tokyo within hours has its effects in London and Washington. Of even greater concern to us, what happens in Little Rock or Poplarville today is front-page news tomorrow in the capitals of the world.

The big challenge of our time is to learn to live with change -- not merely to tolerate or drift with change, but to meet it constructively and creatively. This is more easily said than done. For to live imaginatively with change requires, first of all, that we try to understand the powerful forces that are convulsing our society and transforming even the most remote areas of the earth.

Here, it seems to me, is the big danger to Western society and the United States, in general, and to the South, in particular: Not that revolutionary changes are taking place, but that we will blind ourselves to their meaning and, like the dinosaurs of old, lumber unrealistically to our own destruction. For most people, change is painful, and nothing is so hard to face as unwelcome truth.

In proof of this, all we have to do is listen to the words of our leaders, observe the actions of our law-making bodies, read

the editorials in most local newspapers, talk to our neighbors, and finally consult our own most cherished assumptions about the past, the present, and the future. Having done this, we have only to open our eyes and our minds to the movements and ideas that are sweeping the earth to see how limited our vision is.

For example, it is a commonplace to say that two-thirds of the world's population is colored. But it is another matter to appreciate the huge implications of that fact. For everywhere these people of dark skin and submerged status are in revolt against colonialism, white supremacy, poverty, and inequality. To put it another way, they are determined to have bread and dignity. But, above all, they are bent on freeing themselves of the shackles of the past. In the more hopeful parts of Africa and Asia, this movement has taken the form of new and independent young nations, like Ghana, that ready or not have taken their destinies into their own hands.

In the less hopeful areas, the movement has taken other, more perilous forms. In China, a whole subcontinent has fallen under the sway of Communism, a dynamic totalitarian system that offers bread and surface equality in return for the suppression of the individual and his inalienable rights by an all-powerful state. In the areas where non-white aspirations are met by a dominant white minority with unyielding force, as in South Africa, we see the spectre of fanatical black nationalism and bloody revolution.

What do all these distant and alien developments have to do with us in the South? The true answer is, "Everything."

But the tragedy is that, for most Southerners, the answer is, "Nothing." Although we are surrounded by the echoes of the clamor in Africa and Asia, although we can find on every side similar changes remaking the face of the South, most of us remain unaware and undisturbed in a long dream of the past, as we would have liked the past to be. We are frequently upset, to be sure, but seldom by a sense of urgency to be up and doing lest the tides of history swepp us away; rather, we grow agitated and angry at those who disturb our dream, those who bring us the harsh but inesaapable truth that we must change or perish.

The Mason-Dixon line has served as a psychological Maginot line, designed to keep out unwanted ideas and influences. But, like the original Maginot line, this system of defense has been rendered obsolete by modern developments. Radio and television impulses do not stop at the Mason-Dixon line, any more than the wires of the press, airplanes carrying people in and out of the region, or books and magazines and reading matter of every kind. Most importantly, perhaps, the Mason-Dixon line has not halted the Southward flow of industry, nor have we wanted it to. And, with the coming of industry, have come the mass movement of people to the cities, new ways of making and spending money, the growth of the urban areas, and all of the new patterns of living associated with a modern industrial society.

Within a few short years, the South has experienced an industrial revolution that was spread over generations in the rest of the country. Within ten years after World War Two,

the South added 4,000 new manufacturing plants -- a third of them in only 37 metropolitan areas. During the nineteen-forties the number of Southerners living in cities swelled by 39 per cent as against only 15.4 per cent elsewhere in the country. At least four million Southerners, more than half of them Negroes, have moved out of the region entirely. A smaller but sizeable number of Northerners and Westerners have moved in.

As these trends continue, the South is being abruptly transformed from a rural agricultural society to an urban, industrial one. But factories can be built and people shifted about far more speedily than attitudes and customs can be changed. Trying to hold onto the familiar, to a sense of continuing identity, many a white Southerner has rallied to the call for solidarity on the segregation issue. It is a slow and painful process to get realization throughout the region that we can't have our cake and eat it too. We can't build a modern prospering economy, we can't have peaceful and law-abiding ~~societies~~ communities, we can't enjoy the good opinion of our fellow Americans and people of other nations, we can't expect to elect a Southerner to high national office -- in short, we can't expect really to be a part of the life of our country and our world and continue to deny full human status to one-fourth of our people because they are Negroes.

Whether we are willing to admit it or not, Negro Southerners are doing a tremendous amount to help the South come to terms with new realities. The Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954 was one major turning point in bringing our institutions

in line with the democratic and Christian values demanded by the times. Progress has been slow and difficult -- much more so than it need have been. Nevertheless, there remain only four Southern states in which public education is still completely segregated, and time is running out for these hard-core areas. Other public facilities are gradually being desegregated also, mostly under court order; for example, buses, libraries, golf courses, waiting rooms, and the like.

The South has been changing its racial practices under pressure, and we may expect this transition to continue. As Ralph McGill recently wrote, we now need desperately to achieve a widespread change in our image of ourselves, white and Negro.

The student "sit-in" protests have given us a magnificent opportunity to do this. They are the most dramatic evidence yet that Negro Southerners are no longer willing to play the part of contented subordinates, the role in which they were cast for so long by the white South. True, it is the young people who are doing most of the demonstrating, but they have widespread support among their elders. The demonstrations have fired the imagination of the Negro group, young and old; they did not fizzle out, panty-raid style, as so many complacent people assumed at the beginning. ~~It~~ They may change form or direction, but ~~its~~ their momentum is as permanent as segregation.

The most important effect of the "sit-ins" may not be the number of lunch-counters or other facilities desegregated -- so

far there have been very few -- but the communication they establish across racial lines. Southern whites cling tenaciously to the myth of the "happy Negro," who not only acquiesces in segregation, but finds a positive joy in it. All of the events that have transpired since May 1954 have not yet dispelled this wistful image. It is not hard to understand why. At some level of consciousness, even the most prejudiced white person knows that segregation is an impossibility if Negroes en masse refuse to play the game. Whenever and wherever a majority of the segregated group begin simply to refuse to play by the old rules, the only way segregation can be maintained is through continuous and ruthless coercion - in effect, through a police state. In our kind of society -- particularly the modern, urban South -- this is not a tolerable prospect.

I do not mean that all of this has been perceived and understood by the white South; only that Negroes, through their actions, are sending the message loud and clear. Even the most unwilling receiver is bound to start picking it up as the protests spread and continue.

The second factor in the equation is the readiness of white leadership in the South to come to terms with the new aspirations of Negroes, and the mandates they have won in the courts. In this respect, the Solid South abruptly falls apart. As the school desegregation issue has demonstrated, the enthusiasm for another Pickett's charge is by no means universal in the former Confederate states. There never has been much power behind

voluntary change in the South. What differentiates one part of the region from another is a quality of reasonableness, a willingness to make some concessions to the inevitable, and an unwillingness to cut off the nose to spite the face. These are not heroic virtues, but to anyone concerned about civil rights in the South, they are important ones. And fortunately they are spreading. The severest challenge of the die-hard segregationists is not coming exclusively from Negroes and the Federal courts; it is also coming from fellow whites who want to keep the public school system and the business economy intact.

The lunch-counter issue, as Governor Collins of Florida has posed it, is not one of law -- indeed, he was at some pains to emphasize the merchants' legal right to choose their customers -- but one of fair play. In his words, "...if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, I think then it is unfair and morally wrong to single out one department and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department." Such talk from a governor, or a lesser public official for that matter, is unheard-of in the South. Yet it obviously struck a responsive nerve in many of Collins' white listeners; of the several thousand letters and telegrams he received, eight out of nine were favorable.

This is one of the hopeful signs that more and more Southerners are willing to face up to the immorality of discrimination and segregation. More than half a dozen Southern cities have now desegregated some or all of their lunch-counters, and others will probably do so. The goals, if not always the methods, of the student protest has won support among some white students,

newspapers, religious leaders, public officials, a few business men, and just plain citizens.

There are other hopeful signs. In my home state of Georgia, many of the long-silent liberals and "moderates" are being heard from on the school issue. The problem is still a long way from solution, and the public schools may yet be closed, at least for a time. But there is a public dialogue going; a growing number of people are willing to speak out for preservation of the public schools, and a smaller number for the rightness of desegregation. This is at least the beginning of wisdom.

What can we do, as individuals, to further positive trends in our communities? Many of us can do little to affect the big public decisions; but all of us have some sphere of influence in which we can make our efforts felt.

The first and essential step is to do our utmost to rid ourselves of our own emotional bias and false assumptions about race relations. There is a tremendous amount of evidence available to the thoughtful person who wants to be well-informed. We can point to experience with desegregation in a number of Southern communities, as well as in places outside the South. And the experience has been overridingly successful.

We can come to know each other, as individuals and as equals, across racial lines. The best way to refute stereotypes about whole groups of people is through knowledge of, and friendship with, individuals from all groups. When people start talking about "what the Negro wants" or "what the Southerner believes," the right response is, "Which Negro?" and "Which Southerner?"

We should be able to back up this response with first-hand experience of the richness and variety to be found in any artificial grouping of people.

Given willingness and skill to demonstrate by word and deed what we believe about race, the opportunities to do so are innumerable. The experience of the Southern Regional Council has convinced us that the South is full of people who are opening their minds to the facts, who are looking for new and more honest answers to the questions of race relations. Through both personal relationships and organized activities, the individual who has acquired enlightened attitudes and useful facts can get a hearing.

I know of no organization that has done a better job of searching out such opportunities,and using them effectively, that the YWCA. All you really need is the courage and the will to keep up your efforts, confident that the South must and will change with a changing world.

via air mail

August 12, 1960

Mr. M. Mindlin
Managing Editor
Forum Service
Summit House
1 - 2 Langham Place
London W1, England

Dear Mr. Mindlin:

I am sorry it has taken me so long to send you something on the student protest movement. But I hope the enclosed is reasonably close to the kind of article you had in mind.

Feel free to edit it in any way that will not change the substantive meaning.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

THE SOUTH'S "NEW NEGROES"

By: Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Negro college students, supported by some of their white contemporaries, are reshaping Southern race relations. Older Southerners, of both races, have been astonished by the poise and maturity displayed by the young demonstrators -- and no less so by the effectiveness of their protests against racial segregation.

The student movement is all the remarkable for its spontaneous origins. It was preceded by no lengthy planning conferences, no laboriously worked out blueprint for a region-wide assault on discrimination. It began quite simply, in Greensboro, North Carolina, when four Negro college freshmen decided to order coffee at the segregated lunch counter of a Woolworth variety store. After the waitress refused to serve them, they sat quietly reading until the store closed an hour later.

This first "sit-in" occurred on February 1, 1960. No one, including the four freshmen themselves, foresaw the chain reaction that this modest protest was to set off. By April 1, only two months later, it had spread to 68 cities in 11 Southern states, and was still spreading. The contagion was transmitted mainly by the press. On campuses throughout the South, Negro students read newspaper accounts or watched telecasts of the demonstrations elsewhere and knew at once that this was their protest.

Lunch counters were merely a convenient target. The real goal of the sit-in movement was the right to equal treatment, as the students put it, to "human dignity." The issue was clearly posed by those stores which solicited the Negro's general patronage but denied him the right to eat a sandwich alongside white customers. As Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida explained the moral question to the people of his state, "...if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, I think then it is unfair and morally wrong to single out one department and say he will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department."

Not every white Southerner shared Governor Collins's moral view of the situation; many were uncertain, some were openly hostile, and a very few resorted to taunts and violence. But there was a surprising amount of favorable white opinion. Of several thousand responses to the Florida governor's speech, eight out of nine expressed agreement. A number of newspapers in the region upheld the validity of the students' protests. The mayors of many cities appointed interracial committees to work for a solution acceptable to both the Negroes and the merchants.

As a result, by August 7, at least 28 Southern cities and probably many more in "border" states had opened some eating facilities to both whites and Negroes for the first time in their history. The fears which still inhibit desegregation in many places have so far proved illusory. In none of the desegregating cities has there been any violence or unpleasant incident,

and no store has reported any loss of white patronage as a result of the change.

Moral pressure alone has not produced desegregation. Merchants have also responded to boycotts, or the threat of them, by the Negro community. While the demonstrators have been mainly young people, Negro adults have backed up their protest by withholding patronage from the offending stores. Such "selective buying" campaigns have dramatized, uncomfortably for the merchants, the growing economic importance of the Negro consumer. In Nashville, Tennessee, for example, Negroes boycotted the entire downtown area for several weeks. Dwindling receipts soon convinced the merchants that they had more to lose by continuing segregation than by abandoning it. In one form or another, this lesson was learned by the businessmen of other cities -- and it is now being learned in many of the places that still cling to segregated lunch counters.

Adults of both races were skeptical of the student protest in its early weeks. Many viewed the sit-ins as a passing fad, like the "panty raids" of earlier years, reflecting little more than youthful ebullience. Moreover, Negroes had come to regard court action as their main reliance in the quest for equal rights. Slow though it was, litigation had been the main tool with which Negroes had pried open the doors of schools, voting booths, and other public facilities. The shift to direct action in the market place seemed both strange and questionable to many of the older Negro leaders.

As the student movement gathered momentum, however, skepticism and doubt gave way to respect. For some time now, people have talked of "the new Negro" in the South. The current generation of college students have really given flesh and blood to this abstraction. With poise and self-assurance, Negro students are looking white citizens in the eye and saying, in effect, "We feel we are your equal, and we intend to be treated equally."

The force of this new self-assertion derives in large part from its non-violent character. The demonstrating students have committed themselves to the methods of Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Many of them have attended training sessions in the art of turning the other cheek. Although this discipline has broken down in a few instances -- notably those involving high-school students -- most of the youngsters have exhibited a degree of dignity and self-control that their elders might well envy. More than 1500 of them have submitted calmly to arrest, and some have served jail terms in protest against unjust local laws.

What lies ahead for the student protest movement? In all likelihood, activity on a bigger and broader scale than has yet been seen. Far from dying out during the summer vacation, as many predicted, the movement has scored most of its gains during the weeks since the colleges recessed. Encouraged by the success of their efforts to date, and the endorsement of the sit-ins by

both Democratic and Republican Party platforms, the students may be expected to return to the campuses in September with more ambitious plans and heightened determination.

The students now have a Non-Violent Coordinating Committee representing colleges throughout the South. They have established communication with white student bodies in some communities, and with colleges elsewhere in the country; thus a measure of interracial cooperation in the South and sympathy protests in the North and West seem assured. While the direction of the movement is still primarily in student hands, they can count on the aid of adult organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Congress on Racial Equality.

The aims of the protest have already been broadened in some communities to include employment opportunities for Negroes in the stores which they patronize, the use of libraries and other facilities, and most recently attendance at hitherto white churches. Indeed, it may well turn out that the moral force of the "knell-in" -- as the breaching of the churches is called -- will have a more profound psychological effect on white Southerners than any other form of protest.

Whatever the immediate objectives, the new protest movement by young Negro Southerners seems to be here to stay -- that is, until segregation in all its forms is dead.

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THE SOUTH'S "NEW NEGROES"

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HAROLD C. FLEMING

(Note:- The increasingly successful campaign against discrimination carried out by Negro students in the American South is a heartening example of what can be achieved by non-violent methods of direct action. Mr. Fleming describes the background and progress of the campaign, the maturity and effectiveness of its proponents. Mr. Fleming is the executive director of the Southern Regional Council, which works for equal opportunity for all peoples in the southern U.S. -Ed.)

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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HAROLD C. FLEMING

Please send us two press cuttings of this article

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR NEGROES

Presented By

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

to the Institute for Religious and Social Studies

January 31, 1961

It is one of the ironies of history that a nation which fought a fratricidal war to make citizens of slaves did so little for so long to confer upon them the elementary right to cast a meaningful ballot. During Reconstruction and for a short interval afterward, Negroes were permitted a voice in the tortured political affairs of the South. But soon, in the name of white solidarity, the leadership imposed racial restrictions on the right to vote. And shortly after the turn of the century the Negroes' political voice was completely stilled.

There is no point in reviewing here the long period--more than half a century--of Negro disfranchisement in the South and complacency about it in the rest of the United States. One observation is worth making, however. That version of American history which magnifies the corrupting influence of reconstruction politics and carpetbag rule in the post Civil War South is still taught in many a public school. But we have not yet begun to measure the corrupting influence on our

whole nation of the cynical denial of citizenship rights to Negroes for so many years. Southern politics, down to the present day, has been contorted in ~~the~~ to strange and undemocratic shapes in the name of white supremacy. In consequence, the political life of the nation itself has been crippled.

We are concerned here with universal suffrage for Negroes. Wherever in the United States Negroes live in significant numbers, they are subject to discriminations of many sorts. But outside certain areas of the South, denial of the right to vote is not one of them. Therefore, this analysis ~~will~~ deals for the most part with ~~Negro suffrage in~~ the South.

As an initial step toward examining the consequences of universal suffrage for Negroes, it is useful to look briefly at the fruits of disfranchisement.

First, we might note the entrenchment of the one-party system in the South. This uncompetitive arrangement made possible a politics in which the peculiar insularity of the region persisted for a dangerously long time. National issues and national interests were seldom debated or considered by the Southern voter; instead, he was beguiled by colorful personalities intent on outbidding each other in appeals to white superiority. The attention of the voting public

was often diverted from flagrant abuses of the public trust and misuses of public funds by loud incantations against the threat allegedly posed by the Negro. Such devices as the poll tax and Georgia's uniquely discriminatory county-unit system were fastened on the Southern states as safeguards against Negro invasions of the political sphere. Yet over the long decades when there was not even a question of Negro participation in the Democratic primaries, these devices served only to dampen enthusiasm and deny opportunity to ~~registes and vote among~~ white Southerners. This, of course, had the effect of keeping the electorate small, preserving rural dominance, and making the outcome of elections subject to ready manipulation--effects which soon came to be ends in themselves for the more expert practitioners.

The rest of the country, which tended to view these perversions of democracy with ~~some~~ indifferent contempt, was ~~[illegible]~~ heavily victimized by them. The United States Congress, most particularly the Senate, is only now struggling out of its bondage to backward looking Southern office-holders whom shrunken electorates return again and again to positions of power and tenure in the nation's law making body. It is only fair to say that many of these have ~~been men of~~ had real ability, and a few have been men of truly statesmenlike quality. But with fractional exceptions, they have been men

who knew the conditions of their power and paid in full the price of obstruction and illiberalism that the Southern systems exacted of them. Opposition to welfare programs (lest the Negro obtain a disproportionate share of benefits), opposition to labor unions (lest the Negro gain equality within them), resistance to Federal aid to the South's impoverished education (lest conditions be attached that would foster integration), opposition to housing legislation (lest the Negro gain the right to live next door to whites), opposition to reapportionment of rurally dominated legislatures (lest the Negro voters of the cities wield proportionate influence)--such has been the opposition to progressive measures ~~always~~ justified ~~of course~~, on racial grounds. Meanwhile, the prestige of the United States abroad has suffered as the specter of racism has stalked the land.

The effects of disfranchisement on Negro Southerners themselves have been as numerous as they have been cruel. During the half century and more of complete votelessness, they were dependent on the whims and kindly impulses of white office holders for the disproportionately small share of public benefits allotted to them--in education, health, welfare, recreation, police protection, and, by extension, in housing and employment. These deprivations have a

self-perpetuating quality. The man who is ill-educated, ill-housed, ill-fed, whose very survival depends on subservience, who has been taught from the cradle that "politics is the white folks' business" is hardly likely to assert his rights with zeal and persistence. If he does, he will find that his educational deficiencies and cultural backwardness are crushing arguments against his enjoyment of those rights. Even Negroes with graduate degrees still find in parts of the South that they cannot meet the high standards of local voting registrars.

Fortunately, albeit slowly and painfully, the era of disfranchisement is drawing to a close. It is easy to lose sight of the fact that Negroes gained the legal right to participate in the meaningful elections of the South only a decade and a half ago. The Texas case of Smith versus Allwright decided in 1944 sounded the death knell of the white primary. Within a few years this and subsequent court rulings wiped from Southern statute books vertually all discriminatory voting laws.

In 1940 there were ~~only~~ an estimated 200,000 Negroes registered in the South, most of them qualified to vote only in the unimportant general election--unimportant, that is, in terms of state offices. By 1947 there were an estimated 595,000 Negro registrants eligible to vote in the Democratic

primaries. This initial period was one of spectacular gains in some states. In Georgia, for example, more than 125,000 Negro voters were registered within a matter of months. Progress during the next five years was less rapid, but still substantial. According to surveys of the Southern Regional Council, by 1952 the Southwide total had climbed to approximately one million.

It is dismaying, however, to note the paucity of change that has taken place in the nearly ten years since then. By 1956 total Negro registration stood at an estimated 1,238,000, a net gain for the four year period of less than a quarter of a million. More discouragingly still, there is little evidence that the total Negro registration in the South today is appreciably larger than it was in 1956. This means that only about 25% of potentially eligible Negro Southerners are on the voting lists, as against 60% of the potentially eligible whites. To make matters worse, a smaller percentage of Negro registrants than whites actually turns out to vote in most places on most election days.

The reasons for this poor showing are varied and complex. A major factor, and the one which most compells our concern, is overt discrimination, violence, or intimidation visited on the would-be Negro voter. These conditions are by no means omnipresent in the South. They are found

for the most part in the rural counties of the old plantation country commonly called the "black belt" and in some of the cities which draw primarily on that sub-culture. A study of socio-economic factors reveals that the typical county in which Negroes are disfranchised by fear or force is a rural county where large land holdings and farm tenancy are common, where there is little or no industry, where the average educational achievement is low, where per capita income is small, where the proportion of Negroes in the population is high, and where the rate of population loss is heavy and increasing.

In these deep South areas, the prospects for full enfranchisement are far from bright. There, a whole way of life must be modified before the Negro will have truly equal access to the ballot. Yet there are powerful forces--economic and cultural--that are making for gradual change in the "black belt" and more rapid progress in the less difficult parts of the South. The main influences are of four sorts:

I. National determination to assure the right to vote has perceptibly stiffened in recent years. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960--the first such legislation since Reconstruction--were aimed largely at voting discrimination. The investigative and advisory functions of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights have been heavily concentrated in the voting field. And the new administration is expected

to proceed more vigorously in Federal actions against such discrimination.

2. The movement of people from farm to city means, in the case of Negroes, a shift from discriminatory to permissive voting situations. In most of the larger Southern cities, Negroes can register and vote without hindrance; there too they are more likely to be activated by political organizations.

3. The rising status of Negroes, as reflected in education and income, coincides with growing militancy. The student protest movement has both expressed and enhanced this new insistence on equal treatment, which is bound to increase Negro participation in political as well as other aspects of public life.

4. It is a measure of the changing times that virtually no important Southern spokesman today publicly defends denial of the ballot on racial grounds. This is a reversal of the situation in the middle and late forties, when most Southern politicians openly advocated discriminatory curbs on Negro suffrage.

So much for past and prologue. It is sufficient perhaps to give us some footing for a modest leap into the future, which is the main purpose of this discussion.

I am not bold or farsighted enough to predict a specific date by which every remnant of voting discrimination

will be wiped out. But it requires neither courage nor prophetic powers to foresee that the chief remaining barriers to Negro suffrage will be eliminated within the next ten years. To some, this will seem a safely conservative prediction. Yet it is not so conservative when one considers the changes it assumes in the deep South--in Mississippi, in large parts of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, and in smaller areas of Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia.

It assumes, above all, a brisk climb up the economic ladder by the Negroes who remain in these mainly rural areas. So long as they continue to be dependent for income and credit, as most are now, on white landlords, employers, bankers, and merchants, the door to the voting booth will not swing open. It is a discouraging but stubborn fact that the Negro laborer's bargaining position is worsening at precisely the time when he could achieve the most from it. As the rural South abandons cotton for beef and dairy farming, as machines replace mules and men, large numbers of unskilled farm laborers are becoming expendable. Since many whites are included in this surplus, both on the farm and in the factory, Negroes are likely to find their labor in meager demand for some time to come.

A current illustration of this problem can be found in the west Tennessee counties of Fayette and Haywood. Until recently, few if any Negroes voted in these rural,

Mississippi-oriented counties. Then an upsurge in Negro registration efforts, supported by Federal pressures, led to the registration of some hundreds of Negroes. Local whites retaliated with economic reprisals against the new voters--boycotts of goods and credit, layoffs, and most devastating of all, simple refusal to renew the contracts of their Negro tenant farmers. In an unprecedented action, the Justice Department secured a Federal Court injunction against the dispossession of Negro tenants whose only crime was registering to vote. This is the uneasy situation today and the outlook is depressing. For the white land owners are mechanizing, moving somewhat earlier and more drastically than they otherwise would have to displace the Negroes from the land. How long this inevitable displacement can be delayed by court order is the only question, and it is not a consoling one.

Here, in a nut shell, is the economic problem that must be solved--or at least greatly ameliorated--before universal Negro suffrage can become a reality.

A second assumption underlying our ten-year prediction is that Negro educational achievement will rise sharply. While it is possible under state laws for illiterates and near illiterates to qualify as voters, the hurdles can be set forbiddingly high. The so-called literacy test has supplanted the poll tax and other traditional devices as the chief means of perpetuating discrimination. ~~Under Georgia law,~~

Under Georgia law, an applicant who cannot read and write any section of the United States Constitution to the Registrar's satisfaction may be required to answer a set of questions that would stump most college graduates. Flagrant abuses of this discretion can land a Registrar before a Federal Judge. But if a Negro applicant's lack of literacy is real, as it is in too many instances, there is no recourse. Education is the only answer.

A third assumption is that the right to vote will be supported by vigorous Federal action. As we have noted, acts of Congress, Justice Department litigation, and Federal court rulings have their limitations in the field of suffrage. But their influence can be powerful in those areas where Negroes lack the strength, unaided, to break through discriminatory barriers. The very existence of Federal concern for voting rights and the national sentiment which it evinces, encourages the would-be Negro voter and deters the would-be discriminator. Fortunately, there appears to be little doubt that the national Government's commitment here is permanent, for various reasons, not the least of them being the strategic importance of the Negro vote in Northern, Western and border states.

A final assumption is that the tension growing out of the pressure and progress toward integration will

be somewhat abated over the next decade. A public opinion inflamed over racial issues not only impedes the growth of Negro suffrage, but limits the effectiveness of the ballot already attained. Negroes are in the minority in every Southern state and in most counties. Their political hopes, therefore, must rest not on dominance of the electorate, but on balance-of-power influence. So long as it is possible to split the vote along racial lines, there will be politicians unscrupulous enough to exploit racial issues; and most of their fellows, however unhappily, will go along in self-defense. This has been the disheartening spectacle in most of the South during the past seven years. As a result, we have seen the value of the existing Negro vote deflated by the office-seeker's fear of demagogic opposition and its effect on an aroused white electorate. Moreover, the deflation has had a spiraling quality; confronted by candidates who provided no choice except that of the lesser of evils, many Negroes have not bothered to vote at all.

The cure for this condition is a return to a more normal and balanced state of public opinion and political concerns. There are already hopeful signs that the racist fever is abating in all but the most recalcitrant areas of the South. This should presage a resumption of growth, both in size and in influence, of the Negro vote in the region.

It is hardly possible to disentangle the results

from the pre-conditions of universal Negro suffrage. The political arrangements of the South must be basically overhauled if Negroes are to have full suffrage. It is equally true to say, however, that full Negro suffrage will produce basic changes in the South's political structure. If the social and economic status of the Negro must be improved as a prerequisite to complete enfranchisement, it is no less the case that an unfettered ballot will hasten his gains in the social and economic spheres. Perhaps the simplest and most accurate way to put it is that these developments are concurrent; that full suffrage, full citizenship, and full acceptance make up a beneficent circle, each giving impetus to the other.

Of course, it is not Negroes alone who will gain from full enfranchisement. The benefits will be felt by the whole American people; for that matter, throughout that part of the earth we call the free world. Consider the benefits that will flow from the demise of anti-Negro demagogery in our political life, from the development of a healthy two-party system in the South, from an influx of Negro talent and energy into public offices and creative private efforts, from the enlightened legislation that a less race-ridden South will support, from the greater understanding of the needs and potentialities of non-white peoples the world over that will surely result.

It is tempting to end on this utopian note. But honesty compels a further, less heartening word. We have considered universal Negro suffrage only in terms of free access to the ballot. There is the further meaning of full exercise of the ballot. In this sense, the outlook can only be described as gloomy. Indeed, in this sense, universal suffrage does not exist at all in the United States, where a president is elected with the participation of less than 65% of voting-age citizens, and local office holders are elected by much smaller percentages. In Southern areas where Negroes can register and vote without the slightest hindrance, their performance falls far short of the miserable standards set by their white fellow citizens. There are abundant reasons, of course--long conditioning, insecurity, deprivation. But in looking beyond the South for a bright future pattern, we find little comfort. The laws are nondiscriminatory, the polls are open to all, but the conditions that make for responsible citizenship are woefully lacking. The greatest challenge, then, is not merely--or even primarily--to best the bigoted Southern Registrar and his allies in the raw practice of discrimination. It is to conquer the more subtle, evasive forms of racism that deny dignity and full stature to Americans of color. Only as these are destroyed will Negro Americans enjoy full suffrage--and perhaps set a standard of citizenship which will inspire white Americans to put a higher value on their own.

Union Theological Seminary Dist. N.Y. Jan. 1961

It is surely one of the bitterest ironies of history that a nation which fought a fratricidal war to deliver a people from slavery did so little for so long to confer upon that people the elementary right of free men in a democracy to cast a meaningful ballot. During Reconstruction and for a short interval afterward Negroes were permitted a voice in the tortured political affairs of the South. But soon in the name of white solidarity the dominant leadership of the South imposed racial restrictions on the right to vote and shortly after the turn of the century the Negroe's political voice was completely stilled.

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As a first step toward examining the consequences of universal suffrage for Negroes, it is useful first to look briefly at these fruits of disfranchisement. First, we might note the entrenchment of the one party system in the traditional South. This uncompetetive arrangement has made possible a politics in which the peculiar insularity of the region persisted for a dangerously long time. National issues and national interest were

were seldom debated or considered by the Southern voter; instead, he was beguiled by colorful personalities intent on outbidding each other in championship of white superiority. The attention of the voting public was often diverted from flagrant abuses of the public trust and misuses of public funds by the use of traumatic incantations against the threat allegedly posed by the presence of the Negro in the South. Such devices as the poll tax and Georgia's uniquely discriminatory county unit system were fastened on the Southern states as safe guards against Negro invasions of the political sphere. But during the long decades when there was not even a question of Negro participation in the Democratic primaries, these devices served only to dampen the enthusiasm and to deny the opportunity of registration and voting to white Southerners. This, of course, had the effect of keeping the electorate small and making the outcome of elections subject to ready manipulations -- an effect which soon came to be an end in itself for the more expert practioners of Southern politics.

The rest of the nation which viewed these perversions of democracy with such complacency, was cruelly victimized by them. The United States Congress, most particularly the Senate, is only now struggling out of its bondage to the backward looking Southern office holder whom a shrunken electorate returned year after year and decade after decade to positions of power and tenure in the national law making body. It is only fair to say that many of these have been men of real ability, and a few men of statesmanlike dimensions. But, with only fractional exceptions, they have been men who knew the conditions of their power and paid in full the price of obstruction and illiberalism that the Southern systems exacted of them. Opposition to welfare programs (less the Negro obtain a disproportionate share of benefits), opposition to labor unions (less the Negro gain equality with whites), resistance to federal aid to the South's impoverished

education (lest conditions be attached that would foster integration), opposition to housing legislation (lest the Negro gain the right to live next door to whites), opposition to reapportionment of rurally dominated legislative bodies (lest the Negro voter of the cities wield influence in politics)- such has been the opposition to the main currents of civilization in our time justified on racial grounds.

The effects of disfranchisement on Negro Southerners themselves, have, of course, been as numerous as they have been cruel. During the half century and more of complete denial of the ballot, they were dependent on the whims and kindly impulses of white office holders for the disproportionately small share of public benefits alloted to them, in education, health, welfare, recreation, police protection, and by extension in housing and employment. These deprivations have a self-perpetuating quality. The man who is ill educated, ill housed, ill fed, whose very survival depends on subservience, who has been taught from the cradle that "politics is the white folks business" is hardly likely to assert his rights with zeal and persistence. If he should, he will find that his educational deficiencies and cultural backwardness are crushing arguments against his exercise of those rights. Even Negroes with graduate degrees still find, in parts of the South, that they cannot meet the high standards of the local voting registrar.

Happily, the era of disfranchisement is drawing to a close, albeit slowly and painfully. It is easy to lose sight of the fact that Negroes gained the legal right to participate in the meaningful elections of the South only a decade and a half ago. The Texas case of Smith vs. Alright, decided in 1944, sounded the death knell of the "white primary". ~~With~~

Within a few years, this and subsequent court rulings wiped from Southern statute books virtually all discriminatory voting laws. In 1940, there were only an estimated 200,000 Negroes registered in the South, and

most of these were qualified to vote only in the unimportant general election. -- Unimportant, that is, in terms of state offices. By 1947 there were an estimated 595,000 Negro registrants, these registered to vote in the Democratic primaries. This initial period was one of spectacular gains in some states. In Georgia, for example, more than 125,000 Negro voters were registered within one year. Progress during the next five years was less rapid, but still substantial. According to studies of the Southern Regional Council, by 1952 the total had climbed to approximately 1,000,000. It is dismaying, however, to note the changes that have taken place in the nearly ten years since that date. By 1956, total Negro registration stood at an estimated 1,238,000, a net gain for the four year period of less than a quarter of a million. More discouragingly still, there is little reason to believe that the total Negro registration today in the South is appreciably larger than it was in 1956. This means that only about 25% of potentially eligible Negro Southerners are on the voting lists, as against 60% of the potentially eligible whites. To make matters worse, a smaller percentage of Negro registrants than whites actually turns out to vote in most places on most election days.

The reasons for this poor showing are various and complex. A major factor, and the one which most compels the concern of every American, is overt discrimination, violence, or intimidation visited on the would-be Negro voter. These conditions are by no means universal in the South. They are found for the most part in the rural counties of the old plantation country commonly called the black belt and in some of the cities which draw primarily on that sub-culture. A study of socio-economic factors reveals that the typical county in which Negroes are disfranchised by fear

or force is a rural county where large land holdings and farm tenancy are common, where there is little or no industry, where the average educational achievement is low, where the average per capita income is small, where the proportion of Negroes in the population is high, and where the rate of population loss is increaisng.

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

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PA LWD ✓

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CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

A Christian Journal of Opinion

537 WEST 121st STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. TELEPHONE: MONUMENT 2-8005

MARCH 22, 1961

MR. HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
ROOM 201
5 FORSYTH STREET, NORTHWEST
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. FLEMING:

YOUR MANUSCRIPT ON "UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR NEGROES" ARRIVED HERE LATE LAST WEEK, THANKS TO YOUR SECRETARY, MILDRED FLOWERS.

I CANNOT SAY AT THIS POINT WHAT THE PRECISE DATE OF PUBLICATION WILL BE THOUGH WE HAVE ALREADY SENT YOUR MANUSCRIPT TO THE PRINTER TO BE SET IN GALLEYS. IT WILL APPEAR WITH AN ARTICLE BY GARY ONIKI, OF THE DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, WHO IS WRITING ON THE PROBLEM OF FREE ACCESS TO HOUSING. WE ARE CURRENTLY AWAITING AN ARTICLE ON THE "ETHICS" OF REAL ESTATE AGENTS THAT WILL BE DONE EITHER BY MR. JOHNSTONE, PROFESSOR OF PROPERTY LAW AT YALE LAW SCHOOL, OR PROFESSOR KENNETH UNDERWOOD OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY. WE THINK IT WILL ALL SHAPE UP INTO QUITE A STRONG ISSUE.

(I JUST HAD A DREADFUL THOUGHT BECAUSE MY MEMORY OF OUR CONVERSATION AFTER YOUR ADDRESS IS NOT CLEAR. I HOPE I INDICATED TO YOU AT THAT TIME THAT WE WOULD BE UNABLE TO OFFER AN HONORARIUM FOR YOUR ARTICLE. I REALIZE THAT IT IS SOMEWHAT AWKWARD TO INDICATE THIS AT THIS POINT. NEVERTHELESS, I WANT TO MAKE THIS CLEAR TO YOU AND EVEN AT THIS POINT INSIST THAT IF YOU HAVE BEEN UNDER ANY ILLUSION ABOUT THIS AND WISH TO WITHDRAW YOUR ARTICLE THAT YOU SHOULD DO SO. I REGRET VERY MUCH RAISING THIS NOW AS I KNOW IT PUTS YOU IN AN AWKWARD POSITION. HOWEVER, PLEASE DO NOT HESITATE TO RESPOND ACCORDING TO YOUR FEELING IN THIS MATTER.)

EDITORIAL BOARD

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BEST WISHES TO YOU IN YOUR WORK.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Wayne H. Cowan

WAYNE H. COWAN
MANAGING EDITOR

WHC:JR

P.S. IF I DON'T SEE YOU IN WASHINGTON, I HOPE IT WILL NOT BE TOO LONG BEFORE WE MEET AGAIN ELSEWHERE.

P.P.S. I AM ENCLOSING A COPY OF OUR MOST RECENT SPECIAL ISSUE ON AFRICA. WHILE IT IS NOT CLEAR AT THIS POINT, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS SPECIAL RACE RELATIONS ISSUE MIGHT DEVELOP ALONG THESE LINES. IF SO, WOULD YOU POSSIBLY BE INTERESTED IN OBTAINING ADDITIONAL COPIES FOR YOUR WORK. OF COURSE, WE WILL SEND YOU TEN COPIES AND IF YOU SHOULD WANT MORE PERSONALLY, WE WILL ALSO PROVIDE THOSE.

March 14, 1961

Dear Mr. Cowan:

Enclosed you will find Mr. Fleming's manuscript on "Universal Suffrage for Negroes," as promised.

March 13, 1961

Mr. Wayne H. Cowan
Managing Editor
Christianity and Crisis
537 West 121st Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Cowan:

You are welcome to publish my manuscript on "Universal Suffrage for Negroes." I have asked my secretary to retype it and mail you the original as soon as it is done.

I have noted with pleasure that you are to speak at the annual meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. If I make the meeting, as I hope to, I will look forward to hearing you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

A Christian Journal of Opinion

537 WEST 121st STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. TELEPHONE: MONUMENT 2-8005

MARCH 9, 1961

MR. HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, NORTHEAST
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. FLEMING:

I AM WRITING TO YOU REGARDING YOUR LUNCHEON ADDRESS, "UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR NEGROES," AT THE INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES ON JANUARY 31.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT I SPOKE WITH YOU AT THE END OF THE LUNCHEON ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF OUR RUNNING YOUR SPEECH AS AN ARTICLE IN A FORTHCOMING ISSUE OF OUR JOURNAL. YOU INDICATED AT THE TIME THAT, IF IT WAS AGREEABLE WITH MISS FEINGOLD AND HARPER'S, YOU WOULD BE WILLING TO LET US USE IT. MISS FEINGOLD HAS WRITTEN TO ME INDICATING THAT SHE WOULD BE VERY PLEASED TO SEE IT IN PRINT, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE BOOK IN WHICH SHE HAD HOPED IT WOULD BE APPEARING IS NOT MATERIALIZING.

I HOPE THAT YOUR ORIGINAL WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW US TO USE THE ARTICLE HAS NOT CHANGED AND THAT THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEM IN OUR MOVING AHEAD WITH THIS. WE ARE PRESENTLY SCHEDULING THE ARTICLE FOR A LATE APRIL OR MAY ISSUE. IT WILL APPEAR ALONG WITH AN ARTICLE BY GARY ONIKI ON THE PROBLEM OF SEGREGATION IN HOUSING.

WITH BEST WISHES FOR YOUR WORK.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Wayne H. Cowan, Jr

WAYNE H. COWAN
MANAGING EDITOR

WHC:JR

DICTATED BY MR. COWAN AND SIGNED IN HIS ABSENCE.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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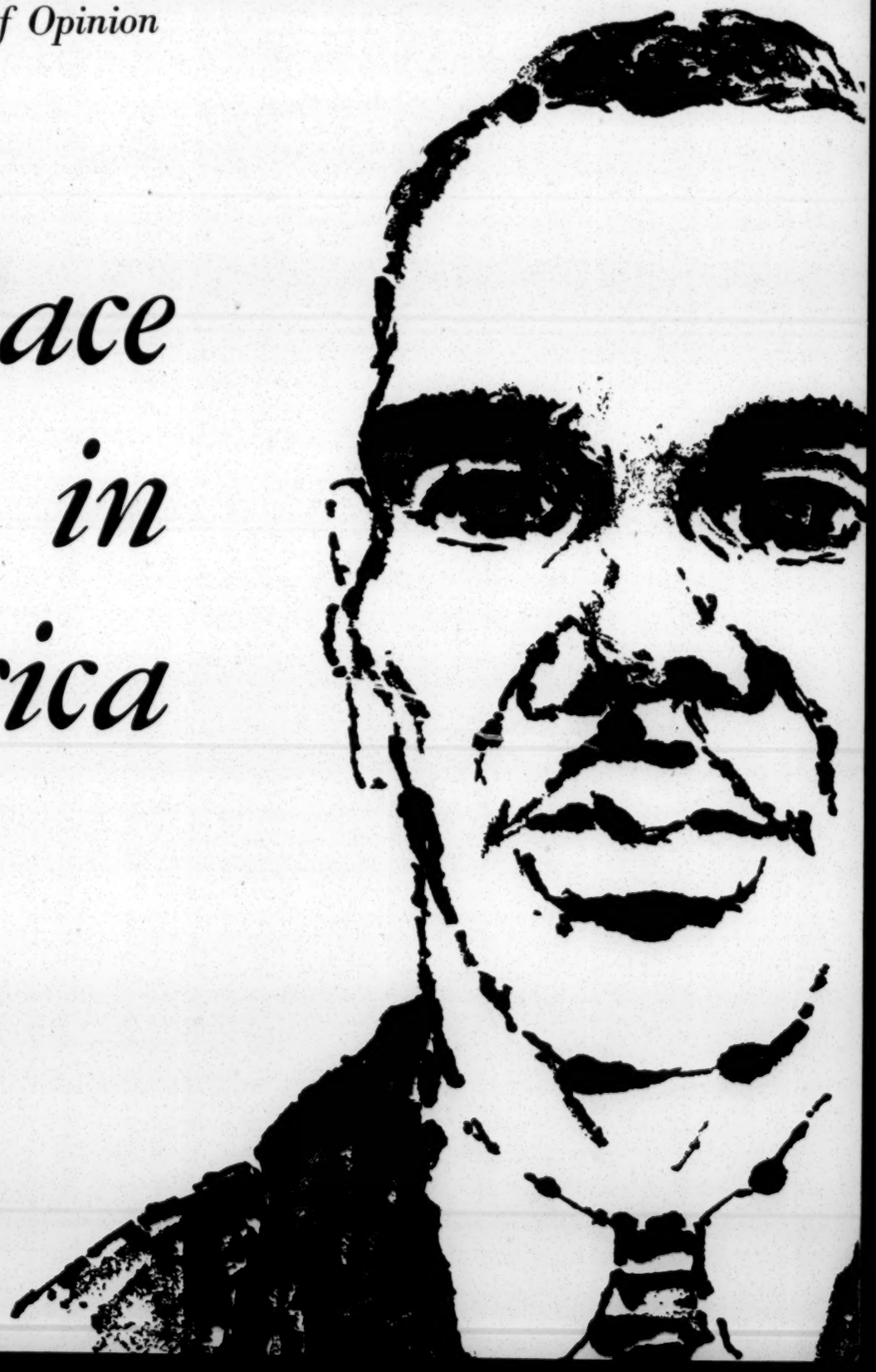
CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

A Christian Journal of Opinion

Race in America



Vol. XXI, No. 9, May 29, 1961
$5 per year; 35 cents a copy

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

March 23, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your script arrived promptly, the tape from the radio station a little on the tardy side, but both well within the deadline. I was able to get your talk out for broadcast this week, so everything is well under control.

I found the talk excellent in tone and content. It is just what we were hoping for, with solid facts and good perspective. Many thanks for your fine help and cooperation. Your talk certainly enhances the series.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Courlander

Harold Courlander
Talks and Features Branch

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

via air mail

March 13, 1961

Mr. Harold Courlander
Talks & Features Branch
United States Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Courlander:

Here is a copy of my script on Negro suffrage, which, I am glad to report, was taped at WPLO this morning. It ran 5:40, which I trust is close enough.

If there is any problem about the tape or the content of the talk, feel free to call on me further.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

NEGRO VOTING RIGHTS IN THE SOUTH

By: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

(Taped for Voice of America - 3/13/61)

It is basic to the American philosophy that a citizen's right to vote is the sovereign remedy for all his civic grievances. It was only natural, therefore, that the effort to abolish racial discrimination and segregation in schools and other facilities should bring to the fore the question of the Negro Southerner's access to the ballot.

In most of the United States, Negroes have voted as easily as whites during the past century. But in the South, the aftermath of slavery and the widespread pattern of segregation deprived most Negroes of the ballot for about fifty years. Then, in 1944, an historic decision of a Federal court in Texas sounded the death knell of legal disfranchisement. It held that Negroes no less than whites must be permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries, which have been the real elections in the one-party South.

In the seventeen years since, Negroes have made substantial gains in the use of the ballot. In 1940 there were an estimated 200,000 registered Negro voters in the South, most of them eligible to vote only in general elections, which were of minor importance in choosing state office-holders. By 1947 there were an estimated 595,000 Negro registrants qualified to vote in the decisive Democratic primaries. This initial period was one of spectacular progress in some states -- in Georgia, for example, more than 125,000 Negro voters were registered within a few months. By 1952 the Southwide total had climbed to approximately one million, and now it stands at about a million and a quarter.

The situation today may be briefly summed up as follows:

In most of the larger cities of the South, Negroes can and do vote with the same ease as their fellow white Southerners. Their political strength has won them respect and consideration from public officials and candidates for office. In some of these cities, Negroes have been elected or appointed to such public bodies as school boards and city councils. In every case, the existence of a substantial Negro electorate has helped smooth the path toward desegregation of schools, libraries, parks, golf courses, lunch counters, and other public and private facilities.

In many rural counties of the Deep South, a less encouraging situation exists, one that has properly aroused national concern and has had wide publicity. This is the so-called "Black Belt" area where Negroes are still frequently deprived of the right to vote by discriminatory methods, and occasionally by intimidation or violence. Studies have shown that the typical county in which such discrimination exists is still mainly a rural, farm area where large land-holding and farm tenancy are common, where there is little or no industry, where the average educational achievement is low, where per capita income is small, where the proportion of Negroes is high, and where the total population is shrinking because of outmigration.

Yet there are powerful forces -- economic and cultural -- that are making for gradual progress in the "Black Belt" as well as more rapid gains in the other, less difficult areas of the South.

First, there is the growing national determination, as expressed through the Federal Government and public opinion,

to wipe out discrimination at the polls. Congress has passed two recent laws, one in 1957 and another in 1960, to speed up this process.

Second, the steady movement of people from farm to city means, in the case of Negroes, a shift from discriminatory to permissive voting situations. As city-dwellers, their political influence grows.

Third, the rising status of Negroes, as reflected in education and income, coincides with growing militancy. Their new insistence on equal treatment, most dramatically expressed by the student protest movement, will hasten the achievement of full voting rights. And it will eliminate the apathy that in many areas is the only remaining obstacle to political participation by Negroes.

Finally, it is a measure of the changing times that almost no important Southern spokesman today publicly defends denial of the ballot on racial grounds.

Growing enlightenment among white Southerners, coupled with the efforts of Negroes themselves and the firm support of the national government, gives promise that within a few years no American will be denied the vote because of his color.

- : -

March 1961

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1961

February 6, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Pursuant to our phone conversation on Wednesday, I am sending you herewith a brief description of the 13-program series entitled "The Negro in America, 1961."

This series on the Negro in the United States will be broadcast by the Voice of America over a period of thirteen weeks, starting in February, 1961. It will consist of talks by specialists in the field of race relations. Ideally, each talk will deal with a different aspect of Negro life in America, though overlapping of topics will be unavoidable.

The intent is to give a temperate, honest picture in depth of the Negro's part in American life, his accomplishments, his expectations, his special problems stemming out of historical and psychological factors, his increasing influence in political affairs and community action, and, in general, his role as a citizen at the 1961 milepost. It is hoped that the programs will provide, cumulatively, a balanced, thoughtful, and constructive view of where America stands at this moment, in broad perspective, and of where we are going in pursuit of improved relations and better opportunities for the Negro to participate fully in the national life. In seeking to provide a wide perspective for the picture, we can examine the problem historically, politically, and economically, and can place it within the context of universal human problems by reference to comparable problems elsewhere. We can look into legal and constitutional aspects, and into community attitudes and traditions. In short, it is hoped that the series will, over all, provide the overseas listener with an intelligent understanding of this problem, of the forces at work in the country as a whole to bring changes, of what those changes have been, and of trends and prospects for the future.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Each talk is to be approximately six minutes long, and should not in any case exceed 6:15, as we need at least a minute to properly introduce each program and speaker. This would make about 70 lines or so of typewritten manuscript.

The topic you have in mind will work into the overall series very well, and we are looking forward to receiving your talk here in Washington. Our special events people will be in touch with you shortly to make arrangements for the recording session.

If there are any questions or problems, please call me here, collect, at WOrth 3-3649.

I probably neglected to tell you that there will be a fee of $60.00 for the talk.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Courlander

Harold Courlander
Talks & Features Branch

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

TO: FILES

FROM: HAROLD C. FLEMING

SUBJECT: TENTATIVE ANALYSIS OF SUPREME COURT IMPLEMENTATION DECISION

1. The decision emphasizes the local process in achieving compliance. District judges are instructed to order local school authorities to formulate a plan for "prompt and reasonable" starts toward integration. "Practical flexibility" may be applied in allowing for local problems and conditions; but prejudiced attitudes, as such, are ruled out of this definition of problems. (. . . "these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them.")

2. No time limit is set, but the "burden" of justifying any delay is on school authorities.

3. The immediate effects of the decision are limited to two communities in the South proper -- Clarendon County, S. C., and Prince Edward County, Va. Both are rural counties with high Negro ratios -- 71 per cent and 45 per cent respectively. Both are in states that have threatened defiance, and neither has shown any indication of local willingness to comply.

4. Thus, the first application of the decrees in the South will probably not be a test of local planning, but a test of devices designed to circumvent, since both counties immediately affected may be expected to evade.

5. Southern interpretations have over-played the leniency of the decrees. Federal district judges <u>have</u> been given wide discretion, and they <u>are</u> Southerners; but the Supreme Court clearly instructed them not to temporize with delay for the sake of delay. Early test cases, appealed to the Supreme Court, will probably further delimit their latitude in tolerating delay and covert evasion of the spirit of the decision.

6. In some urban centers and in some areas of relatively low Negro ratios, action toward compliance will begin without need for litigation. The degree of

permissiveness or encouragement shown by state officials will heavily determine the extent and timing of such voluntary integration.

7. The degree of political influence wielded by Negroes is a more important local index than the population ratio. A public official who depends on both white and Negro votes will work hard for a harmonious adjustment to the decision, since racial conflict hurts him politically.

8. There will be carry-over, increasing as time goes on, to other institutions and practices. Some Catholic authorities, for example, have indicated that they would await the decrees before moving ahead with parochial school desegregation. In the more moderate states, resistance to lesser forms of desegregation -- libraries, airports, hotel facilities for private groups, professional associations, and the like -- will decline. Religious groups, in particular, will feel increasingly challenged to match the secular law in their own operations.

9. The decision will probably reverse any drift-toward-resistance of the more moderate states (North Carolina, Alabama, Texas, Tennessee, and Florida), since the process is put on a local, piecemeal basis. The only compulsion on the state as a whole is to refrain from action that would prevent communities from complying; they need not bear the onus of administering compliance statewide.

10. The total effect should be to further isolate the blackbelt areas and the blackbelt-dominated states from the rest of the South. Undoubtedly Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana will resist -- probably in that order of intensity -- and Virginia may; but before long they will be standing alone. Demonstrations of successful integration in other Southern states will make the position of the woolhat political leadership increasingly untenable among the urban and more enlightened people of their own states.

INSERT

THE CLIMATE OF OPINION

The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, has clearly retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage. Demagogic preachment and the fear and hostility it generates serve to dampen both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation.

While this troubled climate has not appreciably lowered the total number of Southern Negro registrants, two adverse effects may be attributed to it. First, it has probably stunted the evolutionary growth in Negro registration and voting that might have been anticipated in a calmer period. In the long perspective, there is every reason to expect a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation -- along with rising economic and social status. This has been the American experience with women voters and immigrants when they gained the franchise. It is probably unrealistic to expect the same rate of increase in Negro suffrage in a time of widespread racial tension.

A second effect of heightened racial feeling has been the artificial "deflation" in importance of the Negro vote. In normal times, when political campaigns are focused on practical issues, no serious office-seeker or faction will

deliberately antagonize a sizeable segment of voters, actual or potential.

That this principle works in the South, as well as elsewhere, is amply attested to by many campaigns of recent years, particularly in the larger cities. In these cases, the uniform appeal to all voters, Negro as well as white, has become commonplace, accepted alike by candidates and the general population. Seldom, if ever, are Negro voters given preferential treatment, as the racists are wont to charge. But, in many instances, they have come to be regarded with the same degree of respect and consideration as other voters, or at least to be spared open insult on grounds of race. In such situations, a Negro vote has equal value with any other, no more and no less.

By contrast, in many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue has led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms. By accusing their opponents of "wooing the Negro vote" or "catering to the NAACP," they have sought -- with considerable success -- to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset. Wherever this process has been effective, every Negro voter has seen his ballot artifically devalued. Negro voters are are a minority in every state and in most communities. So long as politicians can persuade the electorate that the issue is white against black, Negroes will be denied the normal and proportionate benefits of the ballot.

This unhappy state of affairs is not likely to be permanent. If prior experience is any guide, no Southern electorate will remain indefinitely preoccupied with race as the overriding issue in every political contest. Whenever, soon or late, the segregation-desegregation controversy abates, other more vital issues will come to the fore, and the votes of Negro Southerners will weigh no less heavily than others in the political scales. No abrupt or dramatic rise in the number of Negro registrants seems likely in the foreseeable future. Instead, the next big breakthrough in the field of suffrage may well be the revitalization of the existing Negro vote in the South.

The South's Spring of Discontent 32

By Harold C. Fleming

Three months ago, the course of desegregation in the South seemed ~~to be~~ immutably set, and a slow and tortuous route it ~~was~~ promised to be. It ran through the tangled thickets of litigation, with occasional breakthroughs into ~~the~~ small clearings of token ~~xxxxx~~ desegregation of schools and other public facilities. A ~~a~~ gradual increase in the ranks of Negro voters, ~~xxx~~ a slow rise in ~~the~~ Negro ~~s~~ social and economic status, and the evolutionary growth of more liberal white attitudes could be expected to nudge the legal process along.

As a report of the Southern Regional Council grimly put it, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ "The new strategy of resistance is a subtle one -- to satisfy the bare letter of the law, but to defeat its spirit.... When the crises are past, the effort to get legal gains realized in everyday practice ~~can be~~ will be a wearisome and unspectacular business."

This was the prospect as most observers saw it. At any rate, no one was prophesying ~~xxx~~ the dramatic turn that events were about to take.

It began with deceptively little stir.

On February 1, at 4:30 P.M., four freshmen from North Carolina A. & T. College in Greensboro ~~xxxxxx~~ walked into a local Woolworth variety store. They made a few purchases, then quietly seated themselves at the lunch counter and ordered coffee. There they remained, unserved, until the store closed an hour later.

~~Why did they do it?~~

~~(Insert student quote?)~~

Much energy and more verbiage have gone into the effort to depict this minor incident as the first move in an elaborate, ~~highly organized~~ campaign plotted by outside forces to embarrass the South, to promote civil rights legislation, or simply to stir up trouble for variously defined subversive purposes.

So far, however, nobody has traced the action back to anything more insidious than four young students with a grievance and the idea of expressing it in this fashion. (INSERT-OVER) If they had conceived their plan differently or if the Woolworth manager had decided to go ahead and serve them, or at another time, this might have ended as a minor, isolated episode in the turbulent progress of integration. As it happened, the Greensboro incident ignited the smouldering discontent of Negro youngsters throughout the South. Less than two weeks later the "sit-in" movement had spread to Negro campuses in eight other North Carolina cities, at the end of a month it had jumped to 32 cities in six states, and at the end of two months the total stood at 68 cities in 11 states and was still mounting.

In all of these places, the demonstrating students have committed themselves to the non-violent methods of Mohandas K. Gandi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Some of them have attended training sessions in the art of turning the other cheek. Although this discipline has broken down in a few instances -- notably those involving high-school students -- most of the young demonstrators have displayed a degree of dignity and self-control that adults might envy. In almost every case where violence has occurred, it has been initiated by white teenagers, Kluxers, or in a few

Insert

no ¶ Where did they get the idea? One of the four, Joseph McNeill, said, "I guess it was in some books we'd read." Another, David Richmond, added, "We decided it was time for somebody to do it. I'm trying to fix it so my children won't have to live with this thing."

of the uglier situations by the police themselves. The contrast between the demonstrators and their hecklers was described this way, in a ~~burst of unusual~~ unusual attack of candor, by the militantly segregationist Richmond News Leader:

> ... Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was readin Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen. Fheu! It gives one pause.

(The pause, ~~it must be added~~ unfortunately, was short lived. A few days later, the News Leader was attributing the sit-ins to the machinations of Communist ~~elements~~ forces intent on creating public disorder.)

The protests in their most common form are ~~rooted~~ concerned with ~~in~~ a seeming triviality -- the question of who perches next to whom on a lunch-counter stool. Moreover, how many cups of coffee and blue-plate specials will be intermittently consumed ~~on an integrated basis~~ is still in doubt. So far only a handful of eating places have yielded to the pressure of the students. But the real ~~objective~~ meaning of the protest movement goes deeper; it ~~is to~~ makes unmistakably clear that the Southern Negro's discontent is real and growing, that the time is rapidly approaching when segregation can be maintained only by continuous coercion and the intolerable social order that it would create. In dramatizing these realities, the demonstrations have ~~dealt~~ struck at the heart of the major assumptions underlying the desegregation controversy of the past six years.

Among these are the assumptions that most Southern Negroes are satisfied with segregation; that Negroes are committed irrevocably to the techniques of legal and political action; that token integration breeds complacency, and that no significant white support can be won for integration on moral grounds.

Nothing is more fundamental in the segregationist dogma than that the great mass of Southern Negroes are content with their lot. The stormy developments touched off by the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 have left this conviction remarkably intact. It is supported by the traditional image of the Negro as an inherently docile and subordinate being who rebels only when synthetically aroused by "agitators." Under this construction of reality, school integration is the brain child of the NAACP, adopted by a leftist Supreme Court and forced upon a reluctant people by legal deception and federal might.

There are good reasons why the segregationist clings tenaciously to this belief. It not only soothes his conscience; it reassures him that he need resist only an abstract, outside force -- that the Negroes, "our Negroes," will continue to play the game of race relations by the old inequalitarian rules laid down after Reconstruction. Any segregationist worth his salt can produce testimony, usually extracted from a cook or yardman, that "colored folks don't want this race-mixing any more than we do."

The quiet, well-disciplined ranks of Negro youngsters seating themselves at lunch counters, filing into segregated public libraries, or marching in eerie silence before state capitols and county court houses, offer a powerful rebuttal. In the face of it, the die-hard insistence on the myth of the contented Negro has taken on a desperate quality. In troubled Marshall, Texas, a local judge declared that the student demonstration was "not a child of local citizens" and urged the Grand Jury to track down the "outside influences" Governor Buford Ellington of Tennessee found, of all things, responsible. Georgia's Richard B. Russell angrily assured the United States Senate that the whole protest movement was concocted by the Congress of Racial Equality, a small organization headquartered in New York.

The most far-reaching indictment of all was made by Senator Russell's nephew-in-law, Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia, who was provoked by a demonstration, but by a student pronouncement. Titled "An Appeal for Human Rights," the statement ran in the Atlanta newspapers as a full-page advertisement bearing the names of Negro student leaders of the Atlanta University Center. Among other things, it said:

INDENT + SINGLE SPACE NO QUOTE MARKS

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Ironically, this official attitude has done more than anything else to assure the solidarity of young and old in the Negro community. Mass arrests in Nashville, tear gas in Tallahassee, and student expulsions as in Montgomery have served only

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Most impressive of all has been the liberal position assumed by Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida. On March 20, Governor Collins addressed a statewide radio and television on the ~~moral implications of the current protests~~ crisis generated by the sit-in protests. He startled friend and foe alike, and broke all precedents for a Southern governor, by delivering what amounted to an ~~quiet,~~ informal sermon on the moral indefensibility of lunch-counter segregation. To add to the general astonishment, he proposed to do something about it -- namely, to appoint a bi-racial state ~~committee~~ commission for mediation of this and other race relations problems and to stimulate the formation of similar committees at the community level throughout ~~the~~ Florida.

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If there were those who doubted that Collins meant business, their skepticism was quickly laid to rest. Within six days, the promised state commission held its ~~organizational~~ first meeting. ~~and~~ A week after that, with the help of two staff members assigned by the Governor, it was setting up advisory panels, meeting with merchants' associations, and promoting ~~the formation of~~ local bi-racial committees.

The end results of Collins' bold approach can only be guessed at. Given enough skill and a great deal of luck, he could introduce a new era of racial adjustment in Florida and blaze a trail for less adventurous political leaders of the South. But, even if he achieves far less than this, he will have one impressive accomplishment to his credit: More than any other public figure, he has succeeded in provoking discussion of segregation as a moral question. ¶ The lunch-counter issue, as Collins posed it, is not one of law -- -- indeed, he was at some pains to emphasize the merchants' legal right to choose their customers -- but one of fair play. In his words, "...if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, I think then it is unfair and morally wrong to single out one department though and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department." Such talk from a governor, or a lesser public official for that matter, is unheard-of in the South. Yet it obviously struck a responsive nerve in many of Collins' white listeners; of the several thousand letters and telegrams he received, eight out of nine were favorable.

Encouraging though this development is, it is only a tentative note of hope in a regional cacophony. Florida is by no means typical of the Deep South, and even there a solution is far from won. In the hard core cities of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and Louisiana, the forces of government are solidly arrayed against

the Negro protest and sympathetic whites are keeping their feelings to themselves. In more moderate areas, despite the conscientious efforts of mayors' committees and many private groups, only San Antonio and Galveston, Texas, have solved the immediate problem by desegregating the lunch counters. The student protest leaders and their adult supporters appear, at the moment, uncertain of the direction their movements should take next.

While little can be predicted with any assurance, a few prospects seem reasonably clear. One is that the protest movement will not soon die out. It has already gained tremendous momentum, and is still gaining rather than losing. It seems equally sure, however, that the sit-ins will gradually be replaced by other forms of protest. Endless repetition of the lunch-counter demonstrations would be both sterile and dangerous, as some of the student spokesmen have acknowledged.

There are already signs of diversification of the protest to fit the circumstances of different states and communities. In the areas where the police and other officials have performed fairly and impartially, the original character of the protest as an economic tug-of-war between the Negroes and the merchants can be expected to continue -- at least until a settlement is reached. Morality will play an important part in the process, no doubt, but the arithmetic of profit-and-loss will be at least equally determining.

Two cities have shown the way to a solution in these terms, and a few others are moving in the same

direction. It should be noted, however, that in neither of them was the settlement effected as a simple transaction between the students and the chain stores. Influential local citizens recognized the problem as the concern of the entire community and undertook the task of mediation in that spirit. In both San Antonio and Galveston, religious leaders were the catalysts in this chemistry of community-wide change and acceptance.

In those parts of the South where the powers of government have been used to punish and intimidate the demonstrators, the issue is chiefly between Negro citizens and the state. Far from stifling the protests, harsh police measures and vindictive prosecutions have only succeeded in deepening the resentment and determination of the protesters. Here the elusive strategy of the boycott -- or "selective buying" as it is discreetly called -- is already taking its toll. There are also indications of major campaigns to get Negroes on the voter registration lists. And against their familiar antagonist the state, the Negroes are turning once again to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment and the federal courts.

Surprisingly to those who thought all the legal problems of race relations were settled, the protests have opened up new vistas of litigation. The right of merchants to deny service to Negro customers at one counter while serving them at another, the right of citizens to demonstrate peaceably on private property open to the general

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Check Marshall statement

Whatever the outcome of the economic struggles ~~xx~~ and the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ court battles, the most enduring ~~effects~~ results of the current protests may well be in the realm of attitudes. The white South has been put on notice as never before that Southern Negroes intend to be rid of segregation, and more whites are recognizing the justice of that demand. On the other hand, ~~the~~ Negroes have learned from the ~~xxxxxxx~~ example of their young people that their capacity and resources for protest are far greater than they had supposed. ~~This~~ The ~~results~~ effects of this new morale will be felt in every area of Southern life -- and perhaps in the

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Reporter Article

THE SOUTH'S SPRING OF DISCONTENT

By: Harold C. Fleming

Three months ago, the course of desegregation in the South seemed immutably set -- and a slow and tortuous route it promised to be. It ran through the tangled thickets of litigation, with occasional breakthroughs into small clearings of token desegregation of schools and other public facilities. A gradual increase in the ranks of Negro voters, a slow rise in Negro social and economic status, and the evolutionary growth of more liberal white attitudes could be expected to nudge the legal process along.

As a report of the Southern Regional Council grimly put it, "The new strategy of resistance is a subtle one -- to satisfy the bare letter of the law, but to defeat its spirit ....When the crises are past, the effort to get legal gains realized in everyday practice will be a wearisome and unspectacular business."

This was the prospect as most observers saw it. At any rate, no one was prophesying the dramatic turn that events were about to take.

It began with deceptively little stir. On February 1, at 4:30 P. M., four freshmen from North Carolina A. & T. College in Greensboro walked into a local Woolworth variety store. They made a few purchases, then quietly seated themselves at the lunch counter and ordered coffee. There they remained, unserved, until the store closed an hour later.

Much energy and more verbiage have gone into the effort to depict this minor incident as the first move in an elaborate campaign plotted by outside forces to embarrass the South, to promote civil rights legislation, or simply to stir up trouble for variously defined subversive purposes. So far, however, nobody has traced the action back to anything more insidious than four young students with a grievance and the idea of expressing it in this particular fashipn. Where did they get the idea? One of the four, Joseph McNeill, said, "I guess it was in some books we'd read." Another, David Richmond, added, "We decided it was time for somebody to do it. I'm trying to fix it so my children won't have to live with this thing."

If they had conceived their plan differently or at another time, or if the Woolworth manager had decided to go ahead and serve them, this might have ended as a minor, isolated episode in the turbulent progress of integration.

As it happened, the Greensboro incident ignited the smouldering discontent of Negro youngsters throughout the South. Less than two weeks later the "sit-in" movement had spread to Negro campuses in eight other North Carolina cities; at the end of a month it had jumped to 32 cities in six states, and at the end of two months the total stood at 68 cities in 11 states and was still mounting.

In all of these places, the demonstrating students have committed themselves to the non-violent methods of Mohandas K. Ghandi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Some of them have attended

training sessions in the art of turning the other cheek. Although this discipline has broken down in a few instances -- notably those involving high-school students -- most of the young demonstrators have displayed a degree of dignity and self-control that adults might envy. In almost every case where violence has occurred, it has been initiated by white-teenagers, Kluxers, or in a few of the uglier situations by the police themselves. The contrast between the demonstrators and their hecklers was described this way, in an unusual attack of candor, by the militantly segregationist Richmond News Leader:

> ... Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen. Eheu! It gives one pause.

(The pause, unfortunately, was short-lived. A few days later, the News Leader was attributing the sit-ins to the machinations of Communist forces intent on creating public disorder.)

The protests in their most common form are concerned with a seeming triviality -- the question of who perches next to whom on a lunch-counter stool. Moreover, how many cups of coffee and blue-plate specials will be interracially consumed is still in doubt. So far only a handful of eating places have yielded to the pressure of the students. But the real meaning of the protest movement goes deeper; it makes unmistakably clear that the Southern Negro's discontent is real and growing, that the

time is rapidly approaching when segregation can be maintained only by continuous coercion and the intolerable social order that would create.

In dramatizing these realities, the demonstrations have stmuck at the heart of the major assumptions underlying the desegregation controversy of the past six years. Among these are the assumptions that most Southern Negroes are satisfied with segregation; that Negroes are committed irrevocably to the techniques of legal and political action; that token integration breeds complacency; and that no significant white support for integration can be won on moral grounds.

Nothing is more fundamental in the segregationist dogma than that the great mass of Southern Negroes are content with their lot. The stormy developments touched off by the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 have left this conviction remarkably intact. It is supported by the traditional image of the Negro as an inherently docile and subordinate being who rebels only when synthetically aroused by "agitators." Under this construction of reality, school integration is the brain child of the NAACP, adopted by a leftist Supreme Court and forced upon a reluctant people by legal deception and federal might.

There are good reasons why the segregationist clings tenaciously to this belief. It not only soothes his conscience; it reassures him that he need resist only an abstract, outside force -- that the Negroes, "our Negroes," will continue to play the game of race relations by the old inequalitarian rules laid down after Reconstruction. Any segregationist worth his salt

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The quiet, well-disciplined ranks of Negro youngsters seating themselves at lunch counters, filing into segregated public libraries, or marching in eerie silence before state capitols and county court houses, offer a powerful rebuttal. In the face of it, the die-hard insistence on the myth of the contented Negro has taken on a desperate quality. In troubled Marshall, Texas, a local judge declared that the student demonstration was "not a child of local citizens" and urged the Grand Jury to track down the "outside influences" responsible. Governor Buford Ellington of Tennessee found, of all things, a CBS television crew in the conspiratorial woodpile. Georgia's Richard B. Russell angrily assured the United States Senate that the whole protest movement was concocted by the Congress of Racial Equality, a ~~[illegible]~~ liberal organization headquartered in New York.

The most far-reaching indictment of all was made by Senator Russell's nephew-in-law, Governor Ernest Vandiver of Georgia, who was provoked not by a demonstration, but by a student pronouncement. Titled "An Appeal for Human Rights," the statement ran in the Atlanta newspapers as a full-page advertisement bearing the names of Negro student leaders of the Atlanta University Center. Among other things, it said:

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It is beguiling to imagine what Thoreau's writings on civil disobedience would "read like" to the Governor. But the question is really irrelevant; for to Governor Vandiver, as to thousands of his fellow whites, it is inconceivable that Negro Southerners could harbor such ideas, much less express them eloquently and forthrightly.

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Insert #2

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supposed. The effects of this new morale will be felt in every area of Southern life -- and perhaps in the rest of the nation also.

The spring of 1960 may well be recorded in the annals of civil rights not because Congress agonizingly passed another voting bill, but because four college freshmen ordered a cup of coffee in a five-and-ten cent store.

- END -

2nd Letter Sent from Def's desk 8/2/60

via air mail

June 27, 1960

Mr. William J. Davis
Executive Secretary
Stiles Hall
University YMCA
2400 Bancroft Way
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

Your letter of June 14 is most welcome and appreciated; only constant absence from the office has prevented my replying earlier.

We are most eager to visit California, and it begins to look as though we can manage it sometime during the first two weeks of October. If so, it would be a pleasure to speak to a gathering of students at the University of California. The prospect of the more intimate discussion at Stiles Hall is particularly appealing.

As soon as I know something more definite, I will write you further. Meanwhile, my thanks again for your interest and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. John R. May

STILES HALL

University YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

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June 14, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Yesterday in San Francisco our mutual friend, John May, reported to me the possibility that you and Mrs. Fleming might be making a visit to the Bay area in late September or early October.

If you should make the trip we hope there will be time in your schedule to come to Berkeley and speak to the students here at the University of California. Stiles Hall has access to the use of University facilities in its own name or, on certain occasions, in cooperation with departments at the University. If you were available, for example, it would seem to me desirable to invite an appropriate department to co-sponsor your appearance.

We often follow up a campus-wide meeting with a more intimate gathering at Stiles Hall where students can question speakers in detail. We did this with Martin Luther King a couple of summers ago, as I recall, with very good results.

There is considerable interest among students on this campus in the problems the nation faces in making its democratic ideals more a reality. I am sure you could contribute to their understanding of these matters with a report of your work and observations in the field of race relations.

We would be grateful if you would keep us informed of your plans.

Sincerely yours,

William J. Davis

William J. Davis
Executive Secretary

cc: John May

A Berkeley Area Community Chest and Council Agency—Sharing in United Crusade Funds

via air mail

June 28, 1960

Mr. John R. May
San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco, California

Dear John:

Many thanks for the word you passed to William Davis of Stiles Hall. It's nice to have the incentives for the trip multiply.

Jane and I are firmly agreed that we'd love to visit your fabulous city, and are saving our pennies for the excess baggage -- namely, her.

The first two weeks in October are clear for us, assuming we can get a sitter. Are there any three days or so in that period when you would be less involved than on others? It's my turn to say that we don't intend to make undue demands on you; but we do want to have some time with you and Margarita. So advise me quite frankly in terms of your schedule. If the first half of October isn't convenient, we can consider the trip later in the year -- the weather is a very minor point.

If the timing is satisfactory, I'll appreciate any suggestions for spadework that I should do in the meantime. My connections out there are virtually nonexistent, but friends in the national organizations

might be willing to provide some entrees and endorsements. As you know, I don't need any big occasions -- Just the opportunity to pitch quietly and individually to a few key people who might be interested in assisting SRC.

Your visit was a great pleasure for us, and we're delighted with The Once and Future King. Jane will be writing Margarita soon about that and other more personal doings.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

via air mail

July 19, 1960

Mr. John R. May
Executive Director
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear John:

This is a hasty note between trips to say warm thanks for your last letter, and to report on our progress. You're kind indeed to give us such a hearty advance welcome.

Jane has been working on the sitter problems and has finally completed arrangements that clear October 4th through 11th for us. While we haven't looked into plane schedules yet, we will probably get into San Francisco sometime late Tuesday night, the 4th, and leave on Tuesday the 11th. This is longer than I had originally thought; but we have some extra-curricular things to do and people to see that will take us off your hands much of the time.

I've heard a lot about the Commonwealth Club, of course. If you think they'd really be interested in having me speak, I'll be happy to. Thanks, too, for the suggestions of a big-wig luncheon. It sounds a bit formidable to arrange, and, as I wrote you earlier, I'd be perfectly happy with a few of the right individual appointments. But my experience

with non-foundation fund-raising is slight, so I will gladly follow your advice and take advantage of your willingness to help. I'm only anxious not to saddle you with a lot of burdensome arrangements. With a full week there, I should be able to follow up some leads under my own steam. I'll also begin to explore possibilities with sister organizations.

Jane asks me to reiterate the message that she will soon be writing Margarita, and as October draws closer I'll be writing you again. Meanwhile, our very best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- I read the report on the housing market with much interest. It does convince me that there's some good work going on North of the Mason-Dixon -- and west of the Great Divide.

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C. E. DEROCHIE
Chairman, Trustees' Committee

June 30, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I can't think of anything that would please Margarita and me better than the news that you and Jane will probably be coming out here. You have chosen the ideal time, too, from every point of view.

Please plan to spend as much time as you can here -- and don't think for a minute that you will cause us anything except delight, which will increase proportionately with the length of your stay.

Now as to time. Early October is practically a copper-bottomed cinch for good weather in this part of California -- and that is more than you can say for any other time of the year. Second, I shall have just finished with a quarterly meeting of the Foundation, so I will be more nearly free than I am at most times. Monday and Tuesday, the 3rd and 4th of October, I must spend in Sacramento at a so-called Governor's Conference on problems of the aging (who isn't aging, anyway?). Aside from that, my schedule is wide open.

Now, do plan to have a bit of free time, not only in San Francisco, but in the surrounding countryside. For instance, you ought to let us drive you up to Yosemite and spend a night or two there, where we could show you around. There are endless parts of California that we would proudly show off to you. Anyway, don't cut the visit too short.

I'm glad you respond so generously to my having sicced Bill Davis on you. He is a very good guy indeed, and Stiles Hall has a splendid reputation. I would hope that you would let me arrange to have you meet a lot of people professionally concerned with your kind of interests, and perhaps you would like

to have me get some bigwig to give a small luncheon for you, at which you could meet other bigwigs? That is the San Francisco pattern, I believe, for introducing visiting firemen to the people into whose pockets the said firemen may want to dip!

I enclose the last Commonwealth Club bulletin. Do you want me to arrange for you to make the Friday noon address? It would be carried, as you see, on a lot of radio stations in addition to the audience of several hundred at the Club meeting.

I'm afraid all the above is a bit incoherent, but it adds up to real delight that your visit apparently will materialize. Margarita is writing to Jane.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw

P.S. Under separate cover I am sending you a little report just published under a grant from the Columbia Foundation (which is my part-time job). It will prove to you that there are no racial problems north of the Mason-Dixon line.

IN TWO PARTS—PART ONE

The Commonwealth

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA

Vol. XXXVI San Francisco 19, California, Monday, June 27, 1960 No. 26

Friday, July 1st, 12:10 p.m. Gold Ballroom, Sheraton-Palace Hotel

"Economics, Foreign Affairs, and the Campaign"

by Dr. Glenn E. Hoover

Professor Emeritus of Economics and Sociology, Mills College

¶ The effervescent Professor Hoover has three times before addressed our Friday luncheons—the two most recent occasions on Berlin and Western Europe. ¶ He was nearly two years in Berlin's military government; later spent 12 months examining Western Europe's recovery and economic growth. ¶ Which will govern the Presidential campaign—economic issues or foreign affairs? ¶ Professor Hoover—author of the witty and controversial "Essays In Provocation"—will have some challenging answers.

$3 a plate **PRESIDENT LLOYD E. GRAYBIEL, *presiding***

CLUB'S RADIO SERVICE

SAN FRANCISCO, KSAY (1010) 4* Sa.
SAN FRANCISCO, KFRC (610) 8:00* Su.†
APPLE VALLEY, KAVR 2:15* Su.†
BAKERSFIELD, KMAP 10:00 Su.
EUREKA, KIEM (1480) 8:30* Su.
FORT BRAGG, KDAC (1230) 6:30* Su.
FRESNO, KMJ (580) 6:45* Wed.†
GRANTS PASS, KAGI (1340) 8:30* Su.
GRANTS PASS, KGPO (fm) 8:30* Su.
KING CITY, KRKC 9:45 Su.†
LOS ANGELES, KUSC (91.5 mc) 8* Tu.
MODESTO, KBEE (970) 12:15* Sa.†
PETALUMA, KAFP (1490) 11:30 Su.
PORTLAND, KLIQ (1290) 6:00* Su.
SACRAMENTO, KCRA (1320) 10:15* Su.†
SAN LUIS OBISPO, KATY (& fm) 8:00* Wed.
SANTA BARBARA, KTMS (1250) 9:05* Su.
SUSANVILLE, KSUE (1240) 7:00* Th.
TURLOCK, KTUR (1390) 6:00* Sa.

(Time *p.m. † 15-minute interview with speaker)

GEN. MARK CLARK TELLS FROM OWN EXPERIENCES HOW SOVIETS "LIED, CHEATED, BROKE PACTS"

THURSDAY FLASHES — JUNE 16TH

From Address by GENERAL MARK CLARK
President, The Citadel, Military College of South Carolina

"IF WE WILL just look back into history and tell the truth of what experiences we have had with the Soviets—how they have lied, how they have cheated, how they have signed hundreds of solemn documents, only to abrogate every single one of them—that might put us in better position to see where we go from here.

—I don't understand why so many people in America, when we were about to have a Summit Conference and when we invited Mr. Khrushchev to this country, felt and said, 'We hope some good will come of this.' What right do they have to think that any good would come out of a visit of a man of that stature—or lack of stature? What right do they have to think that any good will come out of a Summit Conference when no spade-work had been done at conferences below that?

Russ Mission Communized in Italy

—So I will tell you briefly some of these experiences, starting out before we finished World War II. While fighting in Italy, I was asked one day by the War Department to take on my staff a Soviet mission who wanted to be assigned to our army and find

(Continued on next page)

File

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C. E. DEROCHIE, *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

July 25, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

At last I am beginning to believe it. Your note and Jane's have convinced us that you really will come out for a visit.

Hurry up and make your reservations, please--that is, all except hotel reservations, if you don't mind putting up with a bit of hardship with the Mays.

We will of course meet you at the plane, and thereafter you won't be able to get us out of your hair.

I will go to work on the Commonwealth Club this week. It's a stuffy bunch, but I think you would do them a lot of good. There are lots of people we will want you to meet, but I'd better not say too much on that or you will get cold feet about the whole trip.

We both hope you won't want to keep your nose to the grindstone for the whole time, but will let us show you some of the lovely country within reach, such as Yosemite, Lake Taho and the north coast, etc., etc.

Margarita is writing to Jane, so I suppose we had better leave the important things to the higher authorities.

All the best.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:zl

via air mail

September 7, 1960

Mr. Frank A. Quinn
Executive Director
Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Quinn:

With some embarrassment, I report that I am out of glossy prints and, in order to get more, will have to start from the beginning with a photographer. Since this is likely to take too long for San Francisco purposes, we'll have to forgo the mats.

For your files, I am enclosing a brief biographical sketch and a run-down on the Southern Regional Council. So that you can have some idea of how I view the Southern situation, I am also enclosing a reprint of a recent article in the New York Times Magazine.

I appreciated your call the other day, as well as all your courtesies, and am looking forward with pleasure to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

437 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 5 • EXbrook 2-3877

For equality of right and opportunity without regard to race, religion, or ancestry

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August 23, 1960

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are delighted that you will speak to a Council for Civic Unity audience on October 3 during your visit to the West Coast. I might add that we have found Monday evenings a good time to hold meetings, other organizations appear not to schedule on Mondays.

I would appreciate a title for your talk, a biographical sketch, a note as to how you would like the Southern Regional Council described, and a picture of you from which we will have mats made.

We will arrange a press conference for you. Ten in the morning appears to be the best time to gather in both the evening and morning fold. I would suggest 10:00 a.m. on Monday, prior to your talk so that the newspapers will not feel that you have repeated what you will say to our audience.

We look forward to meeting you and also to dining with you, and your wife if she will be here, prior to your address on Monday, October 3.

Sincerely,

Frank A. Quinn

Frank A. Quinn
Executive Director

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100

via air mail

September 7, 1960

Mr. John R. May
The San Francisco Foundation
Balfour Building
351 California Street
San Francisco 4, California

Dear John:

You run the most efficient and thoughtful travel service I've yet encountered. We'd have been happy to rely entirely on your good judgment — and still would, for that matter.

The Plaza — the more moderate of the two you checked — sounds fine. We don't need anything fancy, just a comfortable twin-bedded room.

The plans are set with Quinn for a press conference Monday, October 3 and a CCU-sponsored meeting that night. I've also written the Stiles Hall man the dates of our visit and expressed willingness to try to work out anything he feels would be useful. But I will make no commitments that will louse up more pleasant and escapist activities with you-all.

The four-ring circus has continued unabated down here, just as though summer had never come and gone. So San Francisco and the Mays beckon all the more invitingly.

All the best to you and Margarita.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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C. E. DEROCHIE, *Chairman, Trustees' Committee*

August 31, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

May's Travel Service reporting.

The nice looking part of the enclosed sheet is of course done by Mrs. Wolff in my office. The scribbled notes are my own and the two red marks indicate my suggestions in two different price brackets.

All this is based on the assumption that you want to enrich our hotels during the first part of your visit here, while we are away, and that you will come to us immediately upon our return. That will be on Wednesday. (A.14.)

Then, I hope, we can get out of town and play a little hookey together.

Our best to you both.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. MAY

jrm:ehw
Enc.

P.S. The hotel room situation is very tight here so let me know what you prefer as soon as you can.

SAN FRANCISCO HOTEL RATES

Beverly-Plaza Hotel (Bush at Grant Ave.) Convenient, down town
dble. 10-11 twin 11-12

Canterbury Hotel (Taylor at O'Farrell) Good, comfortable
dble. 13-20 twin 14-20

Clift Hotel (Geary at Taylor) Excellent
dble. 17-23 twin (same)

Sir Francis Drake Hotel (Sutter at Powell) Good
dble. 12.50-18.50 twin 16.50-21.50

Fairmont Hotel (Calif. at Mason) Fancy
dble. 21-27 twin (same)

Hotel Jack Tar (Van Ness at Geary) Texas!
dble. 14-26 twin 16-26

X Plaza Hotel (Post at Stockton) A very good bet
dble. 11-14 twin 11-15

Sheraton-Palace Hotel (market at New Mont.) Sheraton
dble. 13.85-20.50 twin (same)

Hotel Whitcomb (Market at 8th) — nah!
dble. 9-35 twin (same)

X Mark Hopkins Hotel spectacular, on Nob
dble. 21-25 twin (same) Hill, view from every room.

X St. Francis Hotel Union Square,
dble. 13-20 twin 16-25 excellent, fancy

via air mail September 19, 1960

Mr. William J. Davis
Executive Secretary
Stiles Hall
University YMCA
2400 Bancroft Way
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you for your helpful letter of September 12.

I shall be glad to cooperate in whatever campus arrangements you find it possible to make. Unfortunately, Monday is pretty well pre-empted by the plans that Mr. Quinn has made for me, beginning with a press conference at 10:30 A.M. Tuesday, however, presents no problems.

As to subjects, I am pretty flexible so long as we keep to the area of Southern race relations. For the CCU appearance Monday night, Mr. Quinn and I settled on something very general like "Crisis and Hope in the South." Lately, of course, the student protest movement has greatest impact here and, properly, has had the most public attention; if, as I should suppose, the students there are interested in the "sit-ins" and their effects, I shall be glad to discuss them. Alternatively, I could concentrate on developments in the field of voting and school desegregation. Of course, all of these aspects are closely related and would be dealt with to some extent in any presentation I might make.

If this is enough guidance, please feel free to word the title as generally or specifically as you like.

Unfortunately, I am temporarily out of both pictures and mats. Enclosed is a brief biographical summary.

With appreciation for your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

STILES HALL

University YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

9/14/60

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September 12, 1960

Copies to: Mary Bendix, President of Stiles Hall

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
632 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge your note of September 2 and to say that we are counting upon your speaking to a gathering of University students some time during the week of October 3.

John May tells me that you will speak in San Francisco on Monday evening, October 3, for the Council for Civic Unity and that he hopes to take you out of the Bay Area for some sightseeing by the middle of the week at the latest. I hope, therefore, that it will be possible to schedule you for a meeting on the campus Monday or Tuesday noon, preferably Monday. We believe the noon meeting would draw a considerable number of students. If it is not too much an imposition upon you, we may wish to suggest an informal discussion session in the afternoon at Stiles Hall. This, of course would involve a much smaller, more intimate group.

Professor Reinhard Bendix, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions at the University, has agreed provisionally to co-sponsor with Stiles Hall your appearance on the campus. When we have the information requested from you we will proceed to make the arrangements with Professor Bendix.

It would be very helpful to us in making arrangements if you would be kind enough to send us some biographical data about yourself and a photograph or newspaper mat if one is available for use in the student daily, and some suggestions of the kind of subjects you would like to speak upon from which we might make a selection. We assume, of course that your general area of interest and competence has to do with the inter-racial situation in the South at the present time.

I am sending you all of this in somewhat tentative details because our student leaders are not yet back at Stiles Hall for the fall semester and I do not wish to make plans too definite without consultation with them. We are delighted that you are willing to come to the campus.

Cordially,

William J. Davis

William J. Davis, Executive Sec'y

A Berkeley Area Community Chest and Council Agency—Sharing in United Crusade Funds

via air mail

September 26, 1960

Mr. Cecil A. Thomas
Associate Executive Secretary
Stiles Hall
University YMCA
2400 Bancroft Way
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Thank you for your letter of September 22.

This is merely to let you and Mr. Davis know that the arrangement you have worked out is quite satisfactory with me. October 3 will be a busy day, but I look forward to the talk with the students under the auspices of Stiles Hall.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

STILES HALL

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September 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Bill Davis asked me to reply to you since he is out of the office today.

Frank Quinn says that it would be convenient for him to have you at the campus for a meeting at noon on Monday October 3; therefore, we are scheduling you for this time since there would be a rather serious conflict on Tuesday.

The Sociology Department is joining us in sponsorship of your speech and it is very likely that the campus NAACP will also co-sponsor the meeting.

We would like to give the students a chance to ask you questions after your speech and this will be done either on the campus or at our building. At any rate, we will finish early in the afternoon so that you can get some rest before your evening meeting.

The students are quite interested in the philosophy of the "sit-ins" and we will send you a title as soon as we have agreed on it.

We are looking forward very much to having you talk to our students.

Sincerely,

Cecil A. Thomas

Cecil A. Thomas
Associate Executive Secretary

CAT:mjb

A Berkeley Area Community Chest and Council Agency—Sharing in United Crusade Funds

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

would be delighted to take part in luncheon ~~on~~ next Tuesday Oct 4. San Francisco more convenient. Best regards.

HCF

TELEPHONE IN: Sept. 27, 1960
9:45 A.M.
Charged to SRC

SENDER WAITING

TELEGRAPH ANSWER

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

...atic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

...52 0A389

O LLC415 NL PD AR TDO BERKELEY CALIF 26

HAROLD C FLEMING

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

WOULD LIKE TO SCHEDULE LUNCHEON FOR YOU TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS OF THE INTER GROUP PROFESSIONAL IN THE SOUTH WITH NAIRO MEMBERS AND A FEW INVITED PROFESSIONALS PLEASE SUGGEST DATE AND WHETHER SAN FRANCISCO OR OAKLAND MORE CONVENIENT PLEASE REPLY VIA STRAIGHT TELEGRAM COLLECT

HELEN AMERMAN 1540 SANPABLO ROOM 602 OAKLAND CALIF

NAIRO.

Rt. to hdq

via air mail

September 30, 1960

Mr. John A. Buggs
Executive Secretary
County of Los Angeles
Commission on Human Relations
1851 South Westmoreland Avenue
Los Angeles 6, California

Dear Mr. Buggs:

Many thanks for your letter of September 28 and the invitation to meet with some fellow workers in the Los Angeles area.

Unfortunately, it doesn't look as if I will be able to visit Los Angeles, though there is nothing I should like better.

In the unlikely event that circumstances change while I am in San Francisco and I find a stop-over there possible, I will certainly call you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1851 SOUTH WESTMORELAND AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 6
RICHMOND 8-6561, EXT. 210

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JOHN A. BUGGS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just been informed that you will be in San Francisco on October 3, and will speak before the Council for Civic Unity there.

Several of us in Los Angeles who hold membership in NAIRO are hopeful that you will also be coming through Los Angeles during that time. If you are going to be in that area, we would very much like to arrange for your appearance before a group of intergroup relations workers in this area. I am sure that you would have something extremely stimulating and informative to say to us.

Please let me know as soon as you can if you do plan to be in this area, so that we may make appropriate arrangements.

Very truly yours,

John A. Buggs

John A. Buggs
Executive Secretary

JAB.ld

Partial Schedule for West Coast Trip
(October 2 - 11, 1960)

To be registered at:

PLAZA Hotel (Oct. 2, 3,4)
Post and Stockton Streets

To be at John Mays Home:

(October 5 on)

Oct. 3 Press Conference
(10:00 A.M.)

CCU-sponsored meeting (evening)

Commonwealth Club speaker
Date _____

Univ. of California (Berkeley)
Scheduled to speak to students
Date Oct. 31

Stiles Hall
Oct 3

Oct. 4 Cal. NAIRO
Luncheon Meeting
San. Francisco

ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS WHICH MAY BE NEEDED ON WEST COAST JAUNT.

John R. May:

Home address - 1544 Cole Street
" Phone - OVerland 1-0979

Office address - San Francisco Foundation
351 California Street

" Phone - YUkon 2-1210

Plaza Hotel:
Post and Stockton Streets

Phone: - SUtter- 1-7200

Frank A. Quinn:
Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street
San Francisco
Phone: EXbrook 2-3877

Home address: 1700 Mason
Phone : OVerland 1-2493

William J. Davis:
Stiles Hall - YMCA
Univ. of California
2400 Bancroft Way
Berkeley, Cal.

Phone: THornwall 8-6285

JOHN R. MAY, *Executive Director*

THE SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDATION
BALFOUR BUILDING • SAN FRANCISCO 4
YUKON 2-1210

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1960

Harold —

Margarita says you must come back — there's something she forgot to show you!

Don't forget to return my Hoover papers.

Mrs. Wolff makes up the list — I remember the people you talked to.

Good (A) luck!

Best

John

October 18, 1960

Mr. Daniel E. Koshland
98 Battery Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Koshland:

Meeting you and Mrs. Koshland was a very pleasant part of our eminently enjoyable visit to San Francisco. Jane and I were only sorry that we didn't have a chance to get to know you both better. Perhaps we can remedy that if you do, in fact, make the trip to Georgia on behalf of the Company. Should that come to pass, we will count on your saving some time in Atlanta for us.

As John and Margarita may have mentioned, we had a magnificent weekend trip with them to Lake Tahoe, into Nevada, over the Tioga pass to Yosemite, and homeward through the San Joaquin Valley. The Mays were wonderful guides, of course, and we succumbed completely to the charms of Northern California.

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Mr. Walter Haas, Jr., following up my conversation with him about the Southern Regional Council. The courtesy and interest which you both extended to me in your offices were greatly appreciated.

Our very best regards to you and Mrs. Koshland.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

BC: John R. May

October 18, 1960

Mr. Walter A. Haas, Jr.
98 Battery Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Haas:

It was a pleasure meeting you when I was in San Francisco, and I was grateful for the opportunity to tell you something about the program and needs of the Southern Regional Council. Enclosed are several pieces of material which give further details of the organization, work, and finances of the Council.

In brief summary, the Council's main assets in meeting the crucial problems of the South include: (1) reputation and experience in race relations since 1944 and, through its predecessor, since 1919; (2) a membership drawn from respected Southern leaders of both races; (3) an experienced staff of Negro and white professional and clerical workers; (4) the part-time services of specialists in education, law enforcement, economics, and community relations; (5) a close working relationship with state and local councils on human relations (founded by SRC) and with virtually every private and governmental agency sharing these concerns; (6) the confidence of the press, Southern and national, as the major source of facts and analysis in this field.

The past few years have seen a gratifying increase in the Council's outreach and effectiveness. Whereas a few years ago the Council sorely needed the South's leadership, today that leadership is displaying a

growing need for the Council and the guidance it can provide. We confidently expect the next five years to be even richer in opportunities for decisive influence by the Council.

In order to meet these responsibilities, the Council currently is seeking from new sources a total of $100,000 a year for the five-year period beginning January 1, 1961. This amount, applied toward an annual budget of approximately $250,000, will leave a manageable balance to be raised from existing sources, and will enable the staff to devote its primary attention to much needed program activities during the critical period ahead. If you find it possible to assist the Council in meeting this goal, we shall be deeply grateful.

While I know that the human relations problems of the San Francisco area have first claim on your interest -- and properly so -- I needn't point out that many of those problems have their origin in the South. And, regrettably, much of the financial support for positive efforts by Southerners must still be found outside the region.

If further information on any point would aid your consideration of the Council's work, I shall be only too happy to supply it. Meanwhile, with appreciation for your interest and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures
cc: Mr. Daniel E. Koshland

October 18, 1960

Mr. William M. Roth
215 Market Street, Room 818
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Roth:

It was a pleasure meeting you when I was in San Francisco, and I was grateful for the opportunity to tell you something about the program and needs of the Southern Regional Council. Enclosed are several pieces of material which give further details of the organization, work, and finances of the Council.

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If further information on any point would aid your consideration of the Council's work, I shall be only too happy to supply it. Meanwhile, with appreciation for your interest and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

October 18, 1960

Mrs. Madeleine Haas Russell
3778 Washington Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Mrs. Russell:

It was a pleasure meeting you during my all-too-brief visit to San Francisco recently. I was most grateful for your hospitality and for the opportunity to tell you somthing about the program and needs of the Southern Regional Council. Enclosed are several pieces of material which give further details of the organization, work, and finances of the Council.

In brief summary, the Council's main assets in meeting the crucial problems of the South include: (1) reputation and experience in race relations since 1944 and, through its predecessor, since 1919; (2) a membership drawn from respected Southern leaders of both races; (3) an experiences staff of Negro and white professional and clerical workers; (4) the part-time services of specialists in education, law enforcement, economics, and community relations; (5) a close working relationship with state and local councils on human relations (founded by SRC) and with virtually every private and governmental agency sharing these concerns; (6) the confidence of the press, Southern and national, as the major source of facts and analysis in this field.

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While I know that the human relations problems of the San Francisco area have first claim on your interest -- and properly so -- I needn't point out that many of those problems have their origin in the South. And, regrettably, much of the financial support for positive efforts by Southerners must still be found outside the region.

If further information on any point would aid your consideration of the Council's work, I shall be only too happy to supply it. Meanwhile, with appreciation for your interest and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

October 19, 1960

Mr. Frank A. Quinn
Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Frank:

You have my profound thanks for all you did to make my visit to San Francisco a pleasant and productive one. From my own experience, I know too well how such affairs for visiting firemen can cut into working time and energy, so I'm grateful too for the cheerful and hospitable spirit you maintained throughout.

Not the least of our pleasant experiences was the hour or so we spent with you and your wife after the meeting. Jane and I were only sorry that we didn't have a chance to get together again in a relaxed setting -- for example, in the good jazz spots you offered to expose us to.

Incidentally, I never got a chance to tell you how highly regarded I found you and the CCU among all the people I talked with in the Bay Area.

I hope one day to have a chance to reciprocate. Meanwhile, the very best to you and all success to your efforts.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

November 8, 1960

Mr. William J. Davis
Executive Secretary
Stiles Hall
University YMCA
2400 Bancroft Way
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Bill:

I appreciated your good letter and Cecil Thomas's nice note with the clipping from The Daily Californian.

My wife and I came away with an exceedingly high opinion of Stiles Hall and the vigorous program you are carrying on.

Any time I can refer a speaker, pass on a suggestion for the students, or be of any other service to you and your associates, rest assured I will do it.

Thanks again for the fine occasion you arranged for us and all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

STILES HALL

University YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

2400 BANCROFT WAY • BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA • THornwall 8-6285

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MILLIE R. BOOMER
PETRAFAE CAMBRE

October 21, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

May we say again, in this somewhat more formal way, how much we appreciated your willingness to take time out from your vacation (sic) to talk to our students on the Berkeley campus. I hope you feel, as we certainly do, that it was time well spent.

I was reminded of you again Wednesday when I had an opportunity to hear one of your fellow-workers in the Southern vineyard: Rev. Metz Rollins. I think you know him. He seemed to me to typify what King and others have described as the "new Negro" leader in the South.

It is so important that our students have a chance to learn first hand of what is going on in the South that I hope you will do us the very great favor of tipping us off about anyone who is visiting this area from the South whom you can recommend to talk with students. Also, occasional suggestions of ways in which our students can join with students in the South (in addition, of course, to cleaning up our own backyards) might sometime strike a responsive note.

For example, some of us have suggested to our national student Y executives that they explore the possibilities nationally of securing funds to help finance the exchange of students from various parts of the country at our nine regional student Y annual intercollegiate conferences. This would give many hundreds of students from North, East and West a chance to talk directly with those from the South.

Thanks once more from all of us and warm regards both to you and Mrs. Fleming.

Cordially,

Bill Davis

William J. Davis
Executive Secretary

WJD:mjb
cc: John May

A Berkeley Area Community Chest and Council Agency—Sharing in United Crusade Funds

STILES HALL

University YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

2400 BANCROFT WAY · BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA · ASHBERRY 3-6285

October 19, 1960

Dear Harold Fleming:

Our office secretary is out of the office because of illness, so I can not dictate a thank you which I intended to do sometime ago. However, I want to tell you how much we appreciated your good message and thought you would be interested in the Daily Cal story.

Thanks again. — Cecil Thomas

Daily Californian

MONARCH OF THE COLLEGE DAILIES

Vol. 174 | Berkeley, California, Tuesday, October 4, 1960 | No. 16

—Photo by Paul Kagan

HAROLD FLEMMING

Bulletin

St. John Dixon has been admitted to San Jose State University, it was announced last night in a call from San Jose to Bruce Payne, NSA area director for the far west. Dixon was expelled from Alabama State University last semester for his activities in student sit-in demonstrations.

Student Sit-ins Challenge Southern 'White Supremacy'

A spontaneous student protest of racial conditions in the South has challenged Southern "white supremacy" more than has any recent battle in United States courts of law.

Student sit-ins, "protests, student led and student carried out," have been as important on a psychological level in the South, as the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 was on a legal level, said Harold Fleming in a speech here yesterday.

Fleming, a member of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners working for improved race relations, addressed an audience of approximately 400 at noon in 11 Wheeler Hall.

'INTERRACIAL ETIQUETTE'

The student sit-ins, Fleming explained, broke a tradition of soft spoken "interracial etiquette," the excessive politeness between whites and Negroes concerning their racial problems, by openly challenging discrimination at lunch counters.

Up to the time of the sit-ins, persons interested in solving the conflicts of racial interests had been confined to a "legal chess game" in American courts, Fleming said. The sit-in demonstrations gave to the American Negro and sympathetic whites a battleground outside the courts.

"The sit-ins were an act of self discovery," he said. After the wire services picked up the story of the Greensborough demonstrations, college students adopted the sit-ins as their means of expression.

'SPONTANEOUS'

"Our observations of the movement indicate," Fleming added, "that the wave of sit-in demonstrations which swept the South was 'spontaneous.' No civil liberties group could have planned and executed such a movement," he said.

The movement, he said, brought to Southern whites the "nightmare" of a challenge to traditional white leadership. Their chief aim, he added, is to prevent the movement from becoming a widespread one. "The only way of maintaining the status quo" in such an event, would be the establishment of a police state.

But such an act of repression would be impracticable, he noted. The South is attempting to encourage the movement of Northern industry into the South. No industry would enter the South if such conditions prevailed.

Furthermore, a large percentage of the buyers in the South are Negroes.

RELATIVELY SUCCESSFUL

The sit-in movement has been relatively successful, Fleming declared. "About 45 cities desegregated their lunch counters in eight months." Compare that record, he added, to the eight-year attempt of the Supreme Court to integrate the schools.

The final question of racial segregation and inequality will be settled, Fleming said, at the cash register. The buying market of the Negroes will be the final force motivating Southern merchants to integrate their facilities.

Describing the demonstrations themselves, Fleming said, "Non violence characterized the move-

(Continued on page 6)

'White Supremacy' in South Challenged by Student Protests

(Continued from page 1)

ment except for a few exceptions." He praised the Negro students for their poise and steadfastness in the face of brutality.

The only places where the nonviolence broke down, he added, was where college students were not involved.

The violence between rival white and Negro gangs in Jacksonville he described as "intramural" as opposed to "interracial."

STILES HALL

University YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

2400 BANCROFT WAY · BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA · ASHBERRY 3-6285

November 17, 1960

Dear Harold –

Thank you very much for your commendation of Stiles Hall. I'm not sure it's deserved, but it is encouraging to have you say it. Your work in the South seems so much more critical, challenging and difficult – especially with the news from Mississippi this week!

More power to you!

Cordially

Bill Davis

Enclosures:
See Reports...
1959 Ex. Dir Report
Congressional Record Reprint
(Stine also rec'd: 1959 Audit + Bd. List)

Rec'd $250.00 12/5/60

Mr. William M. Roth
215 Market Street, Room 818
San Francisco, California

Mr. Daniel E. Koshland
98 Battery Street
San Francisco 6, California

Rec'd $1,000.00 12/15/60

Mr. Walter A. Haas, Jr.
98 Battery Street
San Francisco, California

Mr. Charles E. Stine
Crown-Zellerbach Foundation
1 Bush Street
San Francisco, California

Mrs. Madeleine Haas Russell
3778 Washington Street
San Francisco, California

Add to Friends List

Mrs. Suelzberger Nov. 1960
Mrs. Meyer " "

via air mail

December 27, 1960

Mr. Walter A. Haas, Jr.
President
Levi Strauss and Company
98 Battery Street
San Francisco 6, California

Dear Mr. Haas:

Returning to the office today after some days' absence, I was deeply pleased to find your letter of December 13 and the generous contribution approved by the Trustees of the Levi Strauss Foundation.

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council, this is to express our gratitude to the Foundation for much-needed support of the Council's work. Let me also add a word of personal thanks to you and to Mr. Koshland for your kindness and help in this matter.

You and the other Trustees may be sure that these funds will make possible very concrete efforts to rid the South of racial barriers. At the moment, we are putting into final form our analysis and recommendations for executive action by the new administration; I think you will be interested in this attempt to put Southern problames in national perspective, and will see that you receive a copy.

With personal regards and every good wish for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

LEVI STRAUSS AND COMPANY

98 BATTERY STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 6

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

December 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Trustees of the Levi Strauss Foundation do not meet regularly so your letter of October 18 did not come to their attention until a recent meeting held a few days ago. We are happy to enclose a check for $1,000 in support of the work you are doing which we hope will help towards the added activities which you have undertaken. On the other hand we cannot make any commitment at the present time for additional support in the future.

$1,000.00 CR
12/14/60
RHA

It was a great pleasure for both Mr. Koshland and myself to meet you when you were out here and he joins me in sending you best wishes for the Holiday Season.

Sincerely,

W. A. Haas, Jr.

Walter A. Haas, Jr.
President

Enclosure

SINCE 1850

THE TOWN HALL, INC.

A Non-Profit Educational Institution founded in 1894

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Director — Education

WILLIAM R. TRAUM
Director — Radio and TV

HAROLD RIEGELMAN
General Counsel

July 14, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are all very much pleased that you will join us on AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR, on Tuesday, August 17, when we do our program on THE NEW CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION. As you know, the program is being done for the annual convention of the Delta Sigma Theta sorority here in New York, and the other speakers are Dr. Robert C. Weaver and Dr. Roma Gans.

The enclosed memorandum will give you all the details of the broadcast.

The program opens with a basic statement by each speaker, two minutes in length, giving his position, followed by a general discussion among you along the lines agreed upon at the speakers' meeting. This continues for about twenty minutes, after which there are questions from the audience for the balance of the program. Air time is 9 to 9:45 P.M.

The speakers' meeting will be held at dinner, at 6:30, on the evening of the 17th, here at the Town Hall Club, 123 W. 43 Street, New York City.

I would appreciate your letting me have a copy of the statement you plan to make by August 10. I have asked the other speakers for theirs at the same time, and as soon as I get all three, I shall send you each copies of the others'.

We pay a fee of $100 plus your expenses for your appearance on the program.

All of us are looking forward to this broadcast.

Sincerely,

Harriet C. Halsband

Harriet C. Halsband
Program Director
America's Town Meeting of the Air

AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Memorandum to HAROLD C. FLEMING

Program Date August 17, 1954 **City** New York

Auditorium St. Marks Methodist Church **Address** 49 Edgecombe Avenue

Originating Station WABC **ABC Network, Coast to Coast**

Program Auspices and/or Sponsorship DELTA SIGMA THETA

Subject:

THE NEW CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION

Other Speaker(s):

ROBERT C. WEAVER, Director John Hay Whitney Foundation
Roma Gans, Professor of Education, Teachers College

Moderator:

James F. Murray, Jr.

PLEASE RUSH two glossy photographs (preferably 8 x 10) and two copies of your latest biographical sketch to Miss Jane Alden, The Town Hall, Inc., 123 West 43rd Street, New York 36, N. Y. **We also will appreciate prompt return of the enclosed postal card, advising us of your transportation arrangements.**

We will send within a few days a list of background questions and issues which are simply suggestions of points that may arise during the program. If you have other ideas you would like to include, please feel free to do so.

SPEAKERS' CONFERENCE

In order that we may be assured of a well-rounded program, the speakers are asked to meet ahead of time with the moderator and production staff. **The speakers' conference is scheduled at** 6:30 p.m., in The Town Hall Club, 123 W. 43 Street, NYC
Please ask for Miss Halsband upon your arrival.

A preliminary meeting begins 30 to 45 minutes before air time. The speakers do not participate in this. The program goes on the air at 9 PM There are no prepared speeches. The first half of the program is devoted to comments and questions between the moderator and the speakers to bring out the basic viewpoints. The remaining time is used for questions from the audience.

~~A reservation has been made for you at~~

~~Tickets: Please let us know if you would like us to reserve tickets for the program~~

~~Other Forums: Since many discussion programs schedule the same subject and often the same speaker, we would sincerely appreciate it if you would not accept invitations from other national forums for your appearance on "America's Town Meeting"~~

Harriet Halsband

December 2, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF, CENTRAL OFFICE

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL

During my absence December 3-10, 1954, Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director, is requested to serve as Acting Executive Director.

HCF
GTH
FBR
MET
KS
AH
RF
RA
EAB

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

6 Dec 55

HCF: URGENT

1. This is the proposed Dec. Newsletter.
2. Any changes or additions you might wish to make are o.k.
3. GSM has seen it; o.k.'d it.
4. Please have Marge mimeo it and have the girls get it out –
5. I am off to Ala. & Fla.
6. Will see you Monday.
7. Have a martini for me; I'll have one for you.

FBR.

Newsletter Cover!

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
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NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

February 10, 1956

Gramercy Park Hotel

New York, New York

Please reserve two single rooms for undersigned and M.A. Wright for Wednesday, February 15. Wire confirmation collect.

Harold C. Fleming,
SRC
63 Auburn Av. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Y-TEEN SPRING CAMP
April 28-29, 1956
Camp Highland

Theme: TO GROW AS A PERSON

Camp Schedule -

10:00-11:00 a.m.	Registration
11:15	Cabin meeting
11:30	Camp tour
11:45	Picnic on the rocks
12:45	Welcome in the Lodge
1:00 p.m.	Play, "Miss Peeples" in Lodge - Y-Teen Drama Workshop
1:30	Workshops:

1. Probing Prejudices, Mr. Bob Schnerderman, leader
2. Cliques, Sororities, Fraternities, and You, Rev. B. C. Speers
3. The effect of the Supreme Court Decision on You, leader, Mr. Harold Fleming

HCF spoke 4-28-56

2:30	Snack time
3:00	Alternate workshops
4:00	Sports, recreation, committee meetings and loafing. The Book Store will be open. Your club will be assigned a time to come. Please come only during your club's designated time.
5:30	Banquet
6:30	Song fest of Y-Teen favorites
7:00	Business meeting (Election of Interclub Council Officers)
7:45	Film "High Wall", discussion afterwards
8:30	Singing films
10:00	Worship "Unto the Least of These", Y-Teen Drama Workshop

SUNDAY MORNING

8:00 a.m.	get up
8:30	breakfast
9:30	Rumor Clinic
11:30	Worship - Dr. Harrison McMains
12:00	Dinner, Evaluation afterwards

CAMP COMMITTEE

Cecelia Griffis (Chairman)	Decatur
Betty Lou Hulme	Russell
Sybil Basler	Brown Senior
Jerry Prater	O'Keefe Junior
Patty Pattilo	North Fulton
Cindy Sinclair	Grady

Colors of camp - pink and white
Programs on a human relations theme

Committees

Snack Bar	- North Fulton	
Arrangements	- Brown	Sports - Hapeville or Decatur
Decorations	- Bass	Entertainment - Southwest

TENTATIVE PLANS - Y-TEEN SUMMER PROGRAM

MARCH 27th, 1956
Dean Jones

For approval of Teen-Age Program Committee

June 18-25 SUMMER CONFERENCE AT HOMASSASSA SPRINGS, FLORIDA, A reality with Thirteen Y-Teen Delegates.

APPROXIMATELY MIDDLE OF JUNE TO MIDDLE OF JULY ONCE A WEEK SESSIONS WITH ALL Y-Teen presidents or vice presidents and Interclub Council Officers.

WEEKLY SESSIONS DESIGNED TO ACQUAINT THEM WITH Y-TEEN GOALS, THE YWCA AND THE COMMUNITY.

NECESSARY TO ARRANGE CAR OR BUS TRANSPORTATION. GIRLS WILL BRING OWN LUNCH AND BY COKES.

June 28

FIRST DAY: THOROUGH COVERAGE OF CENTRAL YWCA AND INTERVIEWS WITH STAFF AND BOARD. LUNCH IN PATIO.

July 5

IF IT CAN BE ARRANGED, DRIVE TO CAMP HIGHLAND FOR A TOUR AND SWIM.

SECOND DAY: GO TO PHYLLIS WHEATLEY TO MEET STAFF AND Y-TEEN CABINET. TOUR ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES AND HAVE INTERVIEW WITH DR. RUFUS CLEMENT.

July 12

TOUR RESIDENTIAL SECTION IN PHYLLIS WHEATLEY COMMUNITY AND HAVE PICNIC LUNCH AT PHYLLIS WHEATLEY.

THIRD DAY: VISIT THE JUVENILE COURT AND HAVE INTERVIEW WITH JUDGE WOOLFOLK. VISIT ATLANTA BOYS' CLUB AND GIRLS' CLUB. HAVE LUNCH THERE.

VISIT THE TEMPLE AND CHRIST THE KING CATHEDRAL WITH MRS. HARRY GERSHON AND MRS. KARL BEVINS, MEMBER YWCA BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

July 19

IF TIME, GO TO MY HOUSE FOR REFRESHMENTS AND DISCUSSION.

FOURTH DAY: VISIT THE ATLANTA ART ASSOCIATION. IF POSSIBLE, HAVE MRS. GRANGER HANSELL, YWCA NATIONAL BOARD NUMBER, PRESENT.

DRIVE TO HELEN SEYDEL'S FOR SWIMMING AND LUNCH.

HAVE MEMBERS OF TEEN-AGE COMMITTEE PRESENT AND ASSIGN EACH ONE TO A GROUP OF PRESIDENTS WITH WHOM SHE WILL WORK NEXT YEAR.

LATER IN AFTERNOON, HAVE MRS. GEORGE DOUGLAS, STAFF MEMBER WORKING WITH INTERNATIONAL CLUB, BRING SOME INTERNATIONAL CLUB MEMBERS AND HAVE MEMBER OF WORLD FELLOWSHIP COMMITTEE EXPLAIN WORLD FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM AND TRIP.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fullrate telegram	
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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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			Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Atlanta, Ga.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DAY LETTER

May 9, 1956

Biltmore Hotel
43rd & Madison Avenue
New York City

PLEASE RESERVE MINIMUM RATE SINGLE ROOM MAY 16 17 18. WIRE CONFIRMATION COLLECT.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVENUE

HAROLD FLEMING

JC
Please return
HCF

File

May 15, 1956

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

In Marion Wright's letter to me of April 17th, he included item 5, which I now notify to you:

NEW SOUTH

a) Symposium of college press.
b) Quotes from Southern statesmen on public schools.
c) Development of parallel between old KKK & Citizens Councils.
d) Increased distribution.
   1. Display & sale at religious, educational & other meetings -- particularly, summer assemblies.
   2. Assignment of one staff member to task of increasing distribution.
e) Article on cost to states of suits.

I have told him that I thought lobby display was at too high an overhead cost, and as to putting a staff member on the best we could do was to all work together on it.

Also said you are eager to do the item on cost of suits to states, but couldn't find much dope.

Also, Marion Wright gave item 7 as follows:

PAMPHLETS

a) Integration of PTAs showing
   1. Where it has been done
   2. How " " " "
   3. With what results
b) Integration of teacher groups
c) How women may help
   Church
   Club
   Home Demonstration

I will notify item 7 to Mrs. Tilly.

eab/

FSL

① Fund-raising — full-time staffer (GSM to see Hoskins + Pickett). Find candidate.

② Re F for R — for SRC + So. in general.

③ Retreat for conf of clergymen — Oscar Lee

④ Conf. w/ Soc. action people in denominations.

⑤ Ransom-Louisville to do quickie on Bible & Race? Write Freeman if he wants us to encourage.

FSL back Labor Day

① Elder
② NPA?
③ Anthony
④ Voting
⑧ Hammer

M E M O R A N D U M

July 20, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

SUBJECT: Vacation

I am planning to take off two weeks - August 6th through the 17th. I hope this is satisfactory with you.

John Constable also made tentative vacation plans which would involve an overlapping of our absences during the week of August 13th. I have checked your schedule with Elizabeth Brantley and I have checked Fred's. I find with the exception of your absence on August 13th and 14th you are scheduled in the office for both weeks, and Fred expects to be solidly present, baring something unforeseen. Both Florence and Yvonne will be here. In view of these circumstances, what do you think of John's being out during the second week of my vacation?

OK
GSM.

HCF:mbo

August 10, 1956

Harold,

Proofs (at my insistance) of [redacted] revised "Answers for Action" did come back on Thursday. Did page layout. There was only enough copy to fill 16 pages and that was with the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision and the "For Further Reading." I did not see much sense in [redacted] stretching 16 pages to 32 since that would mean a terrific lot of white space.

I've asked that the page proofs be returned to you for approval. Please check and change anything needing change. Additional proofreading required [redacted] will be errors on original and the entire section of the Court decision. I made up two back covers. I suppose you should emphasize to Mr. Snell that there is to be 5,000 copies for each of the back covers. I left the price at 20¢ [redacted] subject to your [redacted] approval or disapproval.

Again, Mr. Snell should be told about the [redacted] addition to the map and the fact that it goes in the front and not the back.

Have been giving Mildred little items to include in your [redacted] "welcome home" packet.

Hope you are all rested and ready for the continued bombardment.

See ya soon.

JC

August 14 -

HCF

Mr. Arthur Miller of Emory phoned.

He asked for Mr. Edward Reed's address and wants you to know that he has sent his manuscript to the Cornell University Press and a copy to Mr. Reed.

mbo

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

August 23, 1956

HCF:

Somebody told me that the Alabama Law Review did a helpful article on "Can Public Schools be Private?" Author one James Murphy. Came out about the time of the Tuscaloosa troubles.

GSM/eab

M E M O R A N D U M

August 24, 1956

FROM: GSM

TO: HCF

A queer Japanese lady - Mrs. Ai Kumi arrives tomorrow in Atlanta hunting for us. I'm giving the elevator girl a note. Kumi has only the office number of SRC. Mitchell's home number is not listed but I told Kumi in a letter that if Kumi could not get up anybody to try to get up Fred Routh or Harold Fleming - - so if strange gurgles come over the telephone you will know. (Mitchell's - Dearborn 5961).

10/3/56
11 A.M.

HCF:

Morton Elder was in. He has finished the travel end of his survey and will start working on his report. Unless you prefer that he bring it in and so let him know - he will mail it to you in 10 days (the 10th).

mbo

10/5/56
4:40 PM Friday

HCF:

A Mr. Shanley phoned. Said he had talked to you before about interracial matters and was particularly anxious to get some information on Negro voting to incorporate in a talk he is giving early Monday morning at one of the local schools.

I connected him with Florence Irving.

Florence asked me to relay the information that Mr. Shanley was coming down to see her and she would give him what information she could - and would ask him to phone you again early next week re other questions she was unable to answer.

mbo

P.S. Florence left her phone number in N.C. with me should you need to contact her for any reason. Otherwise, she will return to the office on the 27th.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

October 9, 1956

HCF:

Sadly now time again for a quarterly report -- past time.

I think we have about worked out the vein of roundups of information activities.

Could you do some summarizing of public opinion situation in the South, plus some notions about suitable areas of counter measure? I wouldn't be specific at all.

GSM

eab/

MEMORANDUM

October 11, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF

RE: Essay on Information for Quarterly Report

The State of Public Opinion

Few people who read the newspapers doubt that the "climate of opinion" with respect to desegregation has worsened in the South -- and for that matter in the whole country. It is commonly assumed that this negativism (or defeatism in the case of integrationists) is the result of a spontaneous grass-roots rebellion against the Supreme Court's edict. This is a big -- and unhelpful -- oversimplification. True, a majority of white Southerners, if they had their ruthers, would prefer segregation; true the raw material of prejudice and anxiety is plentiful in the white South; true, the South has, as always, a fanatical fringe ready to seize on an excuse for violence.

But none of this means that what happened was inevitable, or that there need be a lot more of it from now on. The neglected factor is leadership. As Louisville School Superintendent Carmichael pointed out on "Face the Nation," if Virginia had had the right kind of leadership, Richmond could have done what Louisville has done.

There needs to be much more thoughtful consideration of how "climates of opinion" are formed. Generally speaking, rank-and-file people take their cues from those in positions of authority, influence, and power: public officials, top political figures, preachers, educators, newspaper editors, business and industrial leaders, and so on. Nor is the Southern "climate" purely a result of Southern opinion leadership. National prestige figures

and nation-wide mass media are also potent. (For evidence, consider the expensive and extensive efforts of Southern segregationists to project their viewpoint to the "North.")

There also needs to be more recognition of the complexity of opinion and attitude on race. Most people hold no simple, single-minded, coherent opinion on the subject; rather they have a number of vague, shifting, often contradictory notions of what their position should be. For example, I think it is safe to say that most white Southerners believe (1) that segregation is "best for both races"; (2) that the law should be respected; (3) that the public schools should be preserved; (4) that the Negro should have an "equal chance"; (5) that the South shouldn't appear benighted and bigoted to "outsiders"; (6) that Negroes don't want integration; (7) that Negroes will "take advantage" of whites under integration. This list of "beliefs" for any given individual could be greatly extended. What passes as public opinion at any given time reflects the depth, intensity, and balance of the various notions at the moment. And this, in turn, depends on how the situation is defined by those whose words are regarded as authoritative.

SRC's Information Program

Over the years, SRC has tried to exert a favorable influence on the balance between positive and negative elements in Southern public opinion. We haven't been so arrogant as to assume that we could alone have much effect on so vast a problem. And, as the challenge grows, we are even more convinced that simply dealing with the press and other public media ourselves is only a small part of our task. As an agency working and thinking full-time about

Southern race relations, we can usefully "cue" journalists, other agencies, and key individuals to effective opinion approaches. We have been doing some of this job, but we could and should do considerably more. The methods we are now using are generally sound, as far as they go; they can be quickly characterized as follows:

(1) Press relations. One of our strongest assets is such reputation as we have achieved for being a reliable center of information and interpretation for newspapermen and other writers. By supplying honest facts and analysis, rather than "loaded" propaganda, we can reach individuals whose writings reach millions.

(2) Television. Here is a medium on which we need to concentrate more of our thought and effort. A certain amount can be done through direct approaches to local TV stations. But because of the unusual sensitivity of television to the perils of "controversy," the local approach is severely limited in the areas of greatest need. In this respect, the centralization of the TV industry is an asset. Network programs that reach into every corner of the South are conceived and executed in New York and Los Angeles. We would be short-sighted indeed if we did not find more ways to develop our stake in nationally originated TV treatments of race relations.

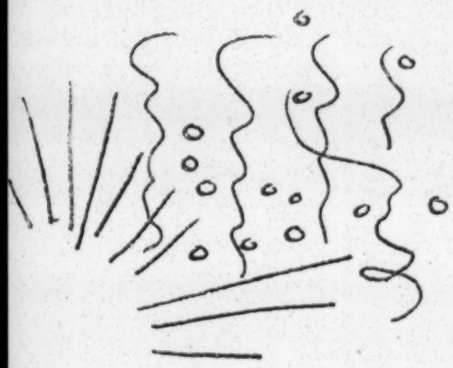
(3) Publications. The SRC has never gone in for random or "shotgun" pamphleteering, and the present situation encourages this approach less than ever. Rather, we need to do an even more effective "rifleshot" job with our publications -- that is, putting the right material into the hands of the right people. We have fairly consistently sought to develop special articles, pamphlets, and leaflets that would carry weight with opinion makers in various interest groups -- religious, economic, journalistic, educational, professional, and the like. Our greatest need in this area is to improve and

extend our channels of distribution.

(4) Special Fact-Finding. This should be distinguished from "research" (in both its academic and its popular usage) which has fallen into disrepute among action-minded people as being an abstract art. Our object is to assemble - and disseminate - specific bodies of fact that (a) make possible a diagnosis of practical problems and (b) point the way to effective remedies. Thus we seek to document recent Southern industrialization as a basis for persuasive economic arguments for desegregation - arguments that will command respect from economic leadership. Similarly we document the status of Negro voters in the South in order to focus attention on this vital key to progress and to guide the shaping of national policies to protect the ballot. In the case of the desegregation study, our aim was to contribute to a revival of confidence in the inevitability and workability of integration. The possibilities and effectiveness of this kind of strategic fact-finding are very great, provided we do an adequate job of disseminating the findings.

(5) Clearinghouse. The SRC is looked to by a host of organizations and key individuals for counsel. By giving this function more staff time and skill we can greatly increase the outreach of SRC's information and insights. In this way we can enlarge our contribution to the effort to bring all of the nation's positive resources to bear on the urgent domestic problems of segregation and discrimination.

HCF:mbo



Feel Free

VOL. II, No. 7 Friday, November 9, 1956 P. & P.

FLASH: For those of you who don't have time to read the juicy items on the bulletin board (called a wall by some people) this is to inform you that Marilyn Rubin won the electoral poll pool to the tune of $6.25. And this is all we have to say about that particular event.

NOTICE TO STAFF: The second "buzz session" on World Politics will be held this morning (Friday) at 11:15 in the Conference Room. The Southern Regional Council has been kind enough to lend us their Harold Fleming, the renowned author and lecturer to be our Discussion Leader for this session. Maybe we could put the night lines up?

Maybe our West Coast office isn't in Hollywood - but to us Easterners it sounds more glamorous than PASADENA - where it is!

HARVEY is hurt because HARVEY's name so seldom gets into "Feel Free." So it's with a great deal of glee that we report HARVEY is planning an open house party for all at HARVEY's new apartment.

Welcome to Marilyn Meisel, Mr. Lyford's new secretary!

How about a "Letter to the Editor" column - one letter to be published each week, the writer of the letter chosen each week for publication to receive two free tickets to a top television show? Reaction, please.

And - for Christmas - which seems to be sneaking up on us, how about the Officers taking over publication of one issue and "Feel Free" to do unto the staff what the staff has been doing unto you?

We were all so pleased to hear that Frank was well enough to leave the hospital. Of course he'll have to recupe at home for a while but the doctors are quite satisfied with his progress. Write, phone, visit!

Barbara is studying handwriting analysis - and this editor reads tea leaves. We're thinking of setting up shop in the lounge between the hours of 12:30 and 1:30 for all those who might be interested in looking into the future if there is one.

We are proud to announce that Merrie Beane was just appointed to the Board of Directors of the National Hospital for Speech Disorders in addition to being head of the Women's Auxiliary of that organization. Nice work, Merrie!

M's admirer

Happy birthday Win!!!

HCF'S whereabouts in New York, Nov. 7-9, so far as known:

Staying at Commodore Hotel

Wed., Nov. 7, 11-1:30 AM -- Fund for the Republic

2:00 - ? -- American Jewish Committee
Office of Allie Bernheim

Thurs., Nov. 8, 10:00 AM - until late afternoon - ADL, offices of Arnold Forster and Oscar Cohen

Fri., Nov. 9 -- Exact schedule unknown; leave message at hotel.

July 12, 1957

RECEIVED 18 1957

Hi Harold!

We tried to apply your advice about fixing up the back seat of the car for the Muff, but by the time we got through putting things into the car trunk and the overflow into the back seat there was no room for the Muff. However, he weathered the trip with much more finesse than his mother and father.

Colorado is nice, I like it! From any window of our apartment we can see the mountains and, while the weather has been mostly hot since we've been here, I find that the climate agrees with me as long as I stay out of the hot sun. Fourth of July we made our second trip to the mountains and I took pictures galore in anticipation of having visible evidence to supply to all of you at SRC. Not a single one came out! I shall try again next time.

I did enjoy the records, which you folk gave me, during the short while I had to listen to them, and look forward upon my return to Atlanta and my phonograph to many hours of ~~enjoyment~~ musical therapy. Sure did hate to leave those things behind. Thanks very much.

We have had quite a bit of difficulty with the car, since we've been here. The altitude seems not to agree with "Daisy June" at all. I think, though, that we have just about got it licked, or should have, as many times as E. J. has had it "worked on." We have not yet put the "jets" on -- whatever they are -- but everybody says that that is what we need to do, so I guess we will.

I hope you have completely recovered from the "bug" and that you have not piled another one on under the pressure of overwork. I know that things must be going along smoothly at the office.

I send you these two clippings about the Civil Rights Institute at the University. I have not seen more, but I confess that while I do read the paper more than I had time to in Atlanta, I still haven't developed to the point where I must read it all every day.

So long and best wishes,

Always,

Liz

1.30 +13 $1.43

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Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
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NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

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			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

August 2, 1957

HAROLD C. FLEMING
6220 MIDNIGHT PASS ROAD
SARASOTA, FLORIDA

HUNH. HUNH. PLEASE ADVISE.

THE STAFF

The telegram was much appreciated even if it did throw Western Union into utter confusion. Hunk-hunk, indeed.

We're installed - all 10 of us - in a wonderful, vast old house in a beautiful setting. Seems to be monsoon season and one is constantly tripping over the four little ones. But all this is offset by plenty of refreshments, whodunnits, and occasional flashes of sunlight long enough to permit surf-bathing. Biggest change is that the phone has only rung once so far - what could be less like SRC?

Appreciated FBR's heartening report. If I stay away long enough, maybe all the problems will get solved. Cheers + best wishes all around.

H.

FJ.22—GENERAL FLORIDA JUMBO SCENE FROM KODACHROME
PHOTO BY ED LAGERBERG

FLORIDA'S SUNSHINE SKYWAY

150.5 feet above ocean-going Liner Channel, connecting Pinellas County with Manatee and Sarasota Counties, across lower Tampa Bay. A continuation of the Gulf Coast Scenic Highway.

ARTECHROME® AT-CRESTON FROM COLOR TRANSPARENCY. REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

Jumbo Post Card

The Staff
S.R.C.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED AUG 7 1957

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

August 21, 1957

To: RHA

While I was in Sarasota, I made two personal calls charged to my credit card. One of these was to Atlanta, the other to Clearwater, Florida. When these are billed, please let me know so that I can reimburse the Council.

HCF

TENTATIVE AGENDA
(Subject to Change in Order and Time)

Briefing Conference
Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.
January 22-25, 1958

January 22

10:30 A.M.	Prayer	
	Purpose of The Briefing Conference	Thelma Stevens
	Devotional Message	Dr. Will Campbell
	A listing of questions commonly heard in church and community groups Discussion Leader - Miss Dorothy Height	
Lunch		
2:00-4:00 P.M.		
	Background Address	Harold Fleming
	Topic - Barriers To Communication and Their Causes Discussion Leader - Miss Dorothy Height	
7:00-9:00 P.M.	To be determined	

January 23

8:30-10:30 A.M.		
	Address: The Bible and Race	Dr. Claude H.Thompson
	Discussion	
10:30-11:00A.M.	Recess	
11:00-12:00	Discussion	
Lunch		
2:00-4:00 P.M.		
	Address - Law and Social Change Discussion	Morris Abrams
Dinner		
7:00-9:00 P.M.		
	Address - Sense and Nonsense About Race Discussion	Dr. Ina Corinne Brown

January 24

8:30-10:30 A.M.	Discussion Period Resource Leader - Miss Dorothy Height (A review and discussion of questions raised at the first session and some possible answers in the light of previous background discussions.)
Recess	
11:00-12:00	Discussion of responsibilities of the five regional committees as they make plans for Regional Consultations
Lunch	
2:00-4:00 P.M.	Meeting of five Regional Committees
7:00-9:00 P.M.	Address: World Implications of Race Issues in U.S.A. Discussion Leader - Margaret R. Bender

January 25

8:30-10:30 A.M.	Five Regional Committees meet for further planning.
10:45-12:00	Reports and Evaluation of Plans for Consultation
12:00-12:15 P.M.	Closing Worship - Led by Mrs. M. E. Tilly

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 17, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Fred and I have considered your request for suggestions concerning your possible appearance before the House Judiciary Committee. Since there is a question of specific legislation involved, I am taking the precaution of writing you in a personal rather than official capacity. The following are some general points, which have no doubt already occurred to you and which you can develop much more fully and persuasively than I can attempt to do here:

(1) The proposed act, in its general features, is laudable in that it proposes a constructive and preventive approach, rather than a punitive one. The punitive spirit is the enemy of progress in this field, as some of the Southern state acts have demonstrated all too well. It behooves the National Government to act in a spirit of magnanimity and concern only for the well being of the Nation and its citizens.

(2) Regrettably lacking in the debate over desegregation has been statesmanlike advocacy in terms of the national welfare. There is no gainsaying the fact that desegregation is essential to the nation's interest at home and abroad. Recognition of this fact would come most appropriately and most persuasively from leaders in our National Government. The proposed act, which directly invokes the national welfare arguments, would encourage those who are confused or reluctant, to abandon their personal prejudices in favor of broader considerations. The act, if passed, would for the first time clearly establish our national policy as one of full enjoyment of equal rights for all citizens. Such an affirmation is sorely needed.

(3) The proposed surveys, conferences, and technical services which the Department of Health, Welfare and Education would be authorized to render would do much to distinguish those desegregation

problems that arise from social and economic conditions from problems that are racial in character. Popular myth now grievously confuses the former with the latter. Authoritative study and appropriate specialists could do much to dispell this confusion.

(4) The services and guidance of this branch of the Executive Department would also serve to clarify the large areas of uncertainty left by the court's decisions. The courts, by their very nature can do little more than establish legal principle; the translation of this principle into practice must be left to others. Up to now, the other two branches of government have done little to fulfill this responsibility.

(5) As matters now stand in resistant areas of the South, the onus of initiating action for compliance with court rulings and the protection of equal rights rests entirely on private individuals. Taking such action, these individuals subject themselves to harsh penalties, exacted not only by private groups but also by hostile public officials. The proposed act would relieve this situation through two of its provisinns: that empowering the Attorney General to take preventive civil action in equal protection cases, and that empowering the Secretary of the Department of Health, Welfare and Education to initiate desegregation plans where local officials refuse to act.

(6) The defiant states have all taken official action to prevent communities within their boundaries from exercising local self determination on school desegregation. One of the most stringent methods so used is that of providing for the withdrawal of state funds from any school system which should elect to comply with a desegregation order - or, for that matter, to proceed voluntarily to desegregate its schools. The proposed act would relieve this oppressive situation by providing funds to replace any state aid that might be withdrawn. Thus, all communities which wished to conform to the law of the land would be free of the restraints now placed upon them by state governments. Financial aid would also be provided for communities where desegregation is retarded by the lack of adequate school buildings or equipment. This would have the wholesome effect of rewarding rather than punishing a needy community for fulfilling its constitutional obligations to all its citizens.

(7) Finally, it should be noted that the proposed act makes every allowance for proper state action and local initiative in making the transition from segregated schools. The provisions of the act become operative in a situation only when a state or community cannot or will not take appropriate action of its own volition and with its own resources. Thus, the principle of states' rights, properly construed, would not be jeopardized by passage of the act. The individual rights secured by the United States Constitution are the proper concern of the Federal Government; if, for whatever reason, they are not protected by the state, it is incumbent on the several branches of the Federal Government to take appropriate action to that end.

I hope these observations will be of some help to you. We are working on an estimated budget for the proposed institute on race relations and foreign affairs. I will write you a seconnd letter about that, later today or tomorrow.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF/mf

July 2, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Chief:

Two items. I just can't wait! Now let's see, what were they?

(1) It seems to me that the reactions to the recent happenings in Little Rock make this an appropriate time for an SRC news release round-up of positive accomplishments. Perhaps even direct comparisons between situations such as Louisville and Little Rock might be made - i.e., the roll of leadership and committment of leadership to law and order. In any case some piece that is directed at the feeling that desegregation doesn't work, or the courts are wavering, or the courts didn't know what they were getting into, would be useful.

(2) I am told by Ted Brown of the National AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and others that a number of cases involving voting rights have been filed with the Commission on Civil Rights. The ones that Ted knows of were handled by Clarence Mitchell. Ted had some hand in them. He insisted that they were specific cases and were properly drawn. Incidently, a great number of people have been talking with the Commission staff.

You perhaps have seen that the SCRS is losing Don, and a guy by the name of Ball will replace him. Ball's son is covering the Fisk Institute for the Tennessean. He seems like a real good egg and friendly as well.

Eugene Wyatt, Associate Director of the Race Relations Law Reporter, performed for the Labor Seminar Tuesday afternoon. He is also news editor for the Tennessean. He has been tapped to be a consultant with the Commission, along with Paul Sanders.

S and F yours,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

August 19, 1958

The Roosevelt Hotel
Madison Avenue at 45th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Would you please reserve five single rooms for the Southern Regional Council for the night of Tuesday, August 26. These will be occupied by:

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Fred Routh " "
Mrs. Bonita Valien, Nashville, Tennessee

The names of the occupants of the remaining two rooms will be sent to you in several days.

If possible, please provide a studio room or like accommodation for Mr. Fleming.

Please confirm by wire, collect.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA--BERKELEY CAMPUS

THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT

A FIRST HAND REPORT

BY- DR HAROLD FLEMING

--Outstanding Southern Leader

--Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

--Author of articles in: New Republic, Survey, The Annals

Sponsored By:

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

STUDENT CABINET OF STILES HALL (UNIVERSITY Y.M.C.A.)

STUDENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR N.A.A.C.P.

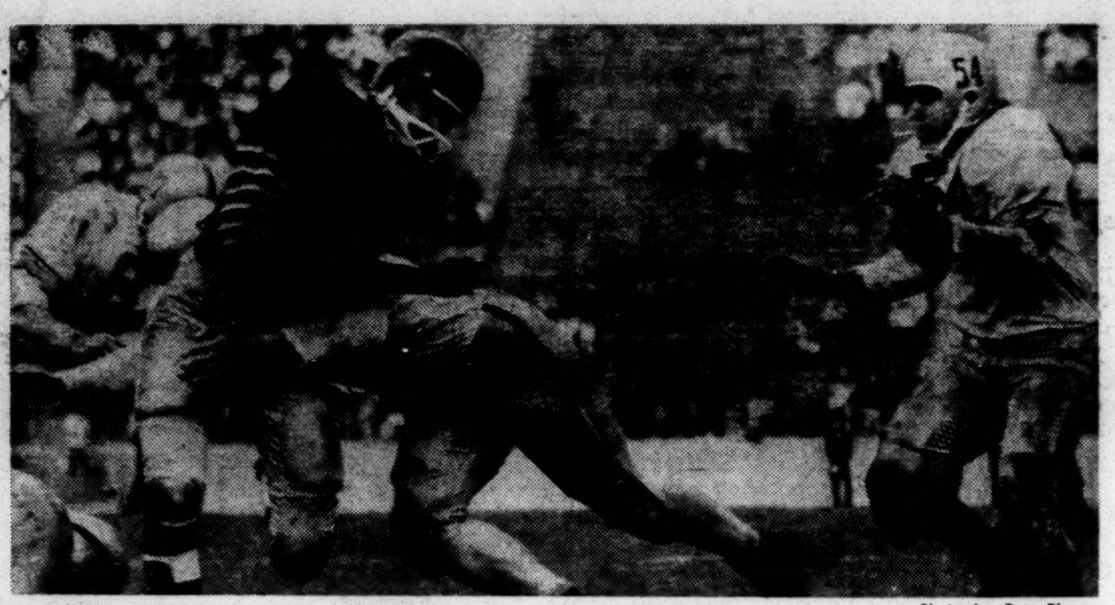
11 WHEELER HALL

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3

12:00-1:00 PM

Jack Vietz

1960



—Photo by Dan Bloom

KICKOFF RETURN . . . Randy Gold returns Blanda's fourth quarter boot after Army touchdown, 13 yards to the California 27. Moving up to aid teammate is George Joulwan (54), who two plays later recovered a California fumble.

Cal Learns Fast; Game Lasts Hour

By JOSH EPPINGER

For the third time in as many weeks, the California Bears learned that football is a 60 minute game.

Hanging on to a 10-6 lead with nine minutes and 16 seconds remaining in the game, the Bears became victims of a sudden Army salvo which rang up 22 points in some 10 minutes to win handily, 28-10.

But the final score was not indicative of the game which was witnessed by a crowd of some 51,000 fans in Memorial Stadium on a bleak and gray Saturday afternoon.

The fact still remains that Cal is a young and growing ball club. The Bears were still in the game after Army's fourth quarter go-ahead touchdown, which came about on a Tom Blanda pass to George Kirschenbauer, the Army's sick halfback.

There were still eight and one half minutes to play when Steve Bates returned Blanda's kickoff 22 yards to the Cal 37 to launch what thousands of Bears' rooters believed would be the game winning drive.

The Cadets, who were gobbling up Randy Gold time and again on rollouts immediately put the Bears in a tough spot when Al Rushatz, a highly valuable fullback all afternoon crashed through to throw the young quarterback for a six yard loss.

PULLS A SWITCH

Randy switched to the drop back passes and hit Dave George for 11 and Steve Bates for five on successive downs. The measurement showed Cal to be about 12 inches short of a first down.

With the Cal rooting section reaching its highest pitch of the season, George Pierovich crunched his way over for the first, but glee turned to glumness as the play was nullified by an offside penalty.

CAL GAMBLES

The resultant penalty gave the Bears a fourth and five situation. Cal elected to gamble and after Gold's pass was deflected by Army's Glen Adams, that was all she wrote—for Cal.

Three plays later, Blanda rolled out to his right, threatened to run and then lofted a high pass over Steve Bates into the waiting arms of Paul Stanley, who waltzed over from the five.

PIEROVICH FUMBLES

Down 21-10, all waning hopes of winning went out the window when George Pierovich fumbled Gold's handoff on the Cal 29 and in five plays a fired-up Cadet

Daily Californian

MONARCH OF THE COLLEGE DAILIES

Vol. 174 | Berkeley, California, Monday, October 3, 1960 | No. 15

Decision on SJS Student Due Soon

A decision on whether a student expelled from a Southern college for participation in a sit-in demonstration will be admitted to San Jose State College is expected early this week.

The matter is now in the hands of Roy E. Simpson, state superintendent of public instruction.

The student, St. John Dixon, following his expulsion from Alabama State College, had been denied admission to San Jose on the grounds of his dishonorable dismissal from the previous school.

Four San Jose professors who had arranged for Dixon's transfer to the state college appealed the case to the State Attorney General's office, which, in turn, referred it to Simpson's office.

In the process it was revealed that the admission denial was

Student From Nigeria Discusses His Newly Independent Country

By SISSEL HAMRE

If there is trouble and conflict in newly-independent Nigeria, it will most likely be caused by the fact that the party that will be leading the country is the party least prepared to assume the leadership. However, such conflict may not come, and it almost certainly won't come in the near future.

These predictions were voiced by Nigerian student E. R. Dallah, who dropped in on the Daily Cal

education, they are ahead of the north.

Dallah did not think that the kind of trouble the Congo has had since its independence will occur in Nigeria. The Congo's troubles have often been blamed on the Belgians' failure to adequately prepare the Congolese for self-government.

COLONIAL POLICY

This, however, is not the case in Nigeria. The colonial policy of the British has been to gradually

sory for everyone yet, because the country simply does not have adequate facilities. But progress is being made quickly. In the western province, education is now free up to the eighth grade. In the other provinces youngsters attend private or missionary schools.

A new Nigerian University is being opened now to coincide with independence. It is being sponsored by the University of Michigan, and will be run on the

—Photo by Dan Bloom

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Down 21-10, all waning hopes of winning went out the window when George Pierovich fumbled Gold's handoff on the Cal 29 and in five plays a fired-up Cadet third string drove through the tired Bears with fullback George Pappas scoring from the five.

The Bears were actually impressive in the first half. They seemed to have come of age. They looked like a poised team as they drove from their own 31 to the Cadets 17, where the valuable toe of Jim Ferguson was put to use

(Continued on page 4)

Daily Californian

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The student, St. John Dixon, following his expulsion from Alabama State College, had been denied admission to San Jose on the grounds of his dishonorable dismissal from the previous school.

Four San Jose professors who had arranged for Dixon's transfer to the state college appealed the case to the State Attorney General's office, which, in turn, referred it to Simpson's office.

In the process it was revealed that the admission denial was based upon a "gentlemen's agreement" among state college presidents to deny admission to students so expelled from Southern schools. They claimed the policy was initiated to protect their schools' accreditation.

Simpson has the power to direct San Jose State President John T. Walquist to accept the Negro student.

William F. Shepard, University dean of students told the Daily Californian recently that any student with a dishonorable dismissal for participating in the sit-in demonstration can be admitted here.

However, Shepard said, no academically qualified students who were dismissed from Southern schools have yet applied.

According to the Admissions Office, any student who wishes to transfer to the University from another college or university and qualifies academically may do so. However, if that student has been dishonorably dismissed, his case must be referred to the dean of students' office.

Student From Nigeria Discusses His Newly Independent Country

By SISSEL HAMRE

If there is trouble and conflict in newly-independent Nigeria, it will most likely be caused by the fact that the party that will be leading the country is the party least prepared to assume the leadership. However, such conflict may not come, and it almost certainly won't come in the near future.

These predictions were voiced by Nigerian student E. R. Dallah, who dropped in on the Daily Californian to talk about his country on the eve of Nigerian independence. Dallah is a government-sponsored student studying public health.

Dallah explained that there is a tendency for the members of the three political parties in Nigeria to correspond to the populations of the three federal units of the country. Thus, the Northern Peoples' Congress tends to be concentrated in the north, the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons in the east and the Action Group in the west.

NORTHERN REGION

The northern region is by far the most populous, so that the NPC has the greatest number of seats in the House of Representatives, and the Prime Minister is the head of this party.

But this is also the region that has the lowest level of education, Dallah said. It is mainly Mohammedan, and the traditions of an older culture are kept alive. The western and eastern regions, on the other hand, are Christianized to a great extent, and much more Westernized. When it comes to education, they are ahead of the north.

Dallah did not think that the kind of trouble the Congo has had since its independence will occur in Nigeria. The Congo's troubles have often been blamed on the Belgians' failure to adequately prepare the Congolese for self-government.

COLONIAL POLICY

This, however, is not the case in Nigeria. The colonial policy of the British has been to gradually prepare Nigeria for independence. Dallah pointed out that Nigeria's three provinces have had self-government in internal affairs for five years. Only the federal government, which handles foreign affairs, has been in British hands during these years.

Turning to education, Dallah said that even an elementary education can not be made compulsory for everyone yet, because the country simply does not have adequate facilities. But progress is being made quickly. In the western province, education is now free up to the eighth grade. In the other provinces youngsters attend private or missionary schools.

A new Nigerian University is being opened now to coincide with independence. It is being sponsored by the University of Michigan, and will be run on the principle of American land grant colleges. The President of the University of Michigan is helping establish this new university, but eventually it will be run by Nigerians.

In the first years of its existence, the University will emphasize agriculture, economics, and the liberal arts. Gradually it will

(Continued on page 3)

Debate on 1960 Election

Socialist Blasts Both Parties

A Socialist Party member blasted both political parties Friday by recommending that the public vote for neither presidential candidate in a debate on "Liberals, Labor and the 1960 Election."

Bogden Denitch, trade unionist and Socialist party member, and Carey McWilliams, associate in political science and Slate member, debated for a full house in 145 Dwinelle Hall.

In criticizing the political parties, Denitch said that no meaningful political changes are proposed by either party. He said although the Democratic civil rights plank is strong, "there is no intention of carrying out the plank."

McWilliams, speaking next, stated that "civil rights is no longer an issue in the sense that the direction of national policies is still to be determined. The questions now are how fast and when."

In answer to Denitch's condemnation of the coalition of southern conservatives with northern liberals in the Democratic party, McWilliams said, "an American political party is by its nature a coalition party." He maintained that each of these factions acted as a veto power over the others.

On the subject of colonialism, an issue that brought an attack on both parties by Denitch, McWilliams pointed to Kennedy's statements on French policy in Algeria as an anti-colonialism stand taken by the leader of one of the parties.

Denitch, in his five minute rebuttal, said, "Given countless Democratic majorities (in congress), no major social legislation has been passed since the days of the New Deal. Furthermore, no major change in the composition of Congress can be expected."

"Just so long as the Democratic party can win with the present uneasy coalition, just so long will the present balance of power rule the party, and just that long will it be before any real change in American policy can be looked for," Denitch said.

Following the formal debate, there was a short question period, with each speaker answering questions and his opponent commenting on the answers. McWilliams was asked for his opinion of a Kennedy statement that "our position in Europe is worth a nuclear war."

McWilliams felt that the pronoun "our" referred to the Western nations rather than America, and added that he is convinced that there are some things worth dying for. In comment, Denitch stated that "The choice of annihilation or communist rule should not be imposed on other nations by the U.S."

When challenged with the statement that "The alternative to Kennedy you offer would lead to the honorable Mr. Nixon being elected president," Denitch replied, "Nixon gets closer to Kennedy's position the closer he gets to the White House."

Southern Leader Discusses Sit-in Demonstrations Today

Recent developments on sit-in demonstrations in the South will be discussed at noon today in 11 Wheeler Hall by Harold C. Fleming, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners working for improved race relations.

Fleming was born in Atlanta and educated in Atlanta schools. While he was serving in the Army during World War II, he was a company commander of Negro troops on Okinawa.

He joined the staff of the Southern Regional Council in 1947 and also served on the central staff of the research project on bi-racial education in the United States sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The results of this project were reported in "The Negro and the Schools" by Harry S. Ashmore.

A magna cum laude graduate of Harvard, in English and social sciences, Fleming has contributed articles on Southern affairs to such publications as "The Reporter," "New Republic," "Survey," and "The Annals." With David Loth, Fleming wrote "Integration North and South."

Fleming's campus appearance is sponsored by Stiles Hall (University YMCA), the Department of Sociology and the Student Executive Council for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Filing Ends Today

(See Page 3)

BEARS

In 1492, Columbus discovered America! In 1960, R/A discovered Europe for the 100th time! And we came back with so many great specials that this month is October Import Special month. The first one is from England. Jolly! It's 100% lambswool sweaters. Great! Crew necks 12.95; cardigans a mere 14.95

ROOS/ATKINS

2/3/61

Mildred —

Send biog data sheet (mine) to

Mr. Everett Noland
Box 1092
Atlanta 22, Ga.

2 copies
air Mail
Geo

He also wants a picture by Sat. Feb 11. If you'll remind me I'll try to do something about this.

Photo Mailed 2-10-61

Biog sent 2-6-61

HCF

Photo to follow $2.65

HCF

HCF

March 30, 1961

Mr. & Mrs. George Wolfe
7901 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park 12, Maryland

Dear George and Bee:

The enclosed letter and release speak for themselves, but I didn't want you to learn of this change without a personal word from me.

As the enclosures suggest, the Council is in good shape and will be in excellent hands with Les Dunbar as director. My new work will keep me in close touch with both the Council and the South; it will really be an extension of many of the things I have been doing here.

In due course, I'll be sending you more information about the Washington effort -- including such still-not-resolved matters as address and telephone number. Of course, I won't be moving the family until summer and will meanwhile be commuting energetically.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Notes from 1959 and 1960 annual reports:

Community acceptance - move to downtown office building

Work with sit-in movement:

early evaluation

press reaction and tone of interpretation - front page Times

used by students and variety store executives

Florida Commission on RR distributed several hundred copies to local community leaders as background document

Followed by other reports and studies showing possible solutions

Local invitations from officials in Raleigh, Nashville, Oklahoma City and Atlanta for SRC consultants

Efforts to establish and guide citizens groups in Little Rock, Virginia Atlanta and New Orleans. Use of Lightsey and his "how-to" booklet, "Organizing to Save our Public Schools."

also on p. 2

Annual background report on school desegregation - a basic resource document

State Councils - of 12 originally established, 10 have survivied, 9 with full time staff. Outgrowth of official body in Kentucky

Study - "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." Wrote Legislative Reference Librarian of the Library of Congress: "(Copies of the report) arrived on my desk within an hour after the receipt of a half dozen requests for the title from Members of Congress. We now have the copies circulating from one office to another. I am sure there is going to be a continuing need for and interest in the study during the next few months, so if you could spare us any additional copies we would be most grateful."

Interagency work and servicing - by request.

Programs of Mrs. Tilly - "the living legend"

Council field study of voting in McCormick County, S.C., and subsequent events

Police study - required reading by Atlanta Police Dept.

250 foreign visitors per year - most of them members of government or press

Pilot TV project - Atlanta - superintendents of Baltimore, Washington and Louisville

Private school study - Time magazine education section devoted to - wide coverage in Southern press. Said Lynchburg (VA.) News

This is not a time chauvinistically to shout States' Rights slogans, but rather a time to shake off fables and wipe the stardust of hopeless dreams from our eyes. It is a time to face facts."

Arkansas Gazette cited the report as an answer to a "number of the South's political leaders (who) have been holding our to their people the hope that they could create private schools on a wholesale basis as a device for evading even token integration."

Muse and Brewbaker:

L - Reports - adverse reactions negligible, favorable comments and requests substantial. By request, sent to a number of school boards and other local officials

Arrangement with manager of Little Rock Chamber of Commerce to serve as a consultant - saw duty in Atlanta and New Orleans - Brewbaker has visited practically every major school district in South and many of smaller ones. Has been active in all potential tension areas such as Atlantaand New Orleans. Always, at invitation of local school superentendent.

Louisville, Ky.

December 21, 1954

Dear Fred,

Thanks for the complete coverage of your activities and plans. Unfortunately, I have not been able to get my ideas down on paper and have fallen far short of meeting my obligations in this respect. Quite recently I received your note about the meeting in Montgomery scheduled for January 6. I do not believe I can make it. I have a very important meeting of the Juvenile Court Advisory Committee on that date in addition to the fact that the Montgomery trip would take me away from school for two days. Since I have already notified my superiors of my proposed absence January 13 and 14, they might raise a question about the extra time.

Undoubtedly the Montgomery meeting has great importance. But I think that the person to convince is Dr. Whitsett rather than Bob Hughes. In going from state to state it is well to recognize that board-director relationships differ widely. In Texas and North Carolina the directors seem to have the requisite skills in community organization to handle any situation likely to arise. In South Carolina the leadership is jointly shared by the board chairman and the director. In Louisiana, on the other hand, the board appears to be either non-existence or ineffective, and in Kentucky and Texas the key lay person is not the chairman of the board but some one else. The influence of the clergy is much stronger in Mississippi and Alabama than it is likely to be in Tennessee or Arkansas. I am not saying this very well but my main purpose is to put Alabama in proper perspective. We might elaborate on this point the next time we get together.

I think we should not give up too easily on this matter of the annual meeting. Aside from the reasons already given against annual meetings in general, the present situation in the states where there is strong opposition to desegregation virtually precludes the possibility of holding a successful state meeting at this time. In Mississippi and Alabama an annual meeting would likely speed the organization of the WCC. Quiet, person-to-person contacts appear to be the best answer to this new opposition strategy. It is all very well to fight fire with fire but sometimes it is better to use water.

Much more difficult to combat, of course, is the paternalistic pattern of thought which handicaps our program so persistently. With few exceptions Negro board members are just as committed to this pro-segregation philosophy as the white members are. Perhaps it might be advisable for you to cultivate the Negro leaders more so as to build up their sense of responsibility for the program. New Negro board members must be found outside the Negro power hierarchy. As you know, the real trouble is that Negroes already in responsible jobs are not free to speak. For the most part, however, they will help you in the search for "new blood."

Good luck. See you early next year,

"C.H."

December 31, 1954

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

It is not good practice for me, on behalf of the whole show, without consulting the rest of the staff or anybody on the Executive Committee, to make firm commitments as to staff arrangements for the future, when they involve goodish sums of money.

The arrangement we discussed yesterday of your coming in for two consecutive months in the Summer of 1955 at straight salary, seems to me eminently desired but I would not wish to clinch it until about January 10th or 11th, at which time I can have discussed it with others whose business it is properly also.

I say this cautionarily, though I think everyone will be only too delighted with the arrangement. The only problem is budgets, and budgets are a problem!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

J. B. S. LYLES, COUNSEL
W. C. BOYD
JOHN C. BRUTON
JOHN H. LUMPKIN
MARY W. BRUTON
C. W. KNOWLTON
H. SIMMONS TATE, JR.

BOYD, BRUTON & LUMPKIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
BARRINGER BUILDING
COLUMBIA 1, SOUTH CAROLINA

TELEPHONE 3-7051

August 9, 1957.

Dr. C. H. Parrish,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Dr. Parrish:

Please pardon my delay in replying to your letter of July 22nd. My secretary has been away and I can do nothing during her absence.

Thank you for sending me the Survey by the Council on "The Negro Voter in the South."

Very truly yours,

John C. Bruton

file copy

(DRAFT) - To be sent to John Hope
Prepared by C. H. Parrish

CONVERSATION WITH BOB HUGHES RE:
WORKSHOP TO BE HELD IN THE FALL

In brief, the proposal is this: That a workshop be held the first week or the last week in October in Birmingham, Alabama. The workshop would include people primarily from Northern Alabama coming from some eight communities in that area. Bob expects some three or four from each of these areas making a possible total of twenty-five to thirty-five people.

The purpose of the workshop, as I understand it, is to give to members of local human relations councils help and advice in the steps to take in their own communities. Bob wants the workshop to be very practical and is not very enthusiastic about having a panel of social scientists who will concern themselves primarily about general issues. This, he feels, is a major criticism that could be leveled at the Tuskegee workshop for board and staff persons. Actually, some of the state directors have proved to be more valuable as consultants than some of the experts who had been pulled in. Bob feels that the state directors could be used more frequently in consultant situations. We had a long conversation about this. I pointed out that what had happened in other communities was a matter of public knowledge and that, basically, the frustration of these people from local communities grew out of the fact that they were not in a position to do anything effective. They had no power, the political posture of the state was against them, and they themselves, in most instances, constituted a rather small group in a hostile community. I suggested that an important contribution which these committed people could make would be to involve key persons in their own communities at a somewhat lower level. I suggested that if such key people could be invited to a workshop which would deal

objectively with the problems which confront us, that it would constitute for them an enlightening experience. We agreed that the presence of outside persons at such a workshop would create problems.

Bob suggested that in the organization of the workshop the first evening session be devoted to general presentations by panel members and the sessions the next day break up by communities so that each community could have expert advice on its own problems. I made the counter suggestion that the first evening be devoted to the individual experiences and questions of persons from the various communities and that the Saturday breakup be in terms of subjects or areas of discussion rather than local communities. I suggested further that each of the local communities attempt to set up in their local communities a reasonable workshop situation which would involve enough important people so as to warrant a servicing of such a community workshop.

If the workshop is to be interracial, and I have assumed that it will be, there is a great problem of where in Birmingham such an interracial workshop could be held. This problem would need to be resolved before any further steps are taken.

These conversations with Bob Hughes took place Thursday, August 1 and Friday, as we drove down to Montgomery to attend the Board Meeting. Bob has some very interesting ideas about the use of the consultant program. I believe that if we intend to hold a workshop in Birmingham, in order that such a workshop should do the sort of thing that Bob would like, we should have further conversation with him in order to find out exactly who the people are who will be there, what his conception is of their needs, and how our consultant program can best help him.

August 14, 1957

File copy

DRAFT - (To be sent to John Hope)
Prepared by C. H. Parrish

EVALUATION OF THE LEMOYNE WORKSHOP

This report is based on conversations with several people including President Hollis Price of Lemoyne College and Reverend J. A. McDaniel of the Urban League. I also read through, rather rapidly, some twenty-three comments by people who participated in the workshop. From all of these sources the general reaction was strongly favorable. All felt that the workshop was a great success. Typical comments from the written reviews by participants are as follows:

"An inspirational speaker would have been helpful."

"I'm glad the time was not taken up with the use of a keynote speaker."

"Progress reports should be prepared to let us know what is going on."

"The weakness of the workshop was that it did not come to any clear-cut conclusions."

"Registration should be speeded up."

"Students who attend the workshop should be more carefully screened."

"Topics discussed need to be more specific; there is too much re-hashing at these workshops."

"The coffee break should be omitted."

"We did not have enough time. Next year a two-day conference should be planned."

"Workshop should be held on a quarterly basis rather than an annual basis."

"Hughes' panel longer. The afternoon session was a let-down."

Both President Price and Reverend McDaniel felt that the final meeting of the workshop was wasted. They felt too that not enough use was made of the consultants. People wanted to know what had happened in other communities. These were their only criticisms. Overall they agreed that the workshop was a great success and they felt that the few top influential people who were

there were "educated". Although there is nothing specifically traceable to the workshop in terms of aftermath, the zoo is open or is about to be open to Negroes, a case has been started to gain entrance to the public library, and a campaign is in full swing to build an orphanage for Negroes.

Dr. Price stated that Lemoyne is definitely committed to a workshop next year along similar lines except for a few organisational changes suggested by his criticisms.

The written comments by participants are in the custody of Miss Andrews, President Price's secretary. I am sure they can be made available for closer study if that is felt necessary.

August 14, 1957

August 15, 1957

Mr. Samuel Myar, Jr.
1224 Commerce Title Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Myar:

Thank you so much for the helpful suggestion which you gave me when I was in Memphis last week.

Under separate cover, I am sending some materials to you which you may find interesting.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf

Enclosures:
New South, May 1957
"The Law of the Land"

Enclosures - Aug 19, 1957
New South, May 1957
"The Law of the Land"
~~"Pro Segregation Groups in the South"~~
~~Firing Line Analysis~~
~~Semi Annual Rpt. of SRC~~
Semi Annual Report SRC

August 15, 1957

Mr. Mayer V. Newfield
626 First National Building
Birmingham, Alabama

My dear Mr. Newfield:

At your suggestion I called on Mr. Emile Hess. Our conversation was interesting and provocative. Since I left Birmingham I have been mulling over in my mind the possibility of arranging a small, unpublicized, and off-the-record conference of Birmingham businessmen to which someone like Superintendent Carmichael or Mr. Welton James might come and subject themselves to the kinds of questions which are in their minds about the problems of desegregation in a large city. If you think this idea has merit and that six to ten interested persons could be assembled, I would undertake to arrange a visit. There is one proviso, however. If Mr. Carmichael comes his visit, however quiet, must have the approval of the Birmingham Superintendent of Schools. Of course, it would be understood that no other persons would be present at such a meeting except as determined by the wishes of the group which extended the invitation.

Let me know what you think about this and if there is any chance of this idea materializing, I would be willing to make another trip to Birmingham to talk to you about it.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the semi-annual report of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf

Enclosures:
Brief Hist. of S.R.C
"Pro-Segregation Groups in the South"
Firing Line Analysis
Semi Annual Rpt. of S.R.C

August 15, 1957

Mr. John Spence
The Press Scimitar
Memphis, Tennessee

My dear Mr. Spence:

I find myself very much in your debt for the contacts you made for me during my visit last week to Memphis. After our visit to Mr. Trippeer I had a long conference with Mr. Ahlgren. The next time I am in Memphis, I will tell you about it.

As you suggested, I have sent three copies of The Louisville Story to Mr. Trippeer and a year's subscription to New South. I am more than convinced that as people of influence come to define the desegregation issue more broadly, they will take appropriate steps to move their communities toward compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

Under separate cover, I am sending you certain documents which may prove helpful in clearing up some of the obscurities and distortions which have arisen - both with respect to conditions in the South and the role of the Southern Regional Council. If there are any other matters in which you are interested and for which we may have available data, let me know and I will try to run them down for you.

I am curious to learn the outcome of the church incident and also whether or not the executive strip was approved. If you have any recent information on either of these matters, please satisfy my curiosity.

I would like to thank you again for the real help you gave me.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf

August 12, 1957

Mr. J. Harvey Kerns
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Orleans, Inc.
504 Carondelet Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

My dear Mr. Kerns:

It was a pleasure to see you again for the first time since your visit to Louisville in 1948. The years slip by.

The specific purpose of this letter is to explore further the exciting possibilities for consultant service to the group of businessmen you spoke of at Tulane. When I got back to Louisville I put the matter before Superintendent Carmichael of the Louisville Public Schools. He manifested willingness to come to New Orleans and talk to the group provided the invitation comes from Superintendent Redmond. I hope that you and Mrs. Mervis will be able to work out something here which will be of value. Please let me know what you think the prospects are and give me more specific information about the nature of the group and the kind of activities in which they engage. I hope I may hear from you very soon on these points.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf

cc: Mrs. Leo Mervis

P. S. In case Superintendent Redmond does not feel disposed to invite Dr. Carmichael, it is possible to get Mr. Weldon James of the Louisville Courier Journal, co-author of The Louisville Story, who would come on invitation of the group with or without Dr. Redmond's approval.

C.H.P.

Materials Sent to:

Mr. Emil Hess
The Parision Dept. Store
Birmingham, Ala.

by. C.H. Parrish
8/19/57

New Souths

MAY 1956
March 1957
April 1956
June 1957

Other Materials Sent 8/19/57
New Souths; May 1956
March 1957
April "
April 1956
June 1957

August 12, 1957

Mr. R. A. Trippeer
1055 Harbor Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

My dear Mr. Trippeer:

I was glad to have the opportunity to meet you and talk to you last Thursday morning. I hope that the next time I am in Memphis we may have a chance to pursue our conversation about the social changes which are taking place in the South.

In the light of your apparent interest in what we were discussing, I have requested that you be sent a few copies of The Louisville Story for distribution as you see fit and also a subscription to New South which I am sure you will find informative and interesting.

Sent by John Constable

I am curious to know what the outcome was of the church incident which you described to me. Perhaps I will be able to get the details from Mr. Spence.

If there is any way in which the Southern Regional Council or I can be helpful to you in providing information about what is happening in other parts of the Southern region, please feel free to call upon us.

Thank you again for your time and interest.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf

SAME LETTER SENT TO: Mrs. James Crate
Mr. Edwin G. Kleppe

August 26, 1957

Mrs. N. B. Aycox
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Aycox:

Here hurriedly are the materials I promised. Please let us know your personal reactions as soon as possible.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP/mf
Enclosure - 1

File copy

MEMORANDUM August 26, 1957

TO: Mrs. N. B. Aycox
Mrs. James S. Crate
Mr. Ed. Kloppe

FROM: C. H. Parrish

RE: Conversations in Houston, Texas
August 20 - 22, 1957

The broad purpose of the visit to Texas was to explain the new relationship of the SRC to its former affiliates. More specifically, the object was to present a concrete proposal that would permit a greater concentration of effort in key communities without jeopardizing the constructive work of a more general nature that the Texas Council on Human Relations has carried on over the years.

Since the conversations, though conducted separately, covered the same ground, no effort will be made here to report verbatim what each person said. Instead, all this memo will attempt to do is give the gist of the presentation made by the SRC representative and his interpretation of the several reactions.

It is necessary to recall first that the original arrangement with the state affiliates was for decreasing amounts to be given to the states over a period of three and a half years at the end of which time the state affiliates were expected to become self-sustaining. As the end of this three and a half year period approaches on September 30, 1957 none of the state affiliates has become completely independent or self-sufficient. Meanwhile, it has become increasingly evident that the Southern Regional Council needed to quorient its program more to the needs of the region than to the needs of the particular states. Or, more accurately, it was felt that the needs of the particular states could better be met in light of a general overall regional strategy. It has become clear also that in most cases the programs of the several state affiliates have been diffuse geographically and have attempted to include too wide a variety of activities.

These considerations led to the decision to terminate the affiliate status of the state organizations as of September 30, 1957. However, a modest sum was set aside in order to give limited assistance to the states in the form of grants-in-aid. Each prospective grantee was asked to submit a request which would include among other things a specific program emphasis and a realistic budget. The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council would then determine on the basis of each request what allotment, if any, should be made to the state in question. The total amount set up for this purpose was the sum of $40,000, to be distributed among the eleven state organizations now active. In making the allotments particular attention was given to the posture of the state government on desegregation, the ability of the state organization to raise funds, and the

strategic importance for the whole region of the projected program. It was hoped, in this connection, that each state would define its role imaginatively and bearingly and would seek to operate at what might be called "the vanguard edge" of what is possible within the state. What might be considered a bold program for South Carolina would not be acceptable for Arkansas or Texas; it would be completely unrealistic to attempt to do in Georgia what would be easily possible in Kentucky. Similarly, the notable achievements in race relations of a generation ago are common-place occurrences now.

The Texas Council on Human Relations has inherited a distinguished tradition from the former Texas Commission on Race Relations. In continuing this tradition the program of the Texas Council has centered around public meetings, particularly on Race Relations Sunday, the distribution of literature, and the formation and cultivation of local interracial groups. This basic pattern of operation, strongly supported by the various church groups, is variable in rallying the liberal forces of a community, in strengthening their sense of commitment, and gradually increasing the readiness of the community to accept change. Also, by maintaining a wholesome communication between Negroes and whites the dangers of violent racial disturbance in the community is considerably reduced. Important as this kind of activity is it does not seem to require the guidance of professional staff. Nor does it give much promise, as a major emphasis, of meeting the criteria described above. It has therefore been difficult to justify an allotment of funds to the Texas Council on Human Relations on this basis alone. It was felt by some of us at the Central Office that this "appeal to conscience" could well be supplemented by "an appeal to enlightened self interest," and that more attention might well be focused upon the great cities of Texas such as Dallas and Houston. We recognized, of course, that this would have to be accomplished, if at all, without endangering the effectiveness of the present program of the Texas Council. For this phase of the program to be even moderately successful its planning and direction should be in the hands of the best qualified professionals available.

If the Texas Council on Human Relations can see its way clear to approve this somewhat detached operation, it would signify approval by authorizing the setting up of a subcommittee, or perhaps better, a strategy group with whom the state director would consult on all matters pertaining to this phase of the program. Assuming that such authorization is given, Fred Routh and/or C. H. Parrish, in cooperation with the state director, would undertake to set up this group. Once established, such a group will concern itself with such matters as determining priorities with respect to which community should be attacked first, the maintaining of liaison with the staff members of other similar organizations, the development of situations in which the SRC consultant service might be used. The emphasis would be upon the quiet person-to-person contact with key persons in the community, not with a view of getting memberships in the Council or securing contributions but in order to widen their

perspective and to define the issues for them in such a way as to make clear to them where their vested interests are involved. In the normal course of events, the state director would report to the Board on his activities in this area. And, of course, he would seek advice on any matter which seemed to him to involve a major policy decision. But, since most of these activities are "behind the scenes" there is little likelihood that anything would be done which would publicly embarrass the Texas Council on Human Relations. As a matter of fact, since some of the outside persons who may be involved would not want, for various reasons, their identification with the Texas Council on Human Relations to be known, it is probably desirable that no publicity be given to this phase of the program.

In summary, then, the proposal is that the Texas Council on Human Relations amend its request to the Southern Regional Council for a grant-in-aid to include a greater concentration upon the major cities of Texas in the manner herein described. A reasonable budgetary arrangement would permit perhaps half the time of the state director to be devoted to this phase of the program. It can later be determined to what extent travel by the state director would have to be reduced and whether or not it would be feasible to change the location of the office to the city which is the focus of attention.

REACTIONS

In the several conversations with Mrs. Crate considerable time was given to an explanation of the change in relationship between the Southern Regional Council and its state affiliates. I tried to make it clear that no funds were now available for any state merely to carry on a program such as it had carried on in the past. She also expressed concern over the possibility that SRC might give a grant-in-aid to some other completely different organization. I explained that there was no precedent for this and as I saw it no possibility that this could occur. The only authorization for grants-in-aid was to former state affiliates. And, if for any reason, a state organization failed to qualify for a grant-in-aid there would be no allotment of funds at all to that state. I also indicated that the final disposition of any request was made by the Executive Committee after the Central Staff, on the basis of all the information available, had prepared a recommendation to the Executive Committee. I did not expect Mrs. Crate to commit herself on the proposition which I suggested to her and I made no effort to get her to express an opinion on the matter. But I got the distinct feeling that she was much relieved when she found out that the new emphasis was not designed to supercede the traditional program of the Texas Council on Human Relations but only to supplement it.

Mrs. Aycox took copious notes while we were talking and suspect she has a much more accurate account of what was said than has presented here. As I recall, we covered the ground pretty thoroughly and I did not hesitate to express myself freely on all the aspects of the situation. I took pains, however, to make a clear distinction between the official position of SRC and my own personal views. In response to one of her questions, I said, in effect, that I believed that it would be difficult for the board as such to cooperate as closely with the representatives of other agencies as the new focus of interest would require. One other matter which came out of the conversation with Mrs. Aycox bears repeating here. She asked where the strategy group would meet and how the expenses of such meetings would be met. This gave me the opportunity to explain that the strategy group would be quite informal in its organization and could very easily meet at an office of one of the agencies involved. Since it is anticipated that the work will be concentrated in a given locality there would be no expenses incurred for staging such a meeting. If any distance has to be traveled it is quite likely that the expenses of other staff persons will be borne by their own agencies. Again, as in the case of Mrs. Crate, I did not press Mrs. Aycox for a reaction to the proposal. However, it seemed to me that Mrs. Aycox had visualized this strategy group as being a publicly announced organization which in some way would be a rival to the Texas Council on Human Relations. I hope that I was able to clear up this misconception by stressing the point that the activities of this group should not become matters of public knowledge. For example, a workshop or institute might be jointly sponsored by several agencies but it would not be necessary for it to be known what persons actually planned the workshop and secured the sponsorship of the agencies involved.

At first Mr. Kloppe was doubtful about the proposal, not because he did not favor it but because he felt that the Board would not understand it and would therefore reject it. Later as we talked, he became more convinced of the feasibility of the proposal and somewhat more optimistic about how the Board would receive it. The idea of concentrating on the large cities and of working in close liaison with the staff persons of other agencies seemed to appeal to him. He recognized, of course, that there are many technical details of operation which would have to be worked out.

Other conversations were held in Houston with Mr. Carter Wesley, former SRC board member, Mr. Ted Freedman of the ADL, and with President Nabrit of Texas Southern University. Primarily these discussions were concerned with the general situation rather than the specific proposal which has been described here. But when the general features of the proposed operation were described the reaction was generally favorable.

Finally, I tried to make it clear to the three persons most directly concerned that since the September 30th deadline was not far away it was necessary that some decision on these matters be made rather quickly.

chp

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . C. H. PARRISH . . . . .

RECEIVED OCT 9 1957

To Mildred —

I am all curiosity to know what's been going in the office. Are you girls still imposing on John? He certainly has a hard time. I would appreciate a "run-down" on the office situation. Maybe "Research" could send me a briefing.

There is no need to do more on the "Special Interviews" unless Harold thinks it important. Turn the copy over to him and get his opinion.

I had hoped to have the Little Rock episode ready for you to type. But I haven't gotten around to it yet. With the head of the department in the hospital for a month all of us are doing extra work.

Regards to the staff. Its pleasant to know you are missed. I'll have to visit real soon.

Sincerely

C.H.

October 1, 1957

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Hi C. H.:

How goes it? Hope that the school year got off to a good start for you. We miss you an awful lot down this way.

Enclosed are three copies of the Special Interviews which you wanted typed. Hope that this job meets with your approval. You will note that in my efforts to incorporate the additional material, I have double-spaced it. I was not quite sure whether this was what you wanted. Nevertheless, here it is.

If I can be of any further assistance, do let me know.

Sincerely,

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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September 10, 1957

Harold:

Hope these names will suffice for the time being. Check with John Constable on what follow-up techniques have been used with these people.

Ask Mildred to attach these names to the introductory pages, making the necessary corrections. Make several copies of the whole thing and send it to me for further doctoring.

The clippings may have some interest for J. C. The picture of "Miss" and "Mr." City Playground has had serious behind-the-scenes repercussions. An unfortunate blooper on the part of somebody.

Best wishes to staff

C. H.

What about Texas?

Special Interviews
In
Columbia, South Carolina; Birmingham, Alabama; and Memphis, Tennessee

:

Rationale. -- The interviews recorded here are based on the simple thesis that when people come to recognize that their personal interests are involved in a situation they will, on their own, set about to take appropriate action.

The purpose of these conversations is to plant the idea that the issue of segregation is much broader in scope than would be indicated by the current discussion of it.

Interviews have been sought with those people who are influential in the community -- decision-makers or those who have access to the decision-makers. Most of the persons with whom I have talked during the past few weeks fit into one or the other of these categories. To say the least, they are people who are on the fringe of the power structure. Although there were improvised variations as the occasion seemed to demand, my basic approach was the same in each instance; that is, a completely frank explanation of my interest which I pointed out had developed during the last few years of my association with SRC. I suggested that my scientific curiosity had been aroused because of the apparent inconsistency between the generally accepted version of the desegregation controversy and my own observations. I pointed out that With politicans occupying the center of the stage, it was difficult to determine how business and industrial leaders felt or what they thought their role was. I raised questions but offered no answers. I asked: What was the effect on the industrial South on such items as the following: (1) continued dominance of state legislatures by law-makers from rural districts? (2) infringement of academic freedom in institutions of higher learning and their consequent deterioration in scholarship? (3) high interest rates on school bonds?

(4) inadequate use of human resources? (5) migration of leadership potential from the South? (6) reluctance of new industry to locate in a community split by controversy?

I was curious to know what the business community thought of all of this. Only rarely did I argue. My main interest was to raise questions that would bring out clearly what the position of the individual was on the issue. In some instances, I attempted to translate this stated position into other terms and to indicate what I thought of as the implications of this position. Of course, it is difficult to say what effect these conversations have had upon the interviewees, although I am beginning to have a clearer notion of the effect upon me in my own thinking. On the whole, the people to whom I talked were well informed, alert individuals. But from some of them there came such queer notions, such distorted conceptions of what it was all about, that I have begun to suspect that many of these people are isolated from what is going on or at least they are limited in their outlook because of the inadequate sources of information available to them. My experience so far has caused me to re-organize my thinking several times in order to sharpen my questions so as to know what precise questions needed to be asked in order to start these people to thinking in some new way. If I have succeeded at all in this, the effort had not been wasted.

The kind of followup appropriate to these conversations is a matter for serious consideration. In a few cases, I have sent what I have felt to be pointed literature to some of the interviewees with a covering letter over my own signature. I have made it a point never to ask these people to do anything or to join anything or to contribute to anything. But I am not at all sure that this technique is the best one to use. Time after

time, as might be expected, I encountered closed minds but occasionally there was some indication that our conversation had served to enlighten the interviewee on some point he had not taken the time to think through. For example, an attorney in Memphis remarked that my analysis of the "de-segregation-will-lower-the-standards-of-the-school" argument was the most satisfactory he had heard. However, the usual reaction of interviewees gave little or no indication of which of the questions I asked struck home. In two or three instances the only reaction I got was a dogged reiteration of the stereotyped arguments and rationalizations which had been popularized recently by the less sophisticated spokesmen of the so-called moderate point of view. The typical themes are quite familiar:

(1) "It will take a long time, perhaps twenty-five years, before desegregation comes to the South."

(2) "The NAACP has thrown back race relations by twenty-five years."

(3) "More education is the answer."

(4) "Negroes will be accepted as soon as they bring themselves up to the whites educationally, morally, and economically."

I have tried to have questions ready for each of these stock evasions:

One change here - the answers should come prior with the questions

(1) "Do you mean that at the end of twenty-five years desegregation will suddenly come to all parts of the South or do you expect some parts of the South to be desegregated before others and that in twenty-five years the whole desegregation process will be completed?"

(2) "Do you think that the NAACP's use of the legal process is inappropriate?"

~~(3)~~ "What other program would you suggest for a pressure group such as the NAACP or perhaps you believe that the situation does not demand a pressure group at all?"

(3) ~~(4)~~ "Exactly what do you mean by more education?"

~~(5)~~ "What kind of education do you suggest?"

3 ~~(6)~~ "Who should be educated?"

3 ~~(7)~~ "When should this educational process begin?"

3 ~~(8)~~ "By whom should it be conducted?"

(4) ~~(9)~~ "By what sort of bootstrap operation do you expect Negroes to raise themselves to the level of whites, if because of segregation and discrimination the individual Negro person, regardless of his abilities, is not free to move?"

Perhaps it is these considerations which have led me to suggest the followup mentioned above. The whole purpose, of course, is to achieve some kind of breakthrough and then the person can work out his own salvation.

The following list of persons is divided into two parts; those with whom I talked, and others referred to me whom I did not get to see. It is my feeling that all of these persons by virtue of the fact that they were suggested to me, are approachable and reasonable and that contact should be maintained with those I interviewed and that the names of the others should be filed for future reference.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Spearman suggested a dozen names including those of Dr. Flora and Philip Stedfast of the City Planning Commission, Trangott Kern, E. R. Alexander, Irving McNayr, and W. D. Workman. I was able to make contact with four persons:

GREN SEIBELS

Gren Seibels. -- Program Director, Station WIS-TV is a young man (middle thirties) who is aware of his responsibilities. Believes the newspapers are moribund. "Even Workman is indirectly tied to the WCC through his involvement in Thurman's campaign." He professes an inability to make up his mind as to what next steps should be taken:

"I don't know enough," he says. Often takes an extreme position just to get some reaction. "Main-streeters" are afraid of a boycott and are careful to stick closely to the narrow requirements of their own businesses.

KEN KURTZ

Ken Kurtz. -- Program Director, Radio Station WIS, is also young but is much more positive in his views than Seibels. He is a close friend of Galen Martin, which may explain a lot of things. He insisted that I submit to a recorded interview. We talked about the University of Louisville, the rapid urbanization of the South and the threat to academic freedom in Southern colleges and universities. I have no idea what reaction there was to the broadcast of this interview. Kurtz spoke enthusiastically of plans to give a weekly survey of desegregation happenings in the South. He hoped to include materials that the newspapers omitted. (I do not know what has become of this idea.) In accordance with federal regulations, Kurtz gives equal time to opposing sides of a controversy, e.g., the WCC and the NAACP.

JOHN BRUTON

John Bruton. -- Attorney, associated with one of the foremost law firms in Columbia. His office is at 1209 Barringer Building (1338 Main Street). Mr. Bruton is evidently a person of great courage. Afflicted because of a polio (?) attack, he has little control over his movements and speaks with considerable difficulty. He was puzzled by my visit. "Mrs. Spearman's group should make its appeal to the masses. When you come to me you are coming to the wrong person. You and I are intelligent people, we have no quarrel. If

violence comes, I can get out--go somewhere else." When I pressed about the present role of persons like himself in the desegregation controversy, he admitted that "All of us are involved, particularly our children." He recalled that several industries which had planned to come into the state had changed their plans because of the unsettled situation.

NOTE: Mr. Bruton has acknowledged receipt of voting study materials which I sent with a covering note.

LATTA JOHNSTON

Latta Johnston. -- Investment broker with the Harris-Uphan Company. Johnston was not readily pinned down to specifics. He set forth a rather involved philosophical theory of leadership in which neither leader or follower seemed to be aware of the role he was playing. Only generations later can the true leaders of an era be identified. It appeared to me that Mr. Johnston used this theory as a device for evading my question about his conception of his own role as a member of the financial group which occupies a leadership position in the community. Mr. Johnston seemed convinced that if a civil rights bill was passed by Congress there might well be another move toward secession. He insisted that change can never be brought about by legislation and cited the Volstead Act as proof of his claim. My suggestion that segregation was an example of change effected by legislation did not impress him. The limited gains from the interview were: (1) a reluctant admission that all parts of the South would not require twenty-five years for school desegregation, and (2) agreement that it would be desirable to engage in high level

discussion, on an interracial basis, of the issue of desegregation as it affects the local community.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Although my trip to Birmingham was for another purpose, I took the opportunity to run down a lead I got from Art Levin and talked with:

MAYER V. NEWFIELD

Mayer V. Newfield. -- Attorney, 626 First National Bank Building. Mr. Newfield was helpful primarily in suggesting persons who might be interviewed on a subsequent visit. Among those he mentioned were Bill Stewart, NCCJ Director; Cooper Green, Vice-President of the Alabama Power Company; William P. Engel and Dr. John Brockman(?) on whom I have no further information. Mrs. Benjamin A. Roth of the Jewish Community Center, 700 N. 19th Street, has an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the community. Mr. Newfield spoke briefly of the dominance of Tennessee Coal and Iron -- of their desire for low wages and a large labor supply which induced their effort to prevent Hayes Aircraft from coming into the community. He said also that there were a few influential people in Birmingham who were very much interested in setting up an interracial group similar to the semi-official body now operating in Memphis.

In talking about progress in Birmingham, Newfield told me that the discontinuance of segregated elevators came about because of the inconvenience to white attorneys who had Negro clients coming to their offices. The segregated pattern was breached in one building and quickly the new practice spread to other buildings.

EMIL HESS

Emil Hess. -- Department store executive of the Parisian Store. Hess is a young man who just last year was president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. He seems to be a person of sound impulses but probably has only limited influence. As he put it, "I am a member of a minority group myself."

NOTE: From Emory Jackson I learned that the top Tennessee Coal and Iron Company executive is Arthur B. Wiebel. I did not think of any satisfactory way of getting in touch with him.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

This city has great strategic importance and, as suggested by the success of the LeMoyne Workshop, there is a representative group of citizens who would like to see something done. On the other hand, the situation is complicated by the strength of the Mississippi influence, the still unresolved political chaos following the demise of Boss Crump, and the schisms within the Negro community. The recent barratry law hampers the activity of the NAACP. However, there seems a good chance for a coordinated effort in Memphis if it is handled wisely.

Below are listed the names of some of the persons interviewed with brief comments on each name. Other names are listed without comment. A much more detailed analysis of the Memphis interviews is desirable and will be attempted later.

SAMUEL MYAR

Samuel Myar. -- Attorney. Myar was suggested by Art Levin as a well informed person who was active in the ADL. His office is

located at 1224 Commerce Title Building. Myar stressed the emotional rather than intellectual resistance to desegregation.

JOHN SPENCE

John Spence. -- Reporter for the Press-Scimitar. Spence was my most valuable contact in Memphis. He discussed the Greater Miami Race Relations Committee, how it was set up and what its prospects were. The present chairman of the Committee is: W. W. Scott, Vice-President and Public Relations person for National Bank of Commerce. Other top persons in Memphis suggested by him were Wesley Pruhoe, Bailey Brown, George Grider, and Henry Loeb who was described as the most promising young politican on the scene.

RICHARD A. TRIPPEER

Richard A. Trippeer. -- President of the Euclid Corporation, 1055 Harbor Avenue. Trippeer is chairman of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce. He seems to be a person of considerable influence in the community. He is on the Board of Trustees of Ohio Wesleyan University; religion - Presbyterian; Politics - REPUBLICAN. Except for the last, he would be an outstanding prospect for the SRC Board. The idea is worth exploring.

AHLGREN, F.R.

Ahlgren. -- Editor of the Commercial Appeal. Ahlgren felt a little put upon because some ungrateful Negro leaders had urged a boycott of his newspaper. Their complaint: the failure to use courtesy titles in articles referring to Negro women. Aside from the merits of this controversy, the ideas which Mr. Ahlgren expressed to me were either the result of rather superficial thinking or deliberated designed to get my reactions. Whatever the reasoning or lack of it on his part, it was an interesting interview.

Check

HCF

Memo to John Hope, Fred Routh, Benita Valien and copy to Harold Fleming

From: C. H. Parrish
Concerning: Trip to Dallas

Primarily, my interest was to discover whether SRC could serve a useful purpose in the Dallas situation. A subsidiary concern was the plight of the Texas Council on Human Relations. This memo offers specific suggestions regarding the first of these considerations.

I spent two days in Dallas but even in this short period there was much learned which confirmed reports from other visitors. There is a lot of activity but little coordination. Pro-segregation activity is furthered by the Dallas Morning News; agitators from the outside are working on white parents. Somewhere in between is the dubious operation of the Director of the Southern Conference Education Fund. The lack of cooperation among the groups favoring desegregation is due in large measure to the unwillingness of any local person or group to take the initiative in bringing the various elements together. Jewish organizational leaders are sure that their sponsorship would militate against the success of any coordinated effort. Sympathetic power structure persons prefer to operate on the "grand scale". At this stage it seems important to find out what sort of "grand scale" operation is needed and when it should be inaugurated. So far no opportunity has been provided for adequate discussion of these matters of strategy.

I had conversations with Rev. Sims, Durham (NAACP attorney), George Allen, Falk, Jerome Crossman, Stanley Marcus, Irving L. Goldberg(atty on Falk's board) and, over long distance telephone, with Ed Kloppe. To all but Crossman and Marcus I broached the subject of a small strategy planning session with SRC representatives serving as catalysts. I asked for the names of people who might contribute something to such a meeting. These names are listed below with no guarantee of the spelling, some missing first names and a few uncertainties as to racial identity. Power structure people should not be included.

NEGROES—Rev. Paul Sims, Rev. E. C. Estell, George Allen, Maceo Smith, Durham, U. Sampson Tate, Rev. Caesar Clark, Mrs. Juanita Craft, Mrs. Leo Smith (one of the plaintiffs) Rev or Dr. Joseph Williams.

WHITES—Dean Cunningen (SMU), Joe Allen(SMU), Gustave Falk, Nad Wells, Dr. Robert Hiebels, Irving Goldberg.

It is my opinion that the avowed purpose of the meeting would be to find out from a group of interested local citizens how SRC might be useful in the desegregation matter. This approach defines our role rather clearly and relieves local persons of responsibility for taking the initiative in calling the meeting. Arrangements for place and time may be made with the help of Rev, Sims and Gustave Falk. The time should be agreed upon in terms of its suitability to the nucleus of indispensable persons whoever they may be (possibly the underscored names above). Mrs. Valien's presence in the community a few days before the scheduled meeting would facilitate the arrangements. The agenda for the meeting can be decided later also what SRC staffing is indicated.

C. H. Parrish
January 5, 1958

file copy

MEMORANDUM

August 26, 1957

TO: Mrs. N. B. Aycox
Mrs. James S. Crate
Mr. Ed. Kloppe

FROM: C. H. Parrish

RE: Conversations in Houston, Texas
August 20 - 22, 1957

The broad purpose of the visit to Texas was to explain the new relationship of the SRC to its former affiliates. More specifically, the object was to present a concrete proposal that would permit a greater concentration of effort in key communities without jeopardizing the constructive work of a more general nature that the Texas Council on Human Relations has carried on over the years.

Since the conversations, though conducted separately, covered the same ground, no effort will be made here to report verbatim what each person said. Instead, all this memo will attempt to do is give the gist of the presentation made by the SRC representative and his interpretation of the several reactions.

It is necessary to recall first that the original arrangement with the state affiliates was for decreasing amounts to be given to the states over a period of three and a half years at the end of which time the state affiliates were expected to become self-sustaining. As the end of this three and a half year period approaches on September 30, 1957 none of the state affiliates has become completely independent or self-sufficient. Meanwhile, it has become increasingly evident that the Southern Regional Council needed to quorient its program more to the needs of the region than to the needs of the particular states. Or, more accurately, it was felt that the needs of the particular states could better be met in light of a general overall regional strategy. It has become clear also that in most cases the programs of the several state affiliates have been diffuse geographically and have attempted to include too wide a variety of activities.

These considerations led to the decision to terminate the affiliate status of the state organizations as of September 30, 1957. However, a modest sum was set aside in order to give limited assistance to the states in the form of grants-in-aid. Each prospective grantee was asked to submit a request which would include among other things a specific program emphasis and a realistic budget. The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council would then determine on the basis of each request what allotment, if any, should be made to the state in question. The total amount set up for this purpose was the sum of $40,000, to be distributed among the eleven state organizations now active. In making the allotments particular attention was given to the posture of the state government on desegregation, the ability of the state organization to raise funds, and the

strategic importance for the whole region of the projected program. It was hoped, in this connection, that each state would define its role imaginatively and bearingly and would seek to operate at what might be called "the vanguard edge" of what is possible within the state. What might be considered a bold program for South Carolina would not be acceptable for Arkansas or Texas; it would be completely unrealistic to attempt to do in Georgia what would be easily possible in Kentucky. Similarly, the notable achievements in race relations of a generation ago are common-place occurrences now.

The Texas Council on Human Relations has inherited a distinguished tradition from the former Texas Commission on Race Relations. In continuing this tradition the program of the Texas Council has centered around public meetings, particularly on Race Relations Sunday, the distribution of literature, and the formation and cultivation of local interracial groups. This basic pattern of operation, strongly supported by the various church groups, is variable in rallying the liberal forces of a community, in strengthening their sense of commitment, and gradually increasing the readiness of the community to accept change. Also, by maintaining a wholesome communication between Negroes and whites the dangers of violent racial disturbance in the community is considerably reduced. Important as this kind of activity is it does not seem to require the guidance of professional staff. Nor does it give much promise, as a major emphasis, of meeting the criteria described above. It has therefore been difficult to justify an allotment of funds to the Texas Council on Human Relations on this basis alone. It was felt by some of us at the Central Office that this "appeal to conscience" could well be supplemented by "an appeal to enlightened self interest," and that more attention might well be focused upon the great cities of Texas such as Dallas and Houston. We recognized, of course, that this would have to be accomplished, if at all, without endangering the effectiveness of the present program of the Texas Council. For this phase of the program to be even moderately successful its planning and direction should be in the hands of the best qualified professionals available.

If the Texas Council on Human Relations can see its way clear to approve this somewhat detached operation, it would signify approval by authorizing the setting up of a subcommittee, or perhaps better, a strategy group with whom the state director would consult on all matters pertaining to this phase of the program. Assuming that such authorization is given, Fred Routh and/or C. H. Parrish, in cooperation with the state director, would undertake to set up this group. Once established, such a group will concern itself with such matters as determining priorities with respect to which community should be attacked first, the maintaining of liaison with the staff members of other similar organizations, the development of situations in which the SRC consultant service might be used. The emphasis would be upon the quiet person-to-person contact with key persons in the community, not with a view of getting memberships in the Council or securing contributions but in order to widen their

perspective and to define the issues for them in such a way as to make clear to them where their vested interests are involved. In the normal course of events, the state director would report to the Board on his activities in this area. And, of course, he would seek advice on any matter which seemed to him to involve a major policy decision. But, since most of these activities are "behind the scenes" there is little likelihood that anything would be done which would publicly embarrass the Texas Council on Human Relations. As a matter of fact, since some of the outside persons who may be involved would not want, for various reasons, their identification with the Texas Council on Human Relations to be known, it is probably desirable that no publicity be given to this phase of the program.

In summary, then, the proposal is that the Texas Council on Human Relations amend its request to the Southern Regional Council for a grant-in-aid to include a greater concentration upon the major cities of Texas in the manner herein described. A reasonable budgetary arrangement would permit perhaps half the time of the state director to be devoted to this phase of the program. It can later be determined to what extent travel by the state director would have to be reduced and whether or not it would be feasible to change the location of the office to the city which is the focus of attention.

REACTIONS

In the several conversations with Mrs. Crate considerable time was given to an explanation of the change in relationship between the Southern Regional Council and its state affiliates. I tried to make it clear that no funds were now available for any state merely to carry on a program such as it had carried on in the past. She also expressed concern over the possibility that SRC might give a grant-in-aid to some other completely different organization. I explained that there was no precedent for this and as I saw it no possibility that this could occur. The only authorization for grants-in-aid was to former state affiliates. And, if for any reason, a state organization failed to qualify for a grant-in-aid there would be no allotment of funds at all to that state. I also indicated that the final disposition of any request was made by the Executive Committee after the Central Staff, on the basis of all the information available, had prepared a recommendation to the Executive Committee. I did not expect Mrs. Crate to commit herself on the proposition which I suggested to her and I made no effort to get her to express an opinion on the matter. But I got the distinct feeling that she was much relieved when she found out that the new emphasis was not designed to supercede the traditional program of the Texas Council on Human Relations but only to supplement it.

Mrs. Aycox took copious notes while we were talking and suspect she has a much more accurate account of what was said than has presented here. As I recall, we covered the ground pretty thoroughly and I did not hesitate to express myself freely on all the aspects of the situation. I took pains, however, to make a clear distinction between the official position of SRC and my own personal views. In response to one of her questions, I said, in effect, that I believed that it would be difficult for the board as such to cooperate as closely with the representatives of other agencies as the new focus of interest would require. One other matter which came out of the conversation with Mrs. Aycox bears repeating here. She asked where the strategy group would meet and how the expenses of such meetings would met. This gave me the opportunity to explain that the strategy group would be quite informal in its organization and could very easily meet at an office of one of the agencies involved. Since it is anticipated that the work will be concentrated in a given locality there would be no expenses incurred for staging such a meeting. If any distance has to be traveled it is quite likely that the expenses of other staff persons will be borne by their own agencies. Again, as in the case of Mrs. Crate, I did not press Mrs. Aycox for a reaction to the proposal. However, it seemed to me that Mrs. Aycox had visualized this strategy group as being a publicly announced organization which in some way would be a rival to the Texas Council on Human Relations. I hope that I was able to clear up this misconception by stressing the point that the activities of this group should not become matters of public knowledge. For example, a workshop or institute might be jointly sponsored by several agencies but it would not be necessary for it to be known what persons actually planned the workshop and secured the sponsorship of the agencies involved.

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Finally, I tried to make it clear to the three persons most directly concerned that since the September 30th deadline was not far away it was necessary that some decision on these matters be made rather quickly.

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August 26, 1957

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June 7, 1955

A I R M A I L

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Bob Carter writes that he greatly hopes that you can be at the NAACP Convention at Atlantic City June 21st to the 26th. Says he needs you especially June 23rd when they will be discussing the whole problem of the decision and its implementation.

Perfectly all right with me for you to go and at SRC expense. I am so notifying Bob Carter, and write you today to give you as much advance notice as possible.

Your time with us is limited and you are so much needed that I would be loathe to be without you for the whole week. But you decide what is wisest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 11, 1955.

STAFF-MEMORANDUM

From: C.H. Parrish
Subject: Evaluation of state programs

It seems that now is a good time to go over with some details the organization of the various states. We are nearing the end of the first period of the grant and in view of the fact that problems have arisen in particular states, an overview of the whole situation would permit handling these problems in a way that would save embarassment and yet be effective. In brief, this is what I suggest:

1. The setting up of certain criteria in order to evaluate what constitutes a sound state operation.

2. In the light of these criteria, making evaluation of the state programs to be completed, before August 15.

3. Indicate to each of the states what these criteria are and express the hope that any state which expects to continue to receive funds in the next period should correct the weaknesses of its organization between now and the 1st of September, or give satisfactory assurance that this can be done.

*****

This may sound like a drastic remedy for the various ills of the state organization but Frank Loescher in his tour of the states uncovered some of these weaknesses and made certain recommendations. Therefore since we will have to act in any case with respect to the particular situations to which he called attention, it would seem much better to take such action on the basis of the state procedure than to isolate each case and deal with it separately.

*****

It is desirable also to look at the region as a whole in the light of the avowed objectives of the Council in order to determine what effect the Southern Regional Council and its affiliates in the various states can have on the trend of events in the Southern area.

There are three possibilities:

1. We may speed up and/or make less difficult the movement toward desegregation.

2. We may by our operation delay and make more difficult the movement toward desegregation.

3. Our operation may have no effect whatever.

In the light of the foregoing, certain questions may be raised:

- Concretely, what is the Southern Regional Council trying to do? Or perhaps the question should be phrased: How is the Council attempting to implement its objectives? (Answer to this question should involve a restatement of the purpose of the Council and a listing of the various kinds of activities which are designed to carry out this purpose).

- What are the criteria in terms of which the operation of a state Council can be evaluated?

- What different kinds of state operations would we be willing to approve?

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 12, 1955.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

To: Staff

From: C.H. Parrish

Subject: The purpose and objective of the Southern Regional Council

In spite of the fact that the stated objectives of the Council have been disseminated widely, the question is frequently asked:what is the Council trying to do?

My own reaction to this question has developed over the 18 months or so of my association as a staff person. It seems to me that we are selling a process rather than a product; our major concern is with the way of getting things done rather than with what may actually be accomplished. Of course, it is recognized that we are concerned that the South should move in the direction of an integrated society but we feel that more important than the speed at which we will move in this direction is the process or the means used in achieving our goal. Essentially, all the problems or nearly all of them that confront Southern society today may be reduced to one, namely lack of communication between Negroes and whites or, put in another way, the determination of policy without consulting all of the people who are affected by the policy arrived at. Really, this is not the matter of consultation but it is full fledged participation on the

people who are mutually concerned in the achievement of a given objective. Now it is my belief that our function at the Council primarily is not to convert people to our view of what the desirable objectives are but rather to get them to see the importance of working out a solution to the problems they face in their local communities using every human ressource available, getting every alternative proposal expressed, and securing as nearly as possible the consensus that the tentative solution finally arrived at was the best possible solution in terms of the facts available at the time the decision is made.

This requirement is not met unless there is mutual respect and absence of intimidation or pressure and the willingness to abide by the decision once it is arrived at, reserving of course the right of any minority to seek to become a majority by convincing others of the justice of its point of view.

It is important to recognize that this process about which we have been talking is most appropriately initiated at the local level. This means from our point of view that for the Council to be effective, it must work at the "grass roots". Looked at in this way, many of the activities of state councils turn out to be of doubtful effectiveness, for example the organization of local councils merely for the purpose of raising money can have little utility in promoting a major objective. Similarly, putting our faith in pamphletary or the employment of mass media with the hope that enough people will be persuaded to change their minds seems to lead to desillusion. The people who are concerned with making a decision must somehow be brought together into a situation which will induce the kind of attitude change for which we hope. In such a case, the attitude change follows and is a by-product of the behavior in the change.

August 31, 1955
(Dictated August 30)

RA:

Mr. Parrish resumes W. A. E.

September 1st.

eab/

Charge Southern Regional Council 9/8/55

TO: Dr. W. D. PLAYER
VICE PRESIDENT
BENNETT COLLEGE
GREENSBORO, N. C.

ARRIVE BY PLANE AROUND 5 P. M. EASTERN AIR LINES 578

C. H. PARRISH

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Parrish

* Packet =
- July-Aug New South
- June "
- Changing Patterns
- Answers for Action
- Pub. list
- SRC promotion leaflet

Bennett College
Dr. C. H. Winston
Miss Wilhelmina Gilbert
Mrs. Van Allen
Mr. McClure P. McCombs
Mr. Ray Lee
Dr. George Breathett
Mrs. Blanche Rafford
Mr. John O. Crawford
Dr. Hobart Jarrett
Mr. John L. Bryan
Mrs. Louise Street
Mrs. Lonelane Martinez
Dr. Willa B. Player

Sent - (Packets to the above)
9/20/55
HS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Dear Harold —

These people participated in Seminar — Perhaps full packets might be sent to the 12 leaders include information about how additional copies may be secured —

If you have fifty copies of "Answers for Citizens" (with map) they might be sent to Mrs Masterson for distribution to faculty and staff.

Dr. Willa B. Player, Vice President might be sent any extra copies of books, if available. I think many of the school people here will bring our text book. ~~material~~

I'll see you as soon as possible after I get straightened out at home. — CH —

October 13, 1955

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Enclosed are clippings and a letter to you from Emory Jackson. We know you told us we could keep the clipping here at the Council, but we think you should see the conclusions Emory drew from them. Therefore, we are sending them along.

Sorry I missed you the other day when you were in Atlanta, but I was a little under the weather.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Assistant Director

JC/ys
Enclosures

November 16, 1955

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South 6th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Parrish:

Doctor Mitchell has asked me to forward this copy of his letter to Mr. Philip Weidenhouse in regards to the services of John Hope to the SRC.

He has also asked me to screen all correspondence in the future so that you may be acquainted with any actions concerning your phase of the program. I will start doing this immediately and see that you get copies of any letters concerning your program.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

c.c. Fred Routh

Staff - Parrish

November 30, 1955

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South 6th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

I cannot in the future pay from SRC funds the item included in your approved November 25 expense account, of ten dollars for young woman to look after your daughter. I see that this is an added expense incident to your travel for us, but it seems to me a personal expense only.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc: RHA
GSA

December 1, 1955

Mr. C. H. Parrish
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Thanks for your note and the clippings.

I will be thinking about possible persons to attend a meeting on "getting the story out." I am all for the idea, though I recognize that newspaper men are hard to get together but who isn't? I've got the assignment just now of getting some sort of major treatment of SRC in nationwide mass media. Do you think Earl Brown could assist? Ultimately I guess it will mean another trip to New York. I will be in touch with you about it before that time.

I hope to see you soon under circumstances that will permit some uninterrupted conversation. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C.Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

P. S. I am returning belatedly the list which you asked us to circularize.

Nov 29 1955

Dear Harold —

Thought you might be interested in these clippings. There is a new magazine National Review — edited by Buckley (Jr) strong conservative line — Out on newstands in Jackson last week with insert on the Braden case — Will show it to you next time I'm in Atlanta.

Do some thinking on a possible meeting of communications persons with the idea of "getting the Story out". One possible approach would be to invite a half dozen people we know personally who have connections with news services or publications — for informal talks.

If you get any ideas — let me hear from you

Cordially

A H Hass

Copy of Memo # 4 (Jones) and letter to CHP
to each Assistant Director.

February 6, 1956

Mr. C.H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

Lewis Jones submitted this, among other items, to foundation friends of ours, who opined that this one had implications for our program. I agree. Will you ponder, and in so far as you think fit, try to feed the idea into our States?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

Encl.

FILE

MEMORANDUM # 4
TO: Mr. Hallock Hoffman
FROM: Lewis W. Jones
Re.-- Manipulation of Community Resources: Education in the Practice of Democracy.

This notion probably belongs within the province of adult education but I don't have access to that organization to get a hearing on it. I am also a little leary of professionals who reject the unorthodox.

It is amazing how little Negroes and other low-income groups know about the manipulation of community resources. They may not even think of public and private agencies as "resources". Rather they get a little cynical about the democratic system and attribute the failure of their interests to be served to having no"pull" or to not "knowing the right people" rather than to the fact that they simply are ignorant of what to do and how to do it. This circumstance seems to foster the development of political machine control and in a measure may account for the influence of non-democratic organizations. The informed leadership of an organization can do for adherents what they cannot do for themselves because the leadership has the requisite knowledge and may find it to be to its advantage to restrict such knowledge to the hierarchy. Little research has been done on the "withholding" of knowledge and the importance to a system of social control of withholding knowledge. (A neat research project could be designed on this subject but from unstructured observation we know enough to propose a simple action program.)

A couple of incidents mayillustrate what I am getting at. In politics, Negroes are very happy to be able to vote but are not aware of the importance of the "Precinct Convention" which the political organization likes to control. The Eisenhower supporters in Texas, you may remember, caused quite a furore by appearing en masse to take over precinct conventions in 1952 to the consternation of the small "organization" groups that had previously controlled them. Negroes in Alabama periodically make appeals to the Governor and resort to the courts to secure the suffrage. They don't realize that the County Democratic Committee controls the Registrars who enroll or fail to enroll voters on the eligible lists. It is to the advantage of the county committee to keep their influence hidden when in their roles as merchants, professional people, and neighbors they might feel pressure and called into account for their actions in their roles as committeemen. Catholic pastors, labor union leaders, NAACP officials, et al, as sophisticates who know how to manipulate community resources, may find it desirable to "do" for their rank and file rather than informing them.

The poorly informed seeking action in their interest may appeal to a school superintendent, to a hospital administrator, to a FHA supervisor without realizing that these are administrative personnel rather than policy makers. Actually these administrators may influence policy but ultimately policy decisions rest with the "boards" to whom these administrators are responsible.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

What about an educational program on effective democracy providing study materials that may be used by all sorts of groups and organizations. I am not sure that political leaders would appreciate having people know how to hold them responsible for their stewardship and to know how to interfere with their effective practices in engineering the consent of the governed in support of their practices.

If people know how to proceed to use the resources of the community there might be reduction in the explosive mass action that dissatisfied people engage in when they know no other way to express their wishes. Effective education is regarded here again to mean not simply literacy but information that familiarizes people with the community in which they live and instructs them in the manipulation of the resources of the community in an orderly manner.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MEMO

March 2, 1956

TO: CHP

FROM: GSM

As to this coming summer of 1956. Suppose you count on coming in to Atlanta for any consecutive month you choose, on the usual straight salary basis (at your annual salary rate for the month); and thereafter, in the remainder of the summer, serve as a consultant, as may be agreed between you and me. With the understanding, as at present, that some of your days of being a consultant might, by agreement, be put in in the Kentucky and contiguous area, pushing things along there.

What say?

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

April 25, 1956

TO: GSM

FROM: HCF HCF

RE: Letter from C. H. Parrish

It seems to me that C. H. is merely recording anxiety which has some basis but probably not as much as he thinks. From my point of view, the answer is that we agree on the need for steadfast adherence to the 1951 policy statement, that the way to do this is through our continuous work with the State groups, and that central policy continues to be to do it.

F.B.R. has seen and, in discussion, seemed to feel nothing was called for.

1. HCF
advice please
2. F.R.
advice please
3. 95th

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

April 4, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In reflecting upon SRC activities during the 1st Quarter 1956 it is heartening to realize that so much which was in the planning stage three months ago has been brought to actuality. True enough the achievements have fallen far short of what we had hoped for but in evaluating them it must be remembered that the hampering political pressures have increased tremendously in this election year.

It is too early of course to determine the results of the "Hard Core" Conference and the staff-board institutes that have been held so far in Richmond, Little Rock and Austin. And, too, you no doubt already have a detailed account of these meetings from John Hope. I am convinced, however, that the solid accomplishment of the consultant teams will turn out to be the techniques they have passed along for program development in difficult situations. Another gain which I have noticed is the gradual disappearance of the latent paternalism which in the past has invalidated our "good works" in no little degree. These achievements are not readily susceptible to measurement in the ordinary sense. Yet, as you know better than anyone else, it is the imponderables that count most in determining the effectiveness of our program.

I met you for the first time ten years ago at the Atlanta office after you had given an on-the-scene account of the Columbia, Tennessee riot. For me your report was the bright spot of an otherwise dull trip. During the intervening years it has been largely through your personal sacrifices and stubborn loyalty that SRC has been able to survive. To me the high point of SRC achievement during this period, and a worthy tribute to your persistent efforts, was the unanimous "South of the Future" declaration in 1951. It symbolized a basic shift in our manifest policy and has done as much as anything else to qualify us for the grant from FFR.

My reason for bringing up this now almost ancient history grows out of my fear that under the pressure of the threats of the WCC and the punitive action of state legislatures we are about to lose our posture. At the "Hard Core" conference there was

alarming evidence of a tendency to soft-pedal the 1951 policy statement and to repudiate by deliberate neglect that portion of the Declaration which refers to segregation as "a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit". Listening to some of our state representatives one would get the idea that now that segregation is unconstitutional it has ceased to be immoral.

It is interesting to observe that the smug counsel of "moderation" is in the paternalistic tradition. This argument for "reasonableness" has for its assumptions the mutual guilt of the North and the South, that WCC and NAACP are at opposite poles and equally unworthy, that the issue is between Negroes and whites, that "good" race relations are being jeopardized by the present controversy, that the tensions have been caused by outside agitation (NAACP) and would disappear if the agitation ceased. The very use of such collective terms as North , South, Negro, White, suggests that the proponents of "moderation" are not concerned with the individuals who comprise these mythical entities. Boiled down there is not much to choose between the plea of moderation and the propaganda line of the resistance groups.

It is quite possible, of course, that I am unduly disturbed about this matter. Certainly I do not advocate that we make clear our position by wearing "Jim Crow must go" buttons. It is rather my hope that a quiet stedfastness of purpose will so characterize our operations that no one can ever doubt our continued adherence to the 1951 Declaration. This would seem to be the surest way to win the respect and confidence of the "moderates" and to mobilize them for effective action.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish

May 17, 1956

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Fred and Harold and I have all discussed, separately and together, your letter of April 4th.

We agree on the need for stiffest adherence to the 1951 Policy Statement. We will all keep working with the state groups to get them to understand and do it.

I perceive the wobble backwards too. And you and I worry together about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 29, 1956

STAFF:

CHP will be in the Atlanta office June 4, 5, and 6.

eab/

August 29, 1956

Dr. C. H. Parrish
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

Sorry I missed talking with you on the telephone yesterday.

If it is convenient for you to be here next Tuesday morning (and later of course) that would probably be the best time. George Mitchell will be here that morning, though he is off again as of the afternoon. Fred, as far as I know, will be here all week. I hope you can do it, because we certainly do need to talk.

I'm afraid there is no chance of my stopping over in Louisville on the Chicago hop since I'm booked on non-stop flights both ways and the schedule is pretty tight.

Unless I hear otherwise, I look forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Comments on "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences," by Frank C. J. McGurk, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Psychology, Villanova University
in U. S. News & World Report, September 21, 1956

by C. H. Parrish

Dr. McGurk begins his discussion by reviewing the comparative intelligence test scores of Negro and white soldiers during World War I. He finds, of course, that the average test score for Negroes was considerably below that for whites. He chooses to analyze these World War I test scores in terms of the extent to which the Negro test scores "overlap" the white average. He assumes that half of the white test scores are above and half below this midpoint. Thus it would be expected that since the Negro midpoint is below that of the whites the percentage of Negroes scoring above the white average would be something less than 50 per cent. He then reviews the studies bearing on this point of test differences which appeared during the period 1935 to 1950. In the studies which he cites he points out that the percentage of the test scores of Negroes that exceeded the average for whites had not changed appreciably since the World War I results were published. This overlap was 27%-29% in 1918, dropped to 20% in 1939-40, was up to 30% in 1945 and back again to 29% in 1951. Meanwhile, he goes on:

> "....since World War I the social and economic position of the Negro has improved....the Negro has achieved more and more of the social and economic opportunities that were once reserved for the white man and to say that the socio-economic status of the Negro has risen at a faster rate than the whites is not an exaggeration.....but in the 16 years between 1935 and 1950, a period in which the social and economic status of the Negro had certainly improved over the World War I period, there can be found no factual evidence that this improvement had increased the Negro' relative ability to perform on psychological tests. There is, of course, a great deal of opinion that this matter, but let it be said again that the factual evidence completely denies the theory that improving the social and economic status of the Negro improves his capacity for education, as we have defined the latter term."

One of the six studies which McGurk considers pertinent to his arguments is his own ("Comparison of the Performance of Negro and White High School Seniors on Cultural and Noncultural Psychological Test Questions," Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press), published in 1951. He tested 213 pairs of Negro and white high school seniors selected from Pennsylvania high schools and matched by the method to be described later. In 1953 Dr. McGurk rearranged these data ("On White and Negro Test Performance and Socio-economic Factors," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vo. 48) in order to answer three questions:-

> "If the social and economic opportunities were such important factors in causing racial test-score differences, what would be found if we compared Negroes and whites whose socio-economic status was very high?
> "And the second question: What would be found if we compared Negroes and whites whose socio-economic status was extremely poor?
> "Finally, would the difference between Negroes and whites of very high socio-economic status be less than the difference between Negroes and whites of very low socio-economic status?"

In order to get a clear picture of what Dr. McGurk seemed to consider a crucial investigation the explanation is given in his own words:

> "To understand the results of this study, it is absolutely necessary to understand the composition of these two socio-economic groups. Recall that, in the 1951 study, a white subject was paired with a Negro subject when the white subject was identical or equivalent to the Negro subject in terms of 14 social and economic factors thought to be important. This means that, in terms of socio-economic status, there were no white subjects higher than the highest Negro subject. Also in terms of socio-economic status, there were no Negro subjects lower than the lowest white subject. Each Negro subject was permanently paired with a white subject so that both subjects were equal or equivalent in terms of each of the 14 socio-economic factors. The extremely high socio-economic group was selected by picking out of the entire group of Negroes subjects whose socio-economic factors were the highest. This became the High Negro Group. In picking these Negro subjects, the white subject who had been permanently paired with them had to be picked also. The latter group became the High White Group. "

In comparing these groups he finds that in answer to his questions:

> "...only 18 percent of these Negro children of excellent socio-economic background obtained test scores that equaled or exceeded the average white score. This is even poorer Negro performance than that which was reported in 1918, and this is all the more significant when we consider that, in the 1953 re-analysis, we were dealing with Negro children of fine social and economic backgrounds. The conclusion to be drawn from this finding, in relation to the World War I data, is that, when the Negro is given better social and economic opportunity, the differences between Negroes and whites actually increase."

The supreme confidence of Professor McGurk in his own findings is not supported by three of the other five studies he uses to back his argument. (Two of the articles were not available to the present writer.) Parallel quotations from Dr. McGurk and the source authority will bring out this point:

Work cited - H. A. Tanser, Kent County Negroes: (Chatham, Ontario) 1939

McGurk - -

> "According to the author, social and economic opportunities had always been equal for all Negroes and whites in this area, except for a few minor outbursts of oppression directed toward the Negroes."

Tanser - -

> "It may be safely stated....that white pupils attending Central School come from homes that on the average are of a considerably higher socio-economic status than the homes from which the coloured pupils come. In the case of the rural schools....the children..., both Negro and white, come from homes that are generally of an equal socio-economic status." Tanser's figures (below) show that the urban (Central School) difference is two and a half times the rural difference.

(Average I.Q.	Rural		Urban	
Whites (Median I.Q.)	96.29	(47)	104.68	(339)
Negroes (Median I.Q.)	90.06	(60)	89.08	(43)
Difference - - - -	6.23		15.60	

Work cited - A. M. Shuey: "A Comparison of Negro and White College Students by Means of the ACE.", Journal of Psychology, v. 14 (1942)

McGurk - -
"Shuey's findings are....no indication whatsoever that equal socio-economic opportunities will equalize or improve the Negro's test performance in comparison with the white's."

Shuey - -
"It cannot be inferred that all....factors have been equated. One may conclude, however, that such equating as has been done here has decreased the differences usually found between white and Negro college students but that the differences have not been eliminated."

Work cited - F. Brown: "An Experimental and Critical Study of the Intelligence of Negro and White Kindergarten Children." Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 65: 1944.

McGurk - -
"Unfortunately, the author did not attempt to equate the Negro and white children regarding socio-economic factors. However, all children attended nonsegregated schools.... All the children were very young, which is supposed to equate socio-economic differences....31 percent of the Negro kindergarten children overlapped the average test score of the white kindergarten children....(this) represents no improvement over the World War I standing of the Negro. Whatever socio-economic benefits accrued to the Negro children in Minneapolis in 1944 were not sufficient to change their standing relative to the white children with whom they were compared, when the World War I data are the basis for comparison."

Brown - -
"The problem of socio-economic status as it affects the Negro remains stubbornly insoluble so far as an accurate equating of groups is concerned as long as occupational opportunities are not the same for both whites and Negroes."

These excerpts are enlightening. In Dr. McGurk's words, they come from the "only existing studies that relate to the problem." In no instance do they seem to warrant Dr. McGurk's assertion that "the factual evidence completely denies the theory that improving the social and economic status of the Negro improves his capacity for education." Even more interesting are Dr. McGurk's own figures adapted below from his 1953 article mentioned above but for some strange reason not given in the U. S. News and World Report article:

	High SES	Low SES	Difference
Mean test score - White	31.49	21.72	9.77
Mean test score - Negro	23.43	20.00	3.43
Difference W-N	8.06	1.72	

The greatest difference in averages (9.77) it may be seen is between the High White Group and the Low White Group and the smallest difference (1.72) is between the Low White Group and the Low Negro Group. It is further pertinent to observe that although the High Negro Group is only 3.43 points higher than the Low Negro Group it is slightly superior to the Low White Group.

One of two conclusions may be drawn from this table:

1. Improvement in socio-economic status changes the average test score for whites but does not appreciably affect the average test score for Negroes.(This is to say, in effect, that the low test score of the low white economic group is due to their poor socio-economic status but the low average test score of the low Negro group is due to the fact that they are Negroes.)

2. The other possibility here, which unaccountably McGurk seems not to be aware of, is that there is something faulty with the equating technique used to differentiate the groups. This latter view is strongly suggested by Shuey and Brown in the excerpts quoted above and may be commented on briefly.

Most of the scales for determining differences in socio-economic status involve the use of a series of questions about the material possessions, education and occupation of the individuals to be distinguished and classified. If two groups are to be compared, however, a serious question arises as to whether the material possessions, education and occupation have the same meaning within the two groups.

Conceivably, the possession of a Cadillac may not have the same significance in the white community as it does in the Negro community. Frequently these material possessions are used as compensation for the deprivation occasioned by life in the Negro community. There is also some doubt that a professional in the Negro community has comparable status with a professional in the white community. If the level of competition is lower in one group than in the other a given individual would get ahead faster and with less effort in the low level group than in the group where the competitive situation is more demanding. Up to a point -- the higher the level of competition the greater the stimulation to achievement. It is likely in this connection, although studies are not presently available on the point, that the Negro community is much less highly differentiated in socio-economic status than is the white community. Certainly there is much evidence here to suggest the necessity of proceeding with caution in drawing inferences based on the use of the usual equating devices.

A decade ago, Klineberg (Characterists of the American Negro) summarized the effect of socio-economic differences:

> "Improvement in the socio-economic environment of white children raises their test scores considerably. A change to a poorer environment has a correspondingly bad effect....This has two important implications for group comparisons: First, that the test scores may not be taken as measures of innate capacity; second, that the superior socio-economic environment of certain racial groups imposes upon them a handicap which makes their test results not comparable with those of whites."

"In the comparisons of infants no socio-economic effect is evident. A study in New Haven reported by Gordon W. Allport (The Nature of Prejudice) supports this conclusion.

"The average New Haven Negro infant of this study is equal in behavioral development to the average New Haven white baby."

Another significant report, dealing with pre-school children, is cited by Allport who commented as follows:

"In language development Negro children living in segregated districts were more retarded than white children but Negroes living in mixed neighborhoods were almost equal in language development....Apparently," Allport continues, "in non-verbal intelligence preschool children show no difference, but verbal ability is already influenced by social factors: Children in segregated districts may be off-spring of uneducated Negroes, or they may lack the sense of freedom in social intercourse without which language cannot develop flexibility...."

We are led to the tentative conclusion that if the comparison between two groups is made by using very young children or persons of low socio-economic status, the difference in average test scores is negligible, but the tests quickly lose their validity when comparisons are attempted between older children or persons of higher socio-economic status.

An additional observation may be made about Dr. McGurk's complete reliance upon psychological tests which other investigators have long recognized as being inadequate for the comparison of different racial or ethnic groups. C. C. Brigham whose book, American Intelligence, published in 1923 was, at the time, the best presentation of the mental inferiority hypothesis, had this to say in a 1930 article (Psychological Review, v. 37; p. 165):

"This review has summarized some of the more recent test findings which show that comparative studies of various national and racial groups may not be made with existing tests, and which show, in particular, that one of the most pretentious of these comparative racial studies - the writer's own- was without foundation."

Since this statement was made there has been no important contradition of it by any leading authority in the field of mental testing. Certainly there would be no justification for comparing, as McGurk does, the results of different tests, for different periods and for different unselected groups.

There is no doubt that McGurk's "findings", insecure as they are, will be used widely as a justification for opposing school desegregation. However, it should be pointed out that except for propaganda purposes, articles of the McGurk type have no real pertinence in the present bitter controversy over the schools. It is the potentiality or the achievement of the individual that is important and not the average test score of the group with which he is identified. We will agree that the average American is taller than the average Japanese but if there is a Japanese individual who is six feet tall - he is still six feet tall - no matter what the average height for Japanese may be.

* * *

November 2, 1956

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

This lady writ in, and here's what I writ her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. copy Ltr from Mrs. Miles of the Unitarian Fellowship of Daytona Beach

November 26, 1956

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

I wrote the Daytona Beach people as enclosed. So do come by here, and we will foot that part of hon. bill.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: RHA
FBR

Encl. Copy of ltr to Mrs. P. L. Miles dtd 11/2/56

November 28, 1956

To: HCF

From: GSM

CHP called in. His wish was to consult you as to what plans Parrish should make for the coming Summer.

Annually for so long as we have had this relationship with CHP, at about this time of the year he has approached whomever may be the boss in half-whispered conversation as to this matter. CH is quixotic as is normal for a professor: Shall he ask the University of Louisville to set him up with a schedule of summer-time teaching with pay; shall he ask some other college so to pay him for teaching; or shall he hope to be at SRC's disposal for a solid or semi-solid block of time?

I have each year tried to find out a bit as to what CH wished. This year he says he would perhaps like it best if he could be used for a couple of months consecutively. He has to have some free time outside of the two months compacted block of work.

Always heretofore the arrangement I have had with him was that when he came in for such a block of time he drew salary at a stated annual rate, and no per diem except for days when he might be in travel status under SRC orders.

I rather think I have in previous summers regarded him as drawing at a salary level of $7,500. Mrs. Oster will consult Mrs. Alexander and turn up for you an exact statistic.

You will probably be in for a goodish CHP bill were he merely to charge us for his $35 plus travel for being Peripatetic. I never calculated it but I doubt if you spend much more holding him here not in travel status for a block of two months.

I made bold to promise CH that you HCF would communicate with CH tomorrow - November 29th - in regard to this matter.

GSM:mbo
See attached

11/28/56

HCF:

C. H. Parrish worked in Central Office of SRC from June 13, 1955 to August 31, 1955. ~~His Salary~~ The gross salary paid was $1,647.70 at the rate of $7,500. per year.

RHA

January 8, 1957

Mrs. P. L. Miles
55 Hibiscus Drive
Ormand Beach, Florida

Dear Mrs. Miles:

This relates to Mr. Parrish's run down to Ormand Beach and back. By agreement, duly notified to you in my letter of November 2, 1956, your group was to stand the expense of Parrish's travel Atlanta-Ormand Beach-Atlanta; and SRC was to stand the expense of Parrish's travel Kentucky-Atlanta-Kentucky. Atlanta-Ormand Beach-Atlanta end of the run mounted up as follows:

Train fare	$15.74	
Plane fare	23.60	
Total Travel		$39.34
Hotel		6.00
Airport transportation		3.50
Total expense		$48.84

Incidentally, Mr. Parrish's run cost SRC a days fee as a consultant and we are a'paying that uncomplainingly and in full.

But we do now bill you expectantly for the $48.84.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: RHA

January 8, 1957

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Many thanks for news from Daytona.

Fred tells me that the Roberts-Williams rift is healed. But I think rifts last longer than Fred thinks they do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo to GSM —
Copies to Harold —
" Fred —

January 4, 1957

Trip to Daytona Beach —

Arrived Saturday 3:00 p.m. December 22 after all night on the train. In spite of my weariness dinner at the Davidsons was extended through eleven o'clock — The conversation was stimulating and enjoyable. Mr. & Mrs. Miles and the young Davidsons were the other dinner guests.

Sunday — 11 o'clock at the Little Theater — with the editor presiding I made my speech about Louisville. The sophisticated Unitarian service was carried through with clock-like precision — I began at 11:31 — stopped promptly at 12:01 — and after 14 minutes of discussion — conversed informally during the coffee period.

I had dinner with the Roberts and at 6:30 met with the local human relations council at the Mt Bethel Baptist Church. At least

I was scheduled to meet with the Council group but found myself in the regular evening church service with few of our people there. Changed my talk from a discussion of race differences - to the moral imperatives in race relations -

Caught 12:10 A.M. plane to Jacksonville - waited two hours for a late Atlanta flight - Arrived Atlanta at 5 o'clock - left for Louisville a half hour later and was home by 6 o'clock CST.

There seemed to be some difficulty in the relations between Roberts and Williams - and Roberts is preparing to make a move. Since Williams was not in Daytona during my visit I got only one side of the story - except for a veiled comment at the Davidson's Saturday night. Will talk about this when I ~~[illegible]~~ Atlanta next week -

~~[illegible]~~ Aaron

Parrish
Kentucky

April 9, 1957

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

I am sending you under separate cover "The Case of the Lively Ghost," put out by the American Foundation for Political Education. Emory Via got a copy for each of our state orgs and senior staff members.

Best personal regards. See you in Memphis.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh

FBR:mm

Dictated but not read by Mr. Routh.
Signed in his absence.

Staff

October 1, 1957

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

I am sending along as promised a copy of the letter from Kloppe. In it you will note that he suggests the meeting take place in Austin and that the second weekend in October is preferable. In my phone conversation with him I stressed that the meeting should be informal.

I hope it will be possible for both of us to get there on Friday afternoon, October 11. Without doubt we will be talking on the phone together before that time.

Best regards.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

October 31, 1957

M E M O R A N D U M

To: C. H. Parrish

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

:

Listed below are some persons who may be candidates for the conference with Dr. Davidson:

(1) Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

I don't know if this meeting is to be interracial, but if so, surely Dr. Mays should be included.

(2) The Most Reverend Joseph B. Brunini
123 N. W. Street
Jackson, Mississippi

If Catholic, certainly Bishop Brunini.

(3) The Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick
Bishop of the Episcopal Church
802 Hillsboro Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

(4) Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Richardson - cont'd.

High in Methodist and World Council of Churches, of course.

(5) Mrs. E. U. Robinson
Box 516
Gallatin, Tennessee

Member of the Board of Missions - The Methodist Church.

(6) Mrs. J. F. Tillman
Lewisburg, Tennessee

President, Women's Division of Christian Service - The Methodist Church.

(7) Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, President
College of the Bible
~~Montgomery, Alabama~~

(8) Reverend Cornelius C. Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Southern representative of the conscience of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

(9) Dr. Harold C. Letts
231 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Board of Social Relations of the United Lutheran Church in America. Not a Southerner but has access to the Luterans in the South.

(10) Mr. Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.
1716 Westend Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

October 31, 1957

Dr. C. H. Parrish
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Since talking with you, Mr. Wright has called and I thought you would be interested in his comments.

He informs us that he has talked with Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Dabbs is agreeable. Mr. Wright in turn says he is satisfied and happy with the whole turn of events. I am also enclosing a list of possible churchmen with a few notes concerning them. Think you will find the list self explanatory.

Best,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure: 1

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . C. H. PARRISH . . Monday Dec 9 1957

Dear Harold —

I hope the meeting today helped clear things up satisfactorily about the building. I have had my fingers crossed all day.

Since I talked with you I have received materials from John & Fred and today I got the newsletter. All of this helps considerably on the matter of communication.

I am maintaining my state of readiness to come to Atlanta if and when a "good purpose may be served." If Fred and I can work out anything program-wise during your absence, let me know. There is a slight preference at this end for the 18th - 20th. I have not talked to John about this so I don't know his schedule. You may defer your telephone call until Friday, if necessary — But wishes all around —

CHP

December 9, 1957

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

I am anxious to make the field services division of SRC as effective as possible. From time to time I get the feeling that we have not shown the imagination we might in program development. I would very much welcome a memo from you suggesting how we can improve our efforts. Such questions as these you might answer:

I Strategically what are the most important communities on which to concentrate at this time?
a) What should we do in these communities? (1) Role of Consultant Service Program. (2) Inter-agency cooperative effort.

II Can we develop meaningful program suggestions for state organizations in the hard core area?

III How can we improve communication between SRC and a) state organizations, b) other organizations in the inter-agency cooperative effort, c) church denominations, d) labor organizations, e) key people and status persons, and f) universities and youth groups?

IV What specific recommendations do you have for our internship training program?

V What better use can we make of our Board of Directors?

Any other suggestions you might have are more than welcome. Please feel free to write frankly and in detail.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

December 13, 1957 CH

Dear Fred,

Since I got your letter the other day, I have read for the third time Herbert Blumer's article in the March 1956 ANNALS(pp. 137-143). It presents an adequate theoretical basis for our operation; I would suggest that it be suggested, if not required, reading for all central and state staff persons. The following excerpts seem to be directed specifically to SRC:

"The carrying through as well as the blocking of deliberate desegregation depends on mobilizing and focusing influence and power on central functionaries. . . . .The vehicle of procedure is strategical maneuvering, designed to marshal and utilize the potentials of power and prestige available in the given situation.

. . . (T)he advantage in the long run is in the hands of the side which is able to capitalize on the prestige and strength of the transcending group. Agencies seeking to achieve racial desegregation have a particularly strong strategic weapon (it is not always seen or used) in focusing on the validity of applying the transcending legal or moral standard. This makes it unnecessary to challenge or impugn the feelings and attitudes of the functionary toward the subordinate racial group, or to try to change such feelings and attitudes. . . . . .(This approach to the functionary in terms of the validity and need of applying the standard) provides the opportunity of shifting the contest from a question of a struggle between the racial groups to a question of obedience to the transcending legal or moral standards."

With respect to most of the specific questions raised in your letter, I have already expressed my views from time to time. The joint decisions on particular matters which seem to be called for now cannot be reached on the basis of individually submitted recommendations. Such decisions require discussion in which a given recommendation may be challenged on the spot and in context. Consequently, my remarks in answer to your questions are given without elaboration in the hope that they may provoke discussion at some later time when detailed arguments may be presented.

Question # 1 - - -

In deciding where to concentrate our efforts select —the large city in preference to the small town; the regionally strategic city in preference to the merely locally significant; the community under court order in preference to one which is not; the community in a complying or waiting state in preference to one in the hard core group. Offhand, for one of these reasons or another, Dallas, Houston, Memphis, Norfolk, Miami, New Orleans come to mind. What should be done would depend upon the community under consideration. In general, the resources of the community should be known and the sympathetic agencies should be coordinated in order that an effective program be developed.

Clear

The consultant service program should be more flexible so as to permit, in addition to the community workshop, consultation with school superintendants and other community leaders. If an invitation is lacking, the state or local human relations agency might invite the consultants to meet with their own board members, with special guests from the community leadership; the meeting would be held, of course, in the community under study. Inter-agency cooperation need not involve a joint effort but may involve a division of labor with each agency doing a specific job within its area of competence but tied together by an overall strategy.

Confer

Outside

along

Question #2 - - - (Program suggestions for the "hard core")

A reappraisal of the concept,"Hard Core State", and its implications for SRC is needed. It is likely that we have"gone overboard" in our emphasis upon the official position of the state government as the determining factor in program-planning. There are influential "hard core" elements in nearly all of the states, including several states in which some desegregation has occurred. Even in the states where there is no desegregation considerable variance in the popular support of the official position is discernible.

State programs should be regionally oriented and whatever is done should be evaluated in terms of the regional strategy. Staff people in all of the states have the obligation of looking for cracks in the wall of resistance and of devising ways and means of exploiting them. The concentration of attention upon particular communities within the state is preferable to a futile statewide program. If the desegregation of schools is too hot to handle, there are always other areas to which attention may be given. Turning to Blumer again: "When given programs of racial desegregation (in any area) succeed, they weaken the support of other established forms of segregation."

Question #3 - - - (Communication)

I am not sure what is meant here by "communication". We have tended to stress the dissemination of factual information mainly for the purpose of conteracting pro-segregation propaganda. Through occasional newsletters and bulletins we have attempted to bolster the morale of our own people and to give them some notion of the overall situation. What seems to be needed is more interpretation, more communication of goals and objectives, more frequent declarations of intention, more "spelling out" of the meaning of events in terms of a clearly defined regional strategy. This goes far beyond the communication of facts; it suggests the need for developing a context, or perhaps several compatible contexts, within which the odds and ends of factual data can be arranged. At the risk of triteness, I offer three possible contexts: The Brotherhood of Man; The Democratic Society; Economic Progress,

Once we have agreed upon what is to be communicated, the problem of how to communicate it is somewhat simplified. I think we should recognize the fact that the difficulties in communication between SRC and its former affiliates arise out of the necessary priority given to fund-raising. They cannot hear what we have to say about program as long as their very existence is jeopardized by lack of funds. I do not know how to deal with this problem but I think its importance in communication should not be underestimated. The only concrete suggestion I have on the matter of getting over SRC's point of view to the state groups is by means of a quarterly review and analysis of each state operation. These evaluations would be prepared by the SRC central staff and sent to each state group to be distributed and discussed at the next state board meeting.

To other organizations (inter-agency--church--labor) and to key people I would send the "best of Harold Fleming" in the form of a twice-a-year appraisal of happenings in the region, somewhat on the order of the six months' report distributed to our own board members. It would be helpful if and articulate as well as knowledgeable spokesman for each of the other cooperating agencies could be persuaded to do the same thing and thus set up an interchange of summary reviews. Other agencies might help, too, in preparing a comprehensive list of key and status persons both within and outside the region.

I am not sure but what communication with universities and youth groups should be mediated through existing youth organizations like the YWCA. If it has not already been done, editors of college papers might be put on our mailing list.

Question #4

The internship training program should include:

(1) Training in good observation and objective reporting (from HF, JC and PA).
(2) Training in workshop organization and ~~ADMINISTRATION~~ leadership (fromFBR and JH).
(3) Training in community organization (perhaps from GTH).
(4) Knowledge of the difference between a public and private agency.
(5) Training in the techniques of fund-raising.
(6) Training in the techniques of salesmanship.
(7) Need for a sound theoretical approach to the problems of inter-group relations.

Question #5

Each member of our Board of Directors might be asked to name key and status persons in their areas or over the region and to indicate the kind of involvement possible in each case.

Since we will have a chance to talk about these matters shortly, I have completed this memorandum hastily. I hope it suffices for our present purpose.

Cordially

C. H. Parrish

Copy to John Hope

January 15, 1958

Mr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

Here is a memo representing the thinking of John Constable, Paul Anthony, Emory Via, Marge Manderson, and me regarding a materials distribution list. Even though it comes "from SRC's Professional Staff" you need not feel bound by it since you didn't have a voice in its formulation. Any comments you might have, any improvements you might propose, would be most gratefully welcome here.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

Rec'd 3/10/58

March 8, 1958

Return to JBR

Harold —

CHP file

The item marked Memorandum #2 has been presented to and approved by Superintendent Carmichael.

It may serve to give some idea of what I am doing now. Between times usually once or twice a week I have been putting in a few hours at the Board of Education checking tests results ~~during~~ for the 1948-1952 period.

This exploratory phase should be completed during the summer (if funds are available or in prospect) and the stage set for intensive studies to begin in September.

March 7 1958

Confidential Memorandum
To: Harold Fleming and interested SRC staff persons
From: C. H. Parrish
Concerning: A research proposal for and analysis of public school desegregation in Louisville and Jefferson County with special reference to the differential achievement levels of Negro and white pupils.

For nearly a year some of us here at the University of Louisville have been considering the feasibility of undertaking some basic research centering around the desegregation of the Louisville schools. President Davidson made the initial suggestion that we might attempt to determine the implications of desegregation for the University's teacher-training program. The reasons for the interest on the part of the University is easy to understand. We are the major teacher-training institution in the area, have on our staff the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Louisville's public school system and receive from local high schools four fifths of our entering freshmen.

We (the faculty committee) soon found that the focus upon teacher-training was too limiting. What we really wanted to do was conduct a series of related studies that would get at some of the basic issues raised or uncovered by school desegregation. We have not yet come up with a concise statement of our objectives. The statement given above is far from adequate although it does describe our initial emphasis. One of the most frequently voiced objections to desegregation (that it would lower the standards of the school) is based upon the established fact that Negro children in segregated school systems are on the average considerably below the white children in scholastic achievement. We are sure that socio-economic background is an important factor of explanation here but we are also sure that there are other factors, though probably not mutually exclusive ones, such as motivation and the culture traits peculiar to the segregated Negro community. We have reasoned that an inquiry into the nature and interrelationship of the various factors affecting school achievement would provide valuable clues for more intensive studies of the desegregation process and, at the same time, suggest possible answers to some fundamental questions, such as, the effectiveness of standardized educational procedures in underprivileged urban areas.

A few of the questions that have been raised will give you some idea of the variety of our interests.

What is the bearing of differences in neighborhood upon the careers of individual students with the same or nearly the same potential?

How is teacher morale affected by the socio-economic status of the area in which she teaches?

What is the effect of race and/or socio-economic status upon aspiration level?

Are there racial and status determinants of vocabulary and speech habits?

In all of this there is a good opportunity for the kind of "study in depth" that is sorely needed in the area of our mutual interest. Full cooperation may be expected from the school administrators and, if needed, from the Council of Social agencies and the Chamber of Commerce. Competent University staff persons are ready to assume responsibility for the research and President Davidson will seek funds. The only flaw that I can see is that I have the major responsibility for preparing the proposal and for directing the operation. Your help is needed as a consultant. Please send any suggestions you have as to the content of the proposal and the fund-granting agencies that might be interested. Please "drop the word" in the right places. Later I will ask you to criticize the full proposal.

CHP

March 7, 1958

Confidential Memorandum
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From: C. H. Parrish
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MEMORANDUM #2 December 1957

TO: Research Project Committee

FROM: C. H. Parrish

RE: AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT IN THE LOUISVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

RATIONALE .....

Last March, as a result of informal discussions, some proposals were made (by Lois Dean and C. H. Parrish) for a research project on the Implications of School Desegregation for Teacher-Training. Within the context of this larger project, the present inquiry has importance. In several cities, including Louisville, a sizeable difference in the level of achievement of white and Negro schools has been noted. Although it is generally assumed that much of this difference may be attributed to the socio-economic factor, precise knowledge on this point is lacking. There is even greater general significance for teacher-training in the alleged difference in educational outcomes and standards of schools that serve the inner city and those that serve the fringe areas. The ecological approach suggested here may be expected to throw considerable light upon both of these problems.

Implicit in these observations is the assumption (many times supported by other studies) that, within the city, socio-economic status is closely related to the neighborhood. The ecological approach would thus focus attention upon the school district as the socio-economic setting within which the level of achievement of the school may be evaluated. This viewpoint necessarily limits consideration to the elementary schools, since the junior high school serves too wide an area for ecological considerations to have significance and the senior high school is likely to pull the students from all over the city.

PROCEDURE .....

(1) Secure a map of Louisville (by census tracts) showing the 1950 elementary school district lines and the location of all the elementary schools. (Negro school district lines should also be shown.)

(2) Using census tract data, work out for each school district an index of socio-economic status and some measure of homogeneity.

(3) Where feasible, construct separate indices for the Negro and white populations of each district.

(4) Select appropriate elementary schools for the following comparisons:

a. Compare schools serving the same racial group but drawn from divergent socio-economic areas.

b. Compare schools serving the same racial group and of similar socio-economic level but located

in different parts of the city.

c. Compare schools serving the same racial group in the same district.

d. Compare schools serving different racial groups in the same district. (Or adjacent districts.)

e. Compare schools serving different racial groups located in widely separated sections of the city but of the "same" socio-economic level.

(5) Comparisons described above would be in terms of the results of the achievement and intelligence tests given on a city-wide basis during the period 1948-1952 inclusive.

FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS .....

One advantage of the proposed study is that no new materials would need to be collected. Both the 1950 census tract data and the intelligence and achievement test results should be immediately available. The chief problem here is that of working out an arrangement with the Board of Education for the use of materials there without inconveniencing the staff.

Although the present inquiry will not necessitate any direct contact with pupils in school, there is always the possibility of some unpleasantness arising in connection with an investigation of this sort. The matter of socio-economic status is a rather delicate one and it would not be desirable for invidious comparisons between schools or school districts to become items of public discussion. As a basic rule, therefore, all references to schools or areas, even in the statistical tabulations, will be made by number or letter rather than by name. As a matter of course, local school authorities will be consulted about any plans for the publication of the research findings.

The advantage of starting with the district and the school as basic units, rather than with the individual child, is two-pronged. In the first place, distortions made probable by dealing with the individual in a vacuum are avoided. In the second place, the proper direction of subsequent intensive studies is more clearly perceived if there is prior knowledge of the context within which the studies are to be conducted.

Four factors which seem to affect school achievement are: native ability, motivation, socio-economic background and the competitive situation. The last mentioned factor is frequently overlooked. A child of given ability and background is likely to perform differently depending upon whether most of his associates in the classroom are above or below him. In addition to other information, it is thus important to know the extent to which the child is challenged,

discouraged or simply bored by the school situation in which he finds himself. The investigation here proposed should throw considerable light upon this point.

A few of the more specialized investigations which might stem from the present inquiry may be mentioned.

(1) The careers of individual pupils might be traced over a period of years to discover the factors which are most important in leading up to college entrance.

(2) The most recent city-wide test results might be compared with the 1948-52 period for the same districts or the same schools.

(3) Heterogeneous schools might be compared with homogenous schools to determine whether the socio-economic composition of the school is reflected in the relations of teachers to pupils and of the pupils to each other.

(4) Once the importance of the socio-economic factor in the comparison of racial groups is determined, a research project can be directed toward the effect of the cultural factor on school achievement.

March 18, 1958

Dr. C. H. Parrish
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

You will recall the Executive Committee request that the staff consider and report on the feasibility of a college program. Accordingly, we hope to assemble the appropriate staff persons plus others in Atlanta who work in this area for a meeting on April 16. If possible, we would like to have you with us for this meeting.

This is a preliminary meeting to consider what is now being done, what SRC may or may not do to help, etc. In short, a meeting to explore the whole idea.

The date of April 16 is tentative. Please let me know as soon as possible whether or not you can be here on that date. In turn, we will confirm that date as soon as we are able to determine your response and that of the Atlanta people.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

LOUISVILLE KENTUCKY

April 3, 1958

Interdepartmental Communication

Dear Harold,

Please look over this proposal and give me the benefit of your thinking on it. Show it to the others, particularly Emory Via, for their comments. We (the members of the Special Research Committee) are using it as a basis for discussion prior to revision and referral to President Davidson. Still to be added are a time schedule and budget breakdown. We are going to suggest a three-year project costing about $35,000, exclusive of publication expense. We will probably get a small "pump-priming" grant from the University for the purpose of exploratory research and for travel in search of expert advice on phases of the project.

As for the summer, it will be appreciated if SRC can use my services for six weeks after the middle of July. I do not see how a project of this sort can be processed and readied for implementation before September.

I will be looking forward to a visit with you April 16. Find out from Marge if she has an up to date bibliography of research studies in Desegregation. I do not want to omit anything important in the paper I am preparing for the Amer. Asso. for Public Opinion Research: "Action Research in Situ." I have to laugh every time I think of that subject.

Kindest regards to all.

Enclosures —

QH.

C-J 3/21/58

Race Advisers Told Laws Aren't Needed

Education — not legislation— is the main hope for eliminating Louisville's remaining racial problems and barriers, the Mayor's new committee on racial understanding was told yesterday.

The statement came from the Rev. Frank O. Taafel. He presided at the organization meeting of the committee, which was set up to advise the City Administration and the community on ways to improve racial relations here.

Mr. Taafel's statement drew concurrence from others attending the meeting at City Hall.

However, several committeemen — and particularly Edgar Bottigheimer — felt that there still might be instances where legislation would be needed.

A subcommittee was named to draft a "set of principles and procedures" for the committee. Subcommittee members are Lawrence Speckman, C. Paul Downard, Bottigheimer, Dr. C. H. Parrish, and Mrs. Norvelle Wicker.

t cover sale

Rough Draft of Project Proposal

The peaceful desegregation of the Louisville Public Schools in September, 1956 has been widely publicized. It was the first sizeable southern city to take such a step and the very absence of incident contrasted sharply with the disturbances at Clinton, Sturgis, and Clay. As yet, no important effort has been made to examine this seemingly unique desegregation process in systematic fashion. The need for such a critical examination is clearly indicated, not only for its value to other communities soon to be faced with the same ~~xx~~ problem, but also because it will contribute significantly to our understanding of the nature of intergroup relations. There is here a rare opportunity for the study of an ongoing process which is as yet in its initial stages.

The University of Louisville is the major teacher-training institution supplying the Louisville and Jefferson County public schools. The top administrative officers of the Louisville schools are listed as faculty members of the University. The undergraduate colleges of the University get four out of five first year students from Louisville and Jefferson County high schools. There is, therefore, an understandable deep and continuing interest on the part of the University in the policies and practices of the public schools of the area. Now that the schools are operating within a new context, it is more than ever important to know the kinds of problems which the schools now face and how they may affect the purposes, scope and emphases of the University's various programs.

A year ago at the suggestion of the President of the University an interdisciplinary faculty group began discussion of the opportunities for basic research provided by the local situation. This proposal is a direct

result of these discussions.

Originally our concern was a practical one. We attempted to formulate a problem which had direct and immediate pertinence to the program of the X University. We asked: What are the implications of school desegregation for the University's teacher-training program? It soon became apparent that the basic issue raised by this question related particularly to the merging of two divergent schoolx systems which had been serving different segments of the community and had been measuring achievement in terms of widely divergent practical standards. More and more we became interested in the extent of this divergence and the reasons for it. There seemed to be no doubt that the inferior position of Negro children in average achievement differed only in degree from the low achievement level of children drawn from other segments of the population, notably, rural migrants and the people who are forced by circumstances beyong their control to live in the deteriorated areas of the inner city.

These considerations strongly suggested the ecological context as the most useful basic orientation for organizing and coordinating specific studies of the desegregation process. We reasoned that the neighborhood approach would permit us to hold the socio-economic factor constant while we examined other factors in school achievement aside from mere residence, such as the cultural isolation of the Negro community. It further seemed likely that the nature of interpersonal contacts across racial lines in desegregated schools would be more clearly perceived and understood against this ecological background. And finally, if as we suspect, there is revealed a significant positive relationship between the socio-economic status of an area and the level of achievement of its school, the purely "racial" aspects of desegregation may tend to disappear.

Tentative Stages in the Research Procedure

1. Using the elementary school district as an ecological unit the inter-relations between socio-economic status and school achievement will be determined for the period 1948-1952.

2. On the basis of the data for the pre-desegregation period (1948-1952) appropriate elementary schools will be selected for comparisons such as the following:

a. Compare schools serving the same racial group but drawn from divergent socio-economic areas.

b. Compare schools serving the same racial group and of similar socio-economic level but located in different parts of the city.

c. Compare schools serving the same racial group in the same district.

d. Compare schools serving different racial groups in the same district. (Or adjacent districts).

e. Compare schools serving different racial groups located in widely separated sections of the city but of the "same" socio-economic level.

3. Changes in achievement level since desegregation will be determined by comparing the 1956-'58 test results with those of the pre-desegregation period.

4. The essentially statistical findings indicated above may be validated by interviews with the principals and teachers who staffed the elementary schools in the pre-desegregation period. This part of the investigation should have great value in indicating the situation within which desegregation took place.

5. In all of the preceding items the elementary school is the unit of inquiry. A somewhat different use of the same materials would focus attention upon the individual pupil. One projected study of this type is the tracing of the scholastic careers of sixth-graders of 1950 who showed

exceptional promise at that time. Normally they would have entered college in 1957. Comparisons should be possible which would reveal the effects of racial identity and socio-economic status upon their careers.

6. It is not anticipated that an analysis of the socio-economic factor will account completely for the lag in achievement of Negro children. Many students have called attention to the cultural diversity of the urban community. Ethnic groups, particularly, exhibit culture patterns often markedly different from comparable patters in the general community. Negroes, prohibited by law as well as custom from participating in many community activities, have tended to create a social life of their own. A major research project is indicated in this area. An attempt will be made to determine what the significant culture differences are, how they influence the motivation and the career choices of Negro children, and in what ways such differences affect the desegregation process.

7. The racially mixed school will be studied rather intensively. Schools will be selected at each level for these investigations. With certain precautions, junior high schools may be selected by using the same ecological techniques that were employed in the analysis of the elementary schools. Appropriate techniques will be adopted or devised in order to examine inter-group and interpersonal relations in the class room, in extra-class activities and in parent-teacher organizations. Research designs for this phase of the investigation will be formulated on the basis of information provided by the background studies described above.

Research Techniques

The foregoing descriptions of specific projects underline the importance we attach to the formulative and exploratory phase of the research and our belief that diagnostic and experimental studies should come after rather than before the development of a basic frame of reference. It has been

pointed out that:

> "the development of knowledge rarely progress in a direct, stepwise manner; its path is more like that of a spiral. Each step forward in the resolution of a problematic situation is, at the same, time, a step in the direction of raising new questions and of reformulating older ones that require additional study"[1]

This view of the development of research, with which we concur, precludes commitment to the use of any single method of investigation. In general, therefore, it will be our policy to select and use the technique that seems most suitable to the particular problem at hand. Wherever possible behavior will be described as it occurs in its natural setting by participant observers. For the schools selected for intensive study the guided interview will be relied on in our attempt to reconstruct the situation existing prior to desegregation. Another important use of the extended interview is indicated in seeking to find out what the values and aspirations of school children are and the basis for their formulation. Schedules will be used for the most part in the comparison of roughly homogeneous groups, e.g., children of the same age and grade level but from different schools, or, perhaps, faculty groups from contrasting socio-economic districts. In this way, we hope, individual attitudes will be evaluated within a known context rather than in a vacuum. Every effort will be made to keep the reasearch device unobtrusive.

---

[1] Jahoda, Marie, Deutsch, Morton, and Cook, Stuart W. Research Methods in Social Relations, The Dryden Press, 1951, Part I, p. 28.

August 4, 1958

Dr. Philip G. Davidson, President
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Davidson:

Since I was unable to see you before I left Louisville, there was no chance to tell you about the status of the research effort nor to find out from you the reaction of fund-granting agencies to our proposal. Perhaps this letter will serve to bring you up to date on my activities and at the same time provide you with additional ammunition in your request for funds.

As you may recall, the University Research Committee gave us $500 for (a) travel to New York, Chicago and St. Louis in order to confer with specialists about the project; (b) purchase of filing cabinet and other smaller items of office equipment; (c) clerical aid in the preparation of socio-economic indices. On the basis of a loose interpretation of "clerical aid", Mrs. Carol Dowell has been working at the Board of Education this summer. She has been copying on 4x6 cards the names of those in the upper 10% of their school on the basis of achievement tests. She plans later to find out what has happened to these youngsters. Proper follow-up will have to wait for necessary funds.

My job was to construct socio-economic indices for the school districts and to compute a five year level of scholastic achievement for each elementary school. Only the second part of this task has been completed. The first part is still in progress. However, there is clear evidence that the variation in achievement level among white elementary schools taken alone is consistent over the period 1948-1952. The range for six grade achievement is two and a half years (from 4.94 years to 7.44 years) and between a half-dozen schools at the top and a half-dozen at the bottom there is a clear gap in achievement without overlapping in a single year. One cannot help suspect that the teaching problems in these contrasting situations are sufficiently different to be taken into account in teacher preparation.

The Southern Regional Council recently got a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for the purpose of organizing materials that will redefine the desegregation issue in such terms as will appeal particularly to industrial leaders and other decision-makers in the southern region. By fortunate coincidence my major job for SRC this summer is to explore the thesis that city school systems are under stress these days because of the necessity of absorbing new populations and of meeting the educational needs of a heterogeneous community. The issue of desegregation is thus merely part of a larger problem. In following through

on this assignment, I expect to interview a few school superintendents in key cities but for the most part my time will be spent in running down pertinent references. This should give us a head start in case a sizable grant is secured for our research project.

My address for the rest of the summer is 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, c/o Southern Regional Council. You have my best wishes for a pleasant vacation.

Very truly yours,

C. H. Parrish

CHP:ls

August 21, 1958

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. John O'Connor
5115 Moorland Lane
Bethesda 14, Maryland

Dear Dr. O'Connor

Your letter was forwarded to me here in Atlanta but since I was out on an assignment at the time additional delay was occasioned. I hope this note gets to you in time to be of service.

As I understand it the comments and discussions at the Friday and Saturday afternoon sessions will be based upon the main presentations of Friday morning and evening and Saturday morning. This suggests a certain amount of flexibility in the short presentations of the consultants. In line with this reasoning the following alternative plans are offered for my remarks:

Plan I

A broad delineation of the context within which public school desegregation in the South is taking place, mentioning briefly:

a-The persistence of traditional attitudes about race relations which may be summed up, perhaps, by the phrase, "caste-pattern of thought".

b-The sometimes underestimated importance of political considerations, their ecological foundations and their consequences in terms of resistance groups, selective news releases and a deliberately conceived propaganda campaign to induce a distorted view of the South.

c-The impersonal forces for change - industrialization and urbanization. The increased mobility of southern people and the invasion of the "Yankees".

d-The increased determination and high morale of the Negro people.

e-The continuing activity of liberal groups in the South in spite of terrific pressures.

f-The constrictive pressure upon "hard core" areas at the center by virtue of more and more desegregation around the edges.

Plan II

Since I have in hand some materials on the status of higher education in Kentucky, my contribution might be confined to this area.

Plan III

A third alternative is to give a brief account of desegregation at the University of Louisville.

Perhaps, since you must already have suggestions from all the other consultants, you might select from the foregoing anything that would fill a gap which seems to be developing in the presentations.

Cordially yours,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:ls

August 22, 1958

Dr. Aaron Brown
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Brown:

We were pleased to get the news release for July 30th describing in broad outline the interesting project which you are directing. You must make it a point to come by the SRC office when you are in Atlanta for further discussions of it. Since my stint with the Council is nearing an end, it is probable that I will not be here when you arrive. However, several members of the permanent staff are eager to learn more about what you have been doing because it is so directly pertinent to our operation.

I am a person with two hats, sometimes I am not sure which I am wearing. One hat is the Southern Regional Council, but the one I wear most of the time is the University of Louisville. Both interests are tied in with your project. Included with this letter is a project proposal which I wish you would read and then pass along to Wilton Dillon for his comments.

I can be in New York September 2-3 if one or both of you will be available for conference on either or both of these days. Since I am leaving for Chicago next Wednesday (August 27), I would like to know about your availability prior to that departure date. Please write me here or wire me collect. If I do not hear from you in time, I will make all the necessary arrangements to be there and then call you for confirmation before I leave Atlanta.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:ls
enc.

on Univ of Louisville letterhead stationery

Originals of this same letter sent to public school superintendents in:

Baltimore	Jacksonville, Fla.	Richmond
Birmingham	Little Rock	San Antonio
Charlotte, N. C.	Memphis	
Cincinnati	Minneapolis	
Houston	Oklahoma City	

August 26, 1958

Miss Ira Jarrell, Superintendent
Atlanta Public Schools
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Superintendent Jarrell:

An exploratory investigation by a group at the University of Louisville has revealed a wide variation in the level of achievement among Louisville elementary schools. For the period 1948-1952 there was a difference of two and a half years (7.44 to 4.94 yrs.) between the mean level of six grade achievement of the best and the poorest white elementary schools. Evidence points to a positive correlation between the socio-economic status of the elementary school district and the achievement level of its school.

I wonder whether you have any immediately available materials bearing upon these points? What we would like to have is the result by schools of the testing program for some recent year with an indication of the socio-economic status of each school district. It would be helpful also if there is a breakdown in terms of the racial composition of each school.

Enclosed is a list of questions which bear upon other phases of our interest. Any help you can give us will be appreciated. We will use your comments and materials in constructing a questionnaire for research purposes to be distributed more widely.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Professor of Sociology

CHP:ls

The school system of a rapidly growing city has to adjust and readjust to an ever changing social situation. It seems desirable to see what some of the problems involved are and to inquire about the methods and techniques being devised to meet these problems.

Problems:

MIGRATION Who are the people coming into the city? Where do they come from mostly? Where do they settle? Are they more concentrated in some areas than in others? What are the problems of language, race, culture impinging upon the schools? What are the effects of the intrusion of alien elements into a school district? (A new housing project may have all of the aspects of large scale migration so far as a particular school district is concerned). Are any of these problems of significance in your community? If so, what is being done about them?

FRINGE AREAS What coordination, if any, is there between the central city school system and the school districts of the surburban communities in the urban fringe? How are the problems of overflow being met? In this connection what are the problems of public school financing which have been raised by the spilling over of the city's population into surrounding areas?

INNER CITY What is the extent of the lag, if any, in school achievement of elementary schools in deteriorated areas? Where are the best elementary schools located? How is the morale of teachers in the schools in poor areas maintained? What are the rules about teacher transfers? Is the quality of teaching equally good in poor and well-to-do areas? Is there a problem of high mobility of pupils in some of the elementary school districts of your city? How is this problem being met? Are any special training methods used in preparing teachers to work in low socio-economic areas? Do you believe special training is necessary for this work? Are "social" promotions the rule or the exception in your system?

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS Are senior high schools specialized in your community? Among high schools which are unspecialized is there wide variation in the percentage of graduates going to college? Is there any particular high school to which the children of "nice" people go? Going back 25 years has there been any significant change in the prestige of "the" high school of the community?

GIFTED CHILD What is being done in your community to discover and develop the gifted child? What definition of "gifted child" do you use? At what grade level is consideration first given to the gifted child? Are any special committees at work or research being done in this area?

NEGRO SCHOOLS If segregated schools are maintained in your community what differences are discernible among them in terms of the neighborhoods in which they are located? To what extent do the differences between Negro and white children in achievement level appear to be attributable to socio-economic factors? In most cities, Negroes constitute a high proportion of the population of the inner areas. Is this true in your community? What provisions, if any, are made for gifted Negro children?

By C H Parrish

September 9, 1958

Mr. Peter E. Siegle
4819 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Peter:

I will be glad to serve on the committee to advise CSLEA on relations with Negro colleges. Please let me know as early as possible when the committee meeting is to be held.

You will note that future communications should be directed to me at the University of Louisville.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:ls

BOARD OF DIRECTORS FRANK NEUFFER *University of Cincinnati, Chairman* RICHARD T. DETERS, S. J. *John Carroll University, Secretary* HARLAN M. BLAKE *University of Minnesota, Attorney* ALEXANDER CHARTERS *Syracuse University* JOHN DIEKHOFF *Western Reserve University* A. A. LIVERIGHT RALPH MC GILL *Editor, Atlanta Constitution* ERNEST E. MC MAHON *Rutgers University* CHARLES A. NELSON *Cresap, McCormick and Paget* LLOYD SCHRAM *University of Washington* PAUL SHEATS *University of California*

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

4819 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15 Illinois WAgner 4-0200 A. A. LIVERIGHT *Director*

August 27, 1958

Mr. Charles H. Parrish
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charlie,

Will you serve on a committee to advise CSLEA on relations with Negro colleges?

The first task will be to plan a meeting for the December Southern Association meetings in Louisville.

The planning session ought to take place early in October.

Sincerely yours,

Peter

Peter E. Siegle
Research Associate

PES/ew

Dear Peter —

I will be glad to serve on the committee to advise CSLEA on relations with Negro colleges. ~~Do you wish~~ Please let me know as early as possible when the committee meeting is to be held. You will note that future communications ~~with me~~ should be directed to ~~Louisville rather than Atlanta~~ me at the University of Louisville. Cordially "C.H."

September 12, 1958

Mr. Peter E. Siegle, Research Associate
Center for the Study of Liberal Education
for Adults
4819 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Peter:

Just got your memo on time and place for the committee meeting.

The dates are acceptable and I prefer Atlanta as the place of meeting.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate
(Signed in his absence)

CHP:ls

September 4, 1958

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Peter E. Siegle, CSLEA

TO: S. J. Wright; Samuel Nabrit; C. H. Parrish; G.W.C. Brown; B. A. Brazeal

We would like to hold a meeting of the committee to follow up on the Chicago CSLEA meeting of July.

The committee chairman, S. J. Wright, suggests the weekend, October 10, 11, 12, probably for 1½ to 2 days.

Two questions:

(1) Can you meet then?

(2) Which do you prefer strenuously, Atlanta or Nashville?

Please let me know immediately what you think about dates and place.

Sincerely,

Peter E. Siegle
Research Associate

RHA -

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 7, 1958

Dear Harold —

Although I'll be in Atlanta Friday, it is not certain that I'll get to see you because the meeting I am to attend begins with lunch at Atlanta University — Friday 12:30. Consequently I am sending a check to cover travel Chicago - New York last August 31 - September 3. Other checks will be sent to cover travel to Atlanta this week and back to Chicago and New York the week following.

CR. #91 20
RHA
10/9/58

Work on the rough draft is moving very - very slowly. Whatever I have in hand by next week I'll send to you for editing and suggestions —

If it is possible I'll get down to the office for a few minutes at least and look in on the interagency conf.

In any event, best of luck —

RHA

P.S. What did you say to the U.S. Attorney General?

April 27, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish, Head
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Harold is ill and out of the office; will be back by mid-week and will call you then regarding the six-weeks you have available for us.

In haste.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

May 5, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish, Head
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

I may see you in Madison next week; having been invited by the SAA to serve on a May 16 panel. But I don't want to delay any further in answering your query about summer plans. Let's agree that SRC will command your services for the six-week period following June 7. One proposal is that we lock you up without food or water until the manuscript is completed.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

April 29, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Reginal Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Charlie Steele gave me the news about Fred's resignation. I called the office, found you out of town, but did get a chance to talk to Fred and ask him to relay my time schedule to you. Commencement is Sunday, June 7, after which date I will have approximately six weeks prior to the second session of summer school. I hope some arrangement can be made for the use of my services by S.R.C. during that time.

Between now and June 7 I have only two tentative commitments: at Madison, Wis., May 14-16 with the Society for Applied Anthropology, and with the planning committee for the National Student Association, possibly at Atlanta, May 23-24. If I come to Atlanta I'll get to see you for a little while at least.

Please tell Les Dunbar that although my time is not my own these days, the pamphlet is still uppermost in my mind.

Regards to staff friends and associates.

Cordially

C. H. Parrish

CHP:sn P.S. Sorry to hear from Fred about your illness. Hope it isn't serious.

P.S. #2
Dr. Frank Stallings who did the study of the effect of desegregation on ~~Sch~~ achievement in Louisville Public Schools is seeking a journal in which a summarizing article might be published. I suggested the Journal of Social Issues. Do you have other suggestions? It is a useful article for our purposes.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1206 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JUNE 17, 1959

MR. THOMAS HARRIS
VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

WILL BE IN RICHMOND AIRPORT FOR FEW HOURS BEGINNING NOON FRIDAY. IF YOU ARE FREE, PICK ME UP.

C. H. PARRISH

July 31, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Thanks for your letter and the expense checks.

I'm sorry you're finding the birth pangs of your report so severe. Believe me, I've had the same experience often enough to sympathize. Usually the thing that has sustained me is the thought of how wonderful it will be when it's over. And so it always is! So take heart and push on through.

The grapevine reports of prospective teacher integration are most encouraging. We are glad to have the word, but will say nothing about it, of course.

Best from all of us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

P.S. -- Did the waiting room report have any impact there?

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

July 28, 1959

7 cks
123.00
123.13
7 v.
RHA 7/29/59

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

RECEIVED JUL 29 1959

Enclosed are checks covering plane fares to the Phelps-Stokes meeting and the CSLEA session in Chicago, July 9-11. I have been at home ten days now; I must be at least 15 days behind schedule but have hopes of getting something readable to you soon. The smallest job defeats me. Perhaps I don't deserve a rest but I certainly need one.

In the letter from Wilton, forwarded to me from Atlanta, there is a note for you. He asks if you are planning to use reprints of Howard Zinn's article in the August Harper's, "A Fate Worse Than Integration."

Among the letters and other materials requiring my attention here is an item of interest to SRC. The minutes of the last meeting of the Ky. chapter of ACLU contained a short report from Dr. Rabb (Negro physician, militant NAACP officer) on teacher integration in Louisville. He requested that no further action be taken by the local civil liberties group, in the light of assurances he had been given that Negro teachers would be integrated quietly, beginning in September. It is very hush-hush; Carmichael would not want it to appear that he has acted under pressure.

Give my regards to all.

Cordially,

"CH."

C. H. Parrish

via air mail

June 27, 1960

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

This is an unpardonably slow answer to your letter of June 18, but I have been on the lecture circuit almost constantly the last two weeks. Mildred did send along some material that Ursula might find helpful; I hope it arrived in good time.

If we had more time before your dates of availability, I would like to settle on some agreed course of activity for your summer stint. Perhaps you may yet have time to drop me a note setting forth your idea of how your time can be used to the best mutual advantage; I am handicapped in initiating this exchange, since Les is on vacation until next Tuesday.

At any rate, this is to confirm the arrangement you propose -- at least twenty working days in Atlanta on the same financial basis as last year.

I followed hotly on your trail at Blue Ridge, my assignment being to speak to some 400 adult YWCAers from the Southeast. I gather my remarks, which seemed run-of-the-mill to me, were hot and controversial stuff to some of the delegates -- a refreshing experience.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

June 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Since you were engaged during the brief time of my visit a few weeks ago, there was no opportunity to talk to you about the possibilities for this summer. Acting upon the remote contingency that my lack of productivity during the last two years has not disqualified me for further service with SRC, I am submitting herewith the dates of my availability.

I will be free for eight weeks, beginning Monday, July 18. During that time, if it is agreeable, I should like a flexible schedule of at least twenty working days in Atlanta on a per diem basis, similar to the arrangement last year.

My daughter, Ursula, is still preparing to go to Russia, in spite of the tense international situation. The State Department has encouraged the group to go on with its plans. Since she is leaving town next Sunday (June 26) you can understand how busy we all are in making preparations for her departure. After a week of briefing in New York, the group will fly to Paris, July 2 and enter Russia, July 10. Twenty of the forty days spent in Russia will be in a student camp at Kiev, six days in Moscow and another six days in Leningrad. If all goes well, they'll be back in the 'States September 3.

Week before last, I was at the Student YM and YW conference at Blue Ridge Assembly. It was a pleasant experience. I noted a deplorable lack of information about SRC. In spite of the fact that SRC has produced the most reliable information about what is going on in the South today the institutions with the same general objectives do not make much use of our literature.

Please give my greetings to the Staff. I hope to hear from you soon and favorably on my request.

Cordially,

C.H.

P.S. A few "next steps" (with map) and some description of SRC objectives and policies should be helpful to Ursula on her trip.

Enclosure: Check, $47.96 for use of Travel card - as indicated
CR RHA 6/21/60

HF

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 30, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You no doubt caught the underlying note of desperation in my recent letter to you. I am grateful for your consideration. However, I am as anxious as you are that some way can be found for me to make a real contribution - one that will give me some feeling of achievement. The completion of the pamphlet will be on my own time, at least to the point of an acceptable first draft. Then it can be decided whether it is worth finishing.

Although I have followed rather closely the course of events during the last few months, I do not know SRC's present plans or how I would fit into them. Perhaps something will jell after I think about it a little longer. Meanwhile you can talk to Les and perhaps he can pass along his ideas to me. Since I am very much in need of rest, I could defer my arrival in Atlanta for a week. On my way down, if there is any point to it, I could spend Monday (July 25) in Nashville. The only commitment I have between now and September is the Catholic Interracial Council in St Louis, August 25-28. This would allow plenty of time (25 working days, including the week of August 29) to get in the minimum number of days suggested.

I'll write you again within the next two weeks, whether or not I hear from you in the meantime.

Cordially,

Dan

JC

Could you handle — ??

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 5, 1960

Miss Marge Manderson
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Marge:

Enclosed is a list of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations. I promised to get to them a packet of materials dealing with the sit-in demonstrations throughout the South. If it is possible, I hope you will get these materials to them within the next week so that they will have a chance to read them prior to the next meeting of the Committee.

Also, if it is agreeable to Harold, I would like to see their names on a mailing list so that they can receive, from time to time, such information as will enable them to evaluate local protests in the public accommodations area.

Please give my regards to the staff.

Cordially,

C.H.

C. H. Parrish

CHP/jrc
Enclosure

MAYOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Charles T. Steele, Executive Dir.
Louisville Urban League
608 West Walnut

Dr. C. H. Parrish, Jr.
926 South Sixth

Bishop Felix Anderson
44th Street

Mr. Lewis D. Cole
719 West Chestnut

Mr. Edgar Bottigheimer
1425 Eastern Parkway

Mr. Paul Tafel
Tafel Electric Company
P. O. Box 1943

Mr. John M. Hennessy
Circuit Court Clerk
Court House

Mr. Morton Walker
418 W. Ormsby

Hon. Lawrence F. Speckman
Attorney at Law
122 South Fourth

Rev. Frank O. Taafel
Veterans Administration
Zorn Avenue

Rabbi Martin Perley
1649 Cowling Avenue

Monsignor Joseph Wheatley
8414 Blossum Lane

Rev. W. Augustus Jones
1000 South 41st

Rev. H. M. Greene *
1037 South 16th

Mrs. Leopold Fleischaker
2348 Saratoga Drive

Mrs. N. Gray Rochester
Watterson Trail
Jeffersontown, Kentucky

* is not a regular member - has been asked to sit in on meetings

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . C. H. PARRISH . . . . .

October 25, 1960

CR $100.98 10/26/60
RHA

Dear Harold—

Please turn over to Ruth the enclosed check ($100.98) which, as I recall, was the cost of my trip to St Louis in late August. Also remind her to make reservations for me and for Charles Steele at the Waldorf for the evening of November 9.

Since this is an all purpose note, I am also enclosing a clipping which may supplement national press releases on the action of the "Disciples" in their meeting here. I suppose John or Marge can make use of it.

I still intend to vote for the better of the two presidential candidates although I am almost persuaded that he cannot win.

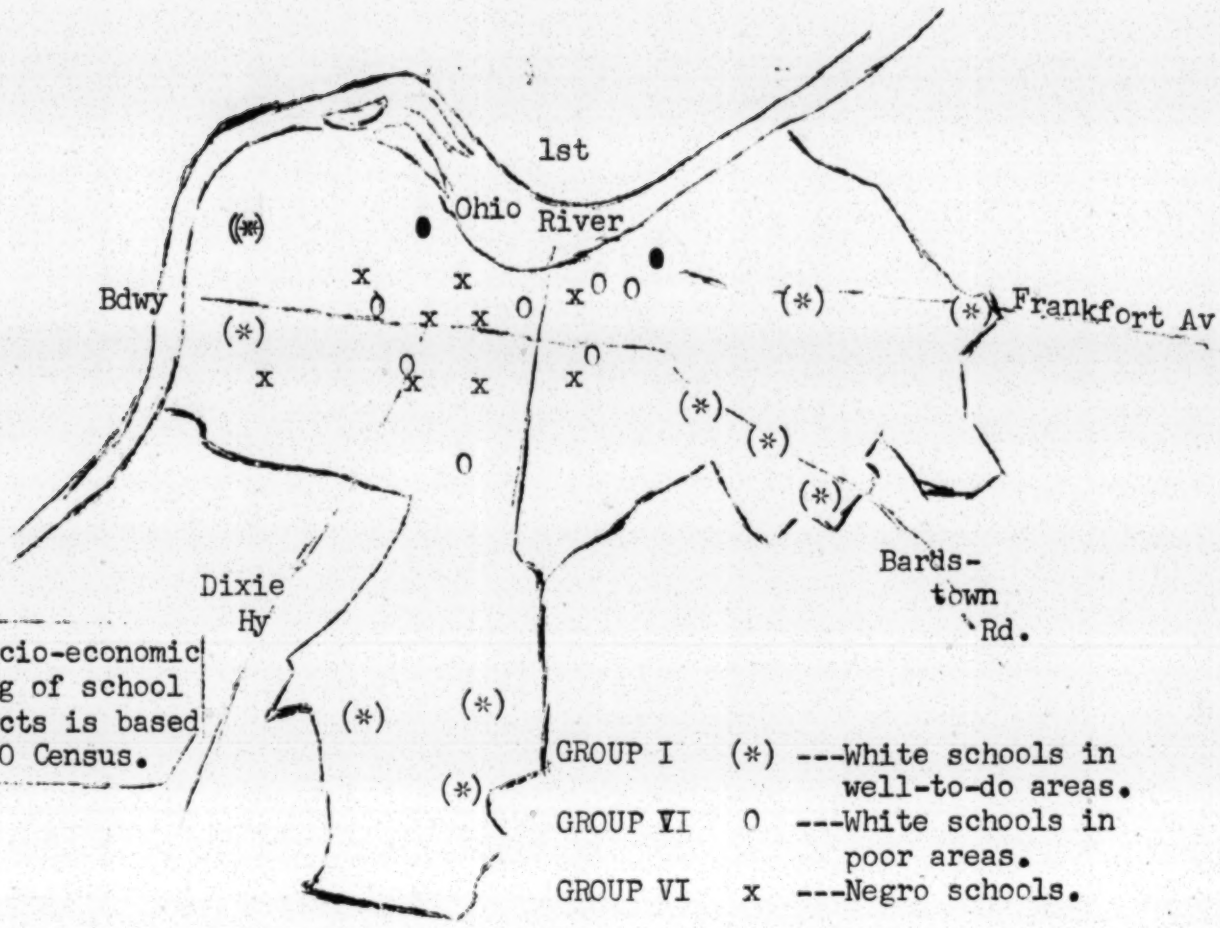
Report to the staff my eager anticipation of seeing all of them again soon.

C.H.

File - CHP

ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED GROUPS OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS[1]

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
1960



[1]The socio-economic ranking of school districts is based on 1950 Census.

EXPOSITION

Forty-one white elementary school districts (as they were in 1950) were arranged in order of their socio-economic status. Percentile rankings were used. Groups I and V include, respectively, schools representing the top nine and bottom nine districts. Not shown on the map are the schools from intermediate districts (Groups II, III and IV). The nine previously Negro schools shown on the map are those remaining after desegregation.

From the three thousand sixth grade pupils in Louisville Public Schools in September 1950 the most promising (those with I.Q.'s 120 Orabove plus others in top ten per cent of their schools in achievement) were selected for special study. How many finished high school? How many went to college? Comparisons on these points are available for the groups shown on the map. They are presented in the table below along with other data showing the sixth grade achievement levels of the three significant groups of schools for the period 1948-1952 and for the single years 1956, 1957 and 1958.

TABLE I Comparisons of Three Groups of Elementary Schools as Indicated

ITEMS COMPARED	INNER CITY SCHOOLS		OUTLYING SCHOOLS
1---Promising 1950 6th Graders	Group V	Group VI	GroupI
who - - -(Per eent)	- 0 -	- x -	-(*)-
(a) Finished H. S.	50.9%	72.2%	92.2%
(b) Entered College	21.8%	34.7%	72.4%
2---Average 6th Grade Achievement			
(a) 1948-1952 (Sept. test)	5.4	---	6.5
(b) 1956 (January test)	5.3	4.7	6.9
(c) 1957 (January test)	5.2	5.1	6.8
(d) 1958 (May test)	6.1	6.5	8.0

In 1958 nearly one third of the elementary school population attended "inner city" schools. The consistently low achievement in these areas and the tendency for many of the bright youngsters to drop out of school suggest a serious loss of potential in the central part of the city. Further research is needed in order to determine the extent of this loss and its causes.

C. H. Parrish, University of Louisville

via air mail special

January 30, 1961

Mrs. Nancy Gerber
Secretary
Division of Social Sciences
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Gerber:

I knew there was something I forgot to ask you to do. I am scheduled to attend a meeting of the Children's Hospital Board on Tuesday afternoon.

I hope this note gets to you in time so you can call Mr. Veeder's office and explain why I cannot be present at the board meeting.

Thanks,

C. H. Parrish

CHP/mf

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 23, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am looking forward with some anticipation to a meeting with the new Director of Research. From your recital of his accomplishments and qualifications, he will be a fine addition to the SRC staff.

As you know, during the last few years, I have experienced some frustration in my efforts to make a contribution to the Southern Regional Council. Perhaps I have attempted to do certain tasks for which I have had no great enthusiasm. Consequently, I am hesitant to suggest what a proper arrangement might be for the coming summer. Perhaps the commitment might be for five weeks work with twenty days pay and per diem expense for the full five week period. This would be comparable to the arrangement for the summers of 1959 and 1960.

My available time begins after summer school, which terminates July 21. I could then be in Atlanta for two full weeks (July 24 - August 4) and then for three weeks following August 16. It is likely that the NSA Southern Project Advisory Committee will meet for one day between June 12 and June 15. If so, I can spend a couple of days in the office for consultation with you during that period.

I have a previous commitment which prevents me from coming to Harold's "going-away" party and will have to forego the opportunity to express to him in person my wish for his success in the new venture.

Give my regards to the other members of the staff.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

CHP/jrc

December 22, 1961

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

Thank you for your note of December 17. What is this hospital business? I trust it is nothing serious.

Best wishes for the season.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . C. H. PARRISH . . . . December 17, 1961

Dear Les:

In Miami Beach I had a short conversation with Ruth Perlmutter. We did not come up with anything new on Miami. However, we both wondered if any consideration was given to the summary that Ruth addressed to me. There were several fruitful suggestions that might have been used for interpretation.

Usually at this time of the year I have come down to Atlanta for a few days. Sorry it wont be possible to extend best wishes for the season, in person. This note will have to serve.

Because of a physical condition that needs to be corrected before I go to Africa, I'll spend the holiday season in the hospital. If things go well, I should be able to meet my classes January 2.

So, to each and every member of the staff, a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Cordially,

C. H.

C. H. Parrish

THE PROBLEMS OF METROPOLITAN AREAS

Political Science 475 - Sociology 475 (3 hours credit)

The truth is, this whole continent, north of the Rio Grande, is passing through a major economic and social revolution. We have a new pattern of human settlement; . . . we have seen the end af an historic epoch, and we are now in the opening stages of a new era, the era of the metropolis.

Dr. Luther Gulick

Two out of every three people in the United States now live in metropolitan areas. The concern of this Institute therefore, is less with the technical problems to be solved than with the long range perspectives involving human problems and needs and with the necessity of defining goals to be attained in terms of the total metropolitan society. The Institute will meet Monday through Friday, June 19-July 22, in Room 103 of the Social Sciences Building.

INSTITUTE SCHEDULE

First Week (June 19-23) The Growth of Metropolitan Areas

What is metropolitanism? What has caused it? How has it developed? What is happening in and to metropolitan areas today?

Guest Lecturer (June 23) Dr. Philip Hauser, Chairman, Department of Sociology and Director, Population Research and Training Center, University of Chicago.

Second Week (June 26-30) The Metropolis Against Itself

Multiple governments and conflicting jurisdictions are wasteful and ineffecient. What measures can be taken to avoid impending chaos?

Guest Lecturer (June 29-30) Dr. Robert C. Wood, Associate Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Third Week (July 3-7) The Full Life

Traditionally cities have been centers of culture. What opportunities does the modern metropolis provide for pleasant relaxation, recreation, and constructive leisure time activities? Are health and welfare needs being met? How good are the schools? What is the proper role of the university in a metropolitan area?

Guest Lecturer (July 3) Mr. Julian H. Levi, Executive Director, Southeastern Chicago Commission.

Fourth Week (July 10-14) The Economic Base

The mature person needs a job; the central city needs a healthy business district; the metropolitan area as a whole needs industrial growth; city government needs an adequate tax base. Are these needs being met? What needs to be done?

Guest Lecturer (July 10-11) Mr. Philip Hammer, Consultant, Atlanta, Georgia.

Fifth Week (July 17-21) A Place To Live

Housing is a perennial problem of rapidly growing metropolitan areas. The burden falls heaviest upon non-white migrants. What is being done? What can comprehensive planning and, more particularly, urban renewal, contribute to the solution of many of the problems presented during the Institute?

Guest Lecturer (July 17-18) Dr. Chester Rapkin, Professor of City Planning, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Pennsylvania.

The Institute on Metropolitan Problems will be coordinated by Dr. Reuel Hemdahl and Dr. Charles Parrish of the University of Louisville. Dr. Hemdahl is Professor of Political Science and acting head of that department while Dr. Parrish is Professor of Sociology and head of the Sociology Department. In addition to the University of Louisville faculty members and the distinguished guest lecturers, the Institute instructional staff will include a number of people from public and private agencies in Louisville and Jefferson County.

REGISTRATION FORM

To: Director, Summer School 1961, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky

Please enroll me _____ name

_____ address

in The Institute on Metropolitan Problems on the following basis,

_____ Individual Registration (non-credit, enclose registration fee of $50)

_____ Organization Registration (non-credit, enclose registration fee of $50) Under the organization plan, a group or agency, upon payment of the registration fee, is entitled to send one representative to each institute meeting. The attendance may be by the same individual or by different individuals, providing that the registered organization sends no more than one representative to any meeting.

Registration for the course for credit as Political Science 475 or Sociology 475 must be completed on the University of Louisville campus on Friday, June 16. (Late registration, Monday-Thursday, June 19-22.) Regular tuition rates apply to credit registration.

Make checks payable to the University of Louisville.

2.17
Pamph

Institute On The Problems Of Metropolitan Areas

Summer School
University of Louisville

1961

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
SUMMER SCHOOL
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

ARTS AND SCIENCES
FIRST SESSION
JUNE 19 - JULY 22

SECOND SESSION
JULY 24 - AUGUST 26

REGISTRATION:
UNIVERSITY CENTER
JUNE 16, 1961
9:00 A.M. - 2:00 P.M.

SUMMER SCHOOL OFFICE
UNIVERSITY CENTER
ME 7-2531, EXT. 343

May 18, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

This is in reply to your letter of May 13. It is not a definitive reply, necessarily, but intended primarily to set in motion the reaching of an agreement as to your time.

Ever since coming with SRC I have been troubled by what seemed to me the ambiguity and vagueness of your appointment. This has seemed to me unfair to you and inefficient for SRC. Last year, as you will recall, I tried to work out a program which would be definite and fairly specific: you got the employment studies started and you filled in for Moss during part of his absence. I had hoped this year to design a similar plan.

After considerable thought and discussion, I think that we cannot see our way to making good use of more than 20 days of your time this summer. You will be hearing soon from Heslip Lee regarding a workshop in Bluefield (W. Va.). This will, I understand, take three days. The rest of the 20 I would like for you to give to our study of tokenism. This can be done in Louisville as well as here.

I am hopeful that, after a meeting a fortnight from now with Oscar Cohen, I can approach Mr. Stallings about helping us. If so, and if he agrees, the two of you could profitably work together. Regardless, there are questions which we would like for you to research.

To sum up, I think we should limit our commitment for the summer of 1962 to 20 days, all of which should be planned for Louisville except the three days in Bluefield.

One of our problems is, as always, money. For this reason, I think we shall have to discontinue your regular attendance at Executive Committee meetings. Instead of attending the May 30 meeting, I suggest that you come down to the summer meeting, combining that with a day or so to discuss your research for us on tokenism.

C. H., let me have your frank reaction. With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
bcc: Mr. John H. Wheeler

Louisville, Kentucky
May 13, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, SRC
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Acting on the assumption that there may be some demand for my services this summer, I am indicating below the periods I am available and the financial arrangement that I hope will be mutually satisfactory.

I can be in Atlanta almost continuously from June 25 to August 31. (I have a previous commitment for one week in early August). Thus I can be on tap for a minimum of nine weeks. If something productive can be found for me to do for the full forty-five working days, it would be a favor if I could be paid on a consultant basis similar to last year's.

Suggested breakdown:

Twenty-seven days consultant fees @ $40.00 - - - -	$ 1080.00
Sixty-three days per diem expenses @ $9.00 - - - -	567.00
Extra travel allowance - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	153.00
Total	$ 1800.00

Additional days, prior to June 25 or after August 31, would be without compensation, if not in excess of ten working days. However I would expect any expenses incurred in connection with the extra days work to be borne by SRC.

I have talked briefly to Dr. Stallings about the proposed piece on "Tokenism". He seemed eager to do it and is waiting for me to tell him more about it. If there are odds and ends of research materials immediately available that can be sent to me, he and I can project a tentative outline during the next few weeks.

Unless otherwise directed, I will attend the Executive Committee meeting on May 30. Till then,

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 28, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Thanks for your letter of May 18, regarding my status with SRC and the use of my services during the coming summer. I would have written earlier but the letter from Heslip Lee did not reach me until last Friday just as I was leaving town. I am writing him today indicating that the week of July 16 is a satisfactory time for me. Since I am to take over the role of Paul Anthony, perhaps Paul will be good enough to let me know exactly what he conceives his role to be. (The small contradiction between your "three days" and Lee's "second week" is not important.)

I suppose that my long association with the Council and its predecessor, the old Interracial Commission, has tempted me to hold on well beyond my period of usefulness. Part of it, too, I suspect, is due to my desire to be close to what is going on. However, there is no satisfaction in accepting a job, even without compensation, unless there is some challenge to it. Consequently, if you can think of something that needs to be done and falls within the narrow range of my talents, I'll gladly attempt to doit.

Since I am expected to attend Connie's meeting on Thursday it is possible that I'll be in Atlanta during the time of the Executive Committee meeting. So if you see me around the office Wednesday it will be for the purpose of collecting some population data, not to attend the SRC meeting.

Tell Ruth that I will send additional checks to cover use of air travel card. The enclosed is self-explanatory.

Cordially,

C. H.

C. H. Parrish

June 12, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Before getting off for a few days vacation I do want to straighten out our arrangements for the summer. I am sorry that we seemed to find no chance to talk when you were here last month. Perhaps this will remedy the omission.

Oscar Cohen, as you may have heard, had an attack, and is under strict medical care. When in New York I did talk with Mort Sobel and we are in agreement as to the desirability of a joint publication on what might be called tokenism, though that word and the problem which it signifies becomes harder to define. We have made no definite decisions or plans yet, and cannot for a short while. There is no doubt, however, but that the kind of assignment I proposed to you will, in any case, be needed. If agreeable with you, therefore, we would like to take 20 days of your time this summer, at the usual rate, which, except for the Bluefield trip, would be devoted to the problems described below. We wish you would call on our new and able Research Assistant - Janet Smith - for any data or material you need. (Janet will be out for a minor operation for about two weeks; in the meantime, Jim Moss or one of his other people can serve you.)

What we want is:

1. A compilation and comparison of figures on Negroes in schools with whites in the 17 states since 1954, by school districts. This should be fairly easy to put together from the periodic SERS statistics summaries.

2. An analysis of these figures based on rates in various geographical and cultural sections, and on types of desegregation plans.

3. A compilation and analysis of data - even of only fragmentary and illustrative - of academic results following desegregation in one or two or more school systems. This would have to be done where there has been fairly substantial desegregation. Louisville and Nashville would be likely choices. We already have, as you know, a good bit of information about St. Louis and Washington; what is needed is data on more "southern" places. I should suppose that you can without great difficulty get data on Louisville; I would hope that by correspondence you could obtain Nashville data which would supplement what has been partially reported in CCR hearings. You should use your judgment as to the data which should be collected.

As plans for the publication move along we shall, of course, want your advice and it may be that we shall need to call on you for additional assistance. I still hope that we may also be able to involve Dr. Stallings.

If there are questions you need to discuss in getting started, get in touch with me or Jim. I look forward to seeing you at the summer meeting of the Executive Committee (whenever that is), if not sooner.

If you can undertake this, you will be doing us a very great service.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

P. S. -- I roughed out the above at home over the weekend. Your letter of June 7 was here Monday morning; I think the above gets to everything.

LWD

VIA AIR MAIL

June 26, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 So. 6th Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Your letter about the workshop is quite disturbing for it points up all the questions I have, and for good measure, adds the embarrassment of that title "director."

It was my understanding that Brown was to do all the work and planning, and not until the mimeographed program arrived did I realize that my title of Director remained. This was the original thought (that someone from SRC would fill this function) when we were asked to provide a person for two weeks. Beyond the two lectures and their aftermath, I have no duties at this point but to apologize for not being the director.

As to titles, sorry I took your thunder. In a phone call demanding titles these came to me as the obvious. It is doubtful that your attention to the same areas would be anything other than beneficial. In fact, it strikes me that you might get somewhat into specifics with which you have had unique experience, such as the establishment of public and private bi-racial commissions and groups. This should be interesting and helpful. The group might also find specific informationoon employment programs and other corrective measures of value.

As to participants I was told that a heavy representation from the local (Bluefield) area was hoped for but that the main purpose was to draw participants from all of Virginia.

Hope these scattered thoughts will help somewhat.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 24, 1962

Dear Paul,

I saw the tentative program of the Bluefield workshop for the first time last week. Your two lectures cover the areas which I had considered as possibilities for the assignments I have for the second week. There is no serious problem here, however, provided I can get a briefing on the content of previous lectures and a suggestion for two topics that would fill in the gaps. If I have time to do a little research, I might be able to muddle through. More troublesome is the thought that, if most of the partipants are from the immediate area, a predominatly urban approach would be quite inappropriate in this depressed area setting. I will appreciate any immediate comments you may have on these points.

I noticed that you are listed as Director of the Workshop and that I am your assistant. As soon as you find out what our duties are (aside from the two lectures) please let me know. G. W. C. Brown, Workshop Dean, and Carrolton Jackson, Coordinator, were at Fisk during the Adult Education Institute. But I did not get any help from either of them on this matter. Are we to conduct the workshop groups in the three areas of specialized study? If so, I would like to put in my bid for the area of Community Structure. This is perhaps the area in which my ignorance can be most easily concealed.

Cordially,

P. S. The enclosed checks are self-explanatory. One is a refund for the unused portion of that Louisville-Atlanta round trip ticket. The other is a Louisville-Nashville round trip.

926 So. 6th St

Louisville 3, Ky

July 12, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
University of Louisville
Department of Sociology
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Enclosed are the Statistical Summaries. They all seem to be here except February 1958 which we seem unable to find. If and when we do, we shall send it off.

I don't know of any good, up-to-date digest of state legislation; the two things enclosed may help. Perhaps they will provide you with all the background you need. Generally speaking, we are faced with three kinds of laws -- pupil placement laws modeled on that of Alabama; the approaches of North Carolina and Virginia; and stair-step plans modeled on Nashville.

There are, of course, variations such as Austin and Little Rock, and the Atlanta plan combines pupil placement with top-down stair-step.

Enclosed also are the CCR hearings held in Nashville. Please return all of these things when you have finished with them.

I did have in mind using for the analysis the numbers of Negro children in school with whites.

The figures are available from the Statistical Summaries not only by states but by localities. I had not been thinking of relating these figures to the Negro school population, but I agree with you that this would need to be done to make the figures fully meaningful. The Statistical Summaries give complete data by localities in some states but not in others. Would this not supply enough material for an illustrative analysis? By geographical areas I meant states and localities. Whether it is feasible to consider cultural sections also I leave entirely to you. One superficial (partly) classification would be into border states (Kentucky, West Virginia, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, and Oklahoma); upper South (Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Arkansas); and Deep South (South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama). In such a classification there is the question of what to do with Texas and Florida, and my usual practice is to treat them separately. Perhaps a more meaningful classification would be in terms of Negro concentration, and I enclose a copy of our latest map.

I am a little bit at a loss about answering your final question. My hope had been that by drawing on Dr. Stallings' study and any subsequently prepared analyses made by the Louisville school people, which might be available to you, that you could get sufficient information. I was hopeful also that by correspondence with the school administrations in Nashville or Austin you would discover that there were test scores, etc., available. But I probably have underestimated the problems.

Finally, it would not seem to me that you would need to dig into the question of whether any change of academic achievement that may have occurred was or was not attributable to desegregation; that's a tough one. I think if we just had a record of levels over a period of years during which desegregation had occurred, we would be able to point out the facts without debating the causes.

Hope you have fun in Bluefield; Paul Anthony didn't.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Enclosures

Feb '56

JS please get stuff together & see me

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
JUL 9 1962

July 4, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les :

I have been catching my breath after the workshop for Adult Educators held at Fisk, June 9-21. Consequently, I am just now getting around to the collection of materials indicated in your last letter. Anticipating some difficulty in finding everything I need locally, I would like to have somebody in the office there to send me any items immediately available. I will see that they are returned to the files intact. Offhand, the following seem to have initial importance:

1-The annual SERS statistical summaries for years prior to the May 1962 issue.
2-A digest of state legislation, particularly, pupil placement laws. (The request here is for any published summary that may be available.)
3-A copy of the CCR hearings relating to desegregation of the Nashville schools. 3-5,6-59

Aside from the unresolved definition of "tokenism", there are two small questions arising out of your June 12 letter. On page 2, you ask for "An analysis. . . .based on rates in various geagraphical and cultural sections, ..." I assume that by "rate" you mean either, desegregated districts as a percentage of the total number of districts with Negro pupils in them, or Negro children in school with whites as related to the Negro school population. Since these rates are available only by states, how can they be computed for cultural or geographical areas whose boundaries do not coincide with state lines? more

yes

My other question relates to the matter of "academic results" of desegregation in Louisville and possibly, Nashville. If what you have in mind is an extension of Frank Stallings' 1958 study, I'll see what can be done and let you know. It is doubtful that comparable data can be obtained for Nashville without setting up a special project. By correspondence, it may be just as feasible to find out what the results have been in Austin, Texas, where, in contrast to Nashville's " bottom - up" plan, desegregation began with the High schools. (As I understand it, inquiry into "academic results" involves two questions: (1) Has the level of achievement gone up or down?; and , (2) Is the change attributable to desegregation?) I would like your reactions to these observations.

letter yes

I will keep you informed of my progress from time to time.

Cordially,

C.H.

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER
LIBRARY

RHA ✓
JS ✓
PA ✓
MJ. file

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

file - C.H. Parrish

July 25, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

I did not get the materials until I came back from Bluefield. I have been able to do no more than scratch the surface in the analysis - seeking to find a magic formula. (This, of course, is a pipe dream.) As soon as I have anything tangible to report, I'll write you a memo. So far, I guess I have only put in a little over two days work, taking into account the many interruptions. I am trying to work out a reasonable schedule, now that the Bluefield stint is out of the way.

The Bluefield operation was a little frustrating because the need there was so great and my efforts seemed so inadequate. There were only eight persons in the workshop proper, although there were usually several other people from the community in attendance. In addition to my lecture assignments at the workshop, I was billed for a formal address at one of the churches ~~for~~ on Thursday night. I did not stay for the student reports on Friday. In spite of my frustration, I enjoyed the experience and learned a lot from it. My only expense was for travel. I used my car to make the trip; the round-trip was 784 miles. The toll road charges of $3.90 may be ignored since the rate per mile is supposed to cover such items.

RHA
Cat 403
62.75
7/27/62

I don't think of anything else, at the moment. As soon as I can formulate specific questions that may be answered in the SRC files, I'll write them in. Please give my regards to everybody there at the office.

Cordially,

C.H.

C. H. Parrish

prepared to go direct C.H.

P. S. I did not receive the CCR hearings or the map. Are you sure they were enclosed?

JS
7/31/62
mep acct

The defects in my typing technique are plain for all to see. Please excuse them.

CHP

Consultants

November 7, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Before I pass your letter of November 3 on to Staige I thought I would like to drop a note to you. I am sorry that you found the work a bit disturbing and frustrating. It did seem to me that what you did was very valuable indeed and will be so to Morland. We have high hopes for this project and your contribution to it has been an essential one.

I do hope you will be down for the meeting.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

January 8, 1963

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

You did mail the letter to me from Africa last April, and what you have just now discovered in your files is a carbon copy. This is very good, however, because it gave me an opportunity to re-read a very interesting letter.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

RHA ✓
PA ✓
JM ✓
PR ✓
LD

Lagos, Nigeria
April 2, 1962

Dear Les—

My trip thus far has been a mad rush — packing and unpacking, confirming reservations, catching planes, changing money — and all along the way — filling innumerable forms. This is my 13th stop and I calculate I must have signed my name to fifty declarations of intent aside from hotel registers and traveler's cheques. I'll have enough coins left over to take another trip. I left New York only 24 days ago.

I've come to think of my safari as divided into four rather distinct parts: Europe (South eastern), The Middle East, East & Central Africa, and West Africa. Venice, Rome and Athens were just about what the guide books led me to expect; the gondolas, St. Peters and the Parthenon look just like the pictures.

It was when I entered the Arab world at Beirut that a distinct change became noticeable. It was there I first came to grief in an encounter with a bazaar. By the time I left Jerusalem, whenever I heard the greeting — "Welcome" — I was ready to run. These people are born traders and where Americans are concerned no holds are barred.

∴ Color gradations became apparent for the first time in Cairo, although there was no discrimination in the usual sense. As a matter of fact, the Negroes I had seen previously could be counted on the fingers of one hand. In Cairo I became interested in the apparent job distribution. Except for an occasional dark-skinned desk clerk or airport official all of the white collar jobs were filled by "white" people. On the other hand there were no "European" appearing people doing menial work. Elevator boys, waiters and cleaning men were invariably very dark. (Perhaps the Houston and Chattanooga studies influenced my observations somewhat)

Up to and including Cairo, my sojourn from one ruin to another had taken me from the very recent to the most ancient underpinnings of western culture. The 2300 mile jet flight from Cairo to Nairobi brought me to the frontier of a new and exciting future. At Nairobi the deliberations going on in London (on the new constitution for Kenya) were being watched with keen interest. Every word of comment from any of the principals was duly reported in the press. Nothing else seemed important. Since all of the leaders were away, I got no chance to talk to the persons Janet suggested in her memo to me. It was Walter Martin, a British Friend, who took me around and showed be the old and new housing in the African additions

(the sections allotted to Africans are called "Additions"). Martin had me out to his house to dinner and introduced me to a cross section of European - African and East Indian persons of good will.

My stay in Nairobi was brief (less than 24 hrs) this first visit. Later, in my letter to Jim, I'll say something of the return trip. Dar es Salaam was my next stop. I believe that, with the exception of Algiers, Tanganyika is the newest independent African state. In Dar es Salaam, as you may have read in the papers, the issue is political jobs. Europeans and Asiatics are leaving in great numbers (some by request others voluntarily) in order to make way for Africans who want jobs. The trouble is that for the most part the Africans have not had the necessary training to fill the intermediate technical jobs so necessary to smooth running government. As Nyerere puts it "Africans are ministers and messengers - nothing in between." A crash program of training is going on in an effort to avert chaos.

It was at N'Dola in Northern Rhodesia that I got the final word that the request for my South African visa had been denied. I'll try, if time permits, to get a letter off to Jim today in which this story will be continued. Space does not allow me to do it here.

Regards to staff. Hope to see you soon

P.H.

For your information

January 11, 1963

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Morland:

I hope the enclosed follow-up study by Dr. Stallings will be helpful to you. It is the most recent thing he has done although it goes back to 1959.

I have done nothing more on the desegregation study for several months now and have no plans for collecting additional materials. The study was undertaken in the first place as a limited project, done at the request of Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council.

The letters sent to superintendents were a poor substitute for actual visits to the communities selected. As you may have noted, the response was almost negligible. Their relunctance to answer might indicate an unwillingness to be quoted. Certainly I think you should seek permission directly from the persons involved. You would explain that their letters had been turned over to you with the understanding that there would be no quotation without this permission.

I hope you will feel free to let me know if there is any other way I can be of service.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish

CHP:ns
Enclosure
cc:(3)
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forysth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I'll pick this up when I come by next week
Yes - ✓
CH

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1963

January 9, 1963

Dr. C. H. Parrish, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Ky.

Dear Dr. Parrish:

I have waited before writing you until I had worked some with the part of my token desegregation report that deals with the extent of desegregation and the effect on academic standards. Most of my time up until now has been spent in ploughing through issues of the RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER and the new report by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

I think for the purposes of my brief and simple pamphlet it will be sufficient to use the SREB figures I received in December. Rough comparisons will be made between the former Confederate states which have tried to slow down desegregation through such devices as pupil placement plans, and the other states and D. C. which have moved toward compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. However, I hope you can pursue your study to find out what conditions in the complying states have been most clearly correlated with the elimination of racial schools.

In regard to effects on academic levels, the Austin material is proving helpful. Also, there are direct statements in letters to you from the Superintendents of the Nashville, Norfolk, and Lexington public schools to the effect that they can see no change in the academic levels of schools which have desegregated. Do you think it will be permissible to quote these superintendents, indicating that the source was letters to you? You mention that Frank Stallings had done a three-years-after check of his findings. Is this report available, and can you have a copy sent me?

Your materials are most helpful and I am grateful to you. Just where (or if) my report will go anywhere remains to be seen. My chief problem is in finding sufficient time to work on it. But that is the perennial problem for all of us.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Ken Morland

Kenneth Morland
Chairman

File:
Staff: C. W. Parrish
(note: move this letter to board section)

WB
BP
MJ - file

May 4, 1963

Board of Aldermen
Louisville, Kentucky

Attn: Mr. Kenneth A. Schmied, Chairman

Dear Aldermen:

I am writing to you with regard to the proposed Public Accommodations Ordinance now before you. My only justification is the firm belief that such an ordinance is badly needed in this community at this time.

The need for such an ordinance has been amply demonstrated both by the rapidly accumulating experience of other communities and by the unsuccessful efforts here to remedy the situation by voluntary action.

Community sentiment favors the passage of this legislation. Three successive city-wide human relations groups have recommended it and distinguished Louisville citizens from all walks of life have given their support. If there is opposition, it has remained remarkably well hidden. Those who disagree have not participated in the open forum available to them.

The operators of places of public accommodation are not being put upon by this legislation. Several have openly given it their blessing. The fears expressed that desegregation would mean loss of business have not been realized.

Politics being what it is, it is natural that the question of political expediency should be raised. There is a clear answer to this in the accompanying table. Three sets of precincts from normally Republican, normally Democratic and Negro areas, respectively, are compared on the basis of the last three elections. Little comment is necessary.

SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF THE VOTE
GOING TO THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES
IN 1960, 1961 AND 1962

	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC		NEGRO		
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	
1960	42	58	65	35	59	41	Presidential
1961	38	62	56	44	39	61	Mayor
1962	45	55	53	47	53	47	Representative

Negroes repudiated the old Board of Aldermen on this issue in the election of 1961. That vote also constituted a mandate to the present Board.

Great care has been taken to prepare an ordinance consistent with the laws of this State and similar to successful legislation dealing with the same problem in other communities. If questions still remain, appropriate test cases can be decided by the courts after the legislation is passed.

Discussion of the strength or toughness of the ordinance has not seemed pertinent to me. Its symbolic value is the most important consideration. The lack of an ordinance has proved embarrassing to the city in the past. Its passage will put the city on record.

I hope you will see fit to vote favorably on this measure in the near future.

Respectfully,

C. H. Parrish

CHP/jht

cc: Mayor William O. Cowger

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

June 28, 1963

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 NW Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Please accept this belated note of appreciation for your contribution to our Leadership Institute.

The comments made by participants concerning your remarks indicated their unanimous approval and enthusiasm.

The enclosed clippings may be of interest. They are self-explanatory.

Cordially,

C.H.

C. H. Parrish

RATING CRITERIA FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

C. H. PARRISH

The rating of states presented at the meeting of the Executive Committee was an important step in the right direction - toward workable, meaningful standards in terms of which those of us who have some acquaintance with the state programs can make valid judgments of program effectiveness.

I did not see the ratings of John Hope and Irene Osborne, but I would guess that on the few points they felt qualified to judge there was no wide disagreement. This is significant. The further and more difficult step which needs to be taken is to come to a joint decision as to the weighting of the various items.

One approach to the problem of weighting is that of defining more clearly what we are trying to do. "The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South.... where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect...." We have pushed the desegregation of the schools because we believe that desegregation of the schools creates, or may create, a situation in which the dignity and self-respect of the individual will be enhanced. Desegregation thus becomes a means to our objective, and the way in which we work may completely nullify a seeming advance. I like to feel that we are selling and demonstrating the idea of people of all races and creeds working together at the local level to seek solutions to their common problems. In every state I would therefore raise the questions:

How is the idea going over?

Are we demonstrating in our operation what we are trying to sell?

It should be clear then that the criteria we have set forth may be evaluated in terms of the extent to which each is indicative of an affirmative answer to the questions stated above, and weights can be given only after each criteria is assessed in these terms.

It becomes at once apparent that some of the criteria used, such as staff-Board relationships, and even acceptance of responsibility by the Board, are not directly pertinent to our objectives, but are rather general matters which would permit a determination of the administrative efficiency of any organization. On the other hand, the degree of integration of the whole operation, the setting up of programs consistent with our basic aims, ~~constitutes the more essential items~~ and achievements of measurable significance in the pursuit of our objectives, are matters which are of vital importance.

Therefore, I would be inclined to distinguish, or perhaps to classify, the criteria into those which are merely indicative of administrative efficiency and ~~our~~ appropriate to any organization, and those criteria which will enable us to judge whether or not a state organization is actually operating consistently with the avowed ideals of SRC. I think it would be a mistake to mix these purely administrative criteria with the more directly pertinent ones.

Really, what we want to know about each state organization is whether or not they actually understand what we are trying to do. In line with this reasoning we might have three categories instead of two, as follows:

1. The state organization will be judged in terms of the efficiency of its administration, including its financial report, keeping its records straight, the proper relationship between staff persons and Board, and the like.

2. The success in fund-raising activities.

3. The extent to which the program of the state is geared to our objectives and is carried out cooperatively as an integrated project.

As you will guess, I have the feeling that the third category is of paramount importance in determining whether funds should be continued in any given state.

Achievement of a state organization might therefore be assessed in the following terms:

1. To what extent have new people been involved who will accept our basic ideas, and who are willing to work for them?

Involvement might be broken down into:

a. as Board members,
b. as financial dues-paying members,
c. as quiet well-wishers without public identification

2. To what extent has the state organization been able to set up situations in which people will be given some ~~responsibility~~ experience in working together as an integrated unit?

3. Are there instances of concrete accomplishments by groups of people at the local level working on this basis?

NOTE: To a certain extent it may be admitted that money-raising and new subscriptions to New South added, are sufficient indications of new people who accept the basic ideas of our organization, but this is not necessarily true, and we should seek better evidences of involvement. One type of evidence is a listing of key people who are in sympathy with what we are trying to do, and a specific notation making clear the best way in which these people may be able to help us. Another evidence of involvement might be the contacts which have been made with staff and Board people of other organizations having either a similar objective to ours, or objectives that are not inconsistent with ours.

ROUGH DRAFT
For review by FBR + CHP

To Harold
From CHP.
I think this statement embodies all of the ideas we considered last week. In fact - I am very much pleased with it.

MEMORANDUM

TO: GEORGE S. MITCHELL

FROM: CHP, HCF, ~~EEE~~ FBR, and JH

SUBJECT: FUTURE OF SRC

When CHP was here just after Labor Day, he and HCF and FBR discussed at length the question of the SRC's future after October 1, 1957. CHP had come to Atlanta with some fundamental questions about the approach outlined in the draft letter to the Fund for the Republic prepared for the executive committee. In discussing these questions, we developed some new ideas about the basis on which SRC should seek support after the end of the coming fiscal year. We found that John Hope was thinking along similar lines, and his views are incorporated here.

It was a matter of regret to us that this opportunity for joint examination of SRC's future role occurred during your absence. We are outlining our common views here in some detail for your consideration and with the request that they be presented to the executive committee for consideration along with the earlier ~~draft~~ draft letter at the September 21-22 meeting.

End of Present Grant Program

The current three-year period of aid from the Fundfor the Republic, which expires on September 30, 1957, has been largely devoted to decentralizing the SRC movement in terms of both use of funds and program emphasis. The expectation was that, the legal principle of integration having been established, the problems of adjustment would break down according to widely

varying local circumstances. Thus the energies and resources of SRC have been largely directed to subsidizing and servicing state affiliates. Within the three-year grant period, SRC aimed at creating strong, professionally staffed, self-supporting, integrated agencies in the 12 Southern states.

By October 1, 1957, this objective will have been achieved in considerable part. In a few states, the present affiliates have failed to get off the ground, and one or two others might not survive the withdrawal of major subsidy by SRC. But, in most cases, the state groups should be expected to have reasonably effective programs and enough fund-raising competence to continue -- though the first few years would be difficult for many of them. In view of the special difficulties arising from the development of powerful, officially sanctioned resistance in the South, we believe the three-year state organization effort will represent a creditable achievement. But we also believe that the efforts of the state organizations alone cannot meet the critical challenge of this period in the South.

a

SRC in a time of ~~regional~~ national crisis

Since May 1954 and particularly within the last year, a national crisis has been precipitated by political and private reaction to the Supreme Court's school decision. We will not attempt a lengthy analysis of these developments, which are well known to people in SRC, but we list a few of the highlights. What began as an attitude of defiance by four deep South states has become a "united front" by eight states. This defiance is manifested not only in official actions and utterances directed at the Supreme Court and its decision, but has also taken the turn of oppressive measures against Negroes or whites within the states who favor a positive or even a more moderate course of action. Accompanying this official posture, have been the phenomenal growth of the resistance movements, set-backs in the churches and the labor movement, the deterioration of political campaigns, and in general comformity or ~~violence~~ silence by the more responsible elements in the South. The example set by state office holders and others in high places has stirred excitable rank and file Southerners to violence in several instances - even in areas like Clinton, Mansfield and Sturgis, where integration should have been expected to proceed without a ripple. (?)

All of this has presented grave problems in national and international terms. The impact of this Southern revolt on the prestige of the United States abroad, particularly among Asians and Africans, is of great concern to every thoughtful American. Domestically, the assault on the authority of the Supreme Court, respect for law and order, and recognition of the rights of minority

b

group citizens are major threats to the national welfare. It has been ~~readily~~ observed by the New York Times and others that what is needed is a mobilization of all the constructive forces the country can muster to deal with the problem of segregation wisely and effectively. Unfortunately, such a mobilization has not taken place - largely because of confused national opinion about the workability of desegregation, the extent and depth ~~and~~ of resistance in the South, and the potentialities of Negro citizens. In short the climate of opinion has worsened not only in the South, but in the rest of the nation as well. And instead of merely local problems arising out of local opposition to integration, we are confronted by a renewal of pro-segregation activity that is regional in its leadership and national in its impact. A measure of this fact was the nearly unanimous ~~in the adaptation~~ adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by Southern members of Congress. We know, of course, that some of the Congressmen signed under duress. But the fact that such duress was possible indicates the power of the monolithic approach.

It seems to us that this situation imposes a tremendous responsibility on the SRC. As the one South-wide body with experience, professional skills, and reputation in the field of race relations, we must perform on a broader and more effective scale than ever before. And we must recognize that we are dealing with causes and effects which are truly nation-wide in their impact. Our task, as we see it, includes but goes far beyond the stimulation of local action to deal with matters of desegregation and democratic racial relations at the community level. We must play a greater role in establish-

ing a broad national and Southern climate of opinion in which positive local efforts can succeed. We must assume more of the leadership in educating and rallying ~~its~~ those national forces whose action or inaction at this time is ~~critical~~ crucial.

Relationship with State Organizations

SRC, with the generous aid of the Fund for the Republic, has made an extensive and valuable contribution to the growth of skill and organization in the several Southern states. Our state affiliates, against sizable odds, have shown gratifying development, ~~and~~ Given a workable climate of opinion and influence, ~~that~~ they can contribute greatly in the years ahead to the orderly implementation of integration within their respective states.

However, their effectiveness - indeed, ~~and~~ their survival - is imperiled by national and regional developments on which they can have little influence. If we want to protect our investment in them, we must necessarily apply the resources and skills of SRC to ~~the~~ this broader arena of opinion and practical forces. To do this will require basic reassessment of our financing, organizational structure, and program emphasis.

During the last two and one half years, we have devoted most of ~~these~~ our resources to building and assisting state affiliates. We have, necessarily, had to forego the development and execution of extensive programs by the regional staff.

In the light of prevailing circumstances, it is our judgment that SRC should now plan for a ~~three year~~ period after October 1, 1957 of approximately three years of increased effort as a regional organization carrying on program activities through its own staff. Under such a plan, SRC would maintain a cooperative and helpful relationship with the state organizations but it would

undertake itself a number of functions that are now performed ~~with~~ either sketchily or not at all.

Such a reorientation would be best accomplished if the current grant period ending September 30, 1957 were completed according to the terms originally set in 1954. That would mean that the state organizations would exchange their affiliate status for one of autonomy, and that their relationship with us would thence forth be one of cooperation between independent organizations of similar purpose and goals.

We recognize that ~~the small amount of~~ some continuing financial aid from SRC to all or some of the state organizations would probably be warranted. Therefore, we should undertake to secure funds for this purpose, though on a ~~conceivably~~ smaller scale than heretofore. Instead of the method of outright subsidy which we have used during the affiliate period, the method of assistance would more closely resemble that of grants-in-aid. A state organization might submit its request to SRC, justifying such an allotment on the basis of a proposed program and evidence of organizational ~~executive supervision~~ effectiveness sufficient to carry out the program ~~purpose.~~ proposed. SRC would judge each such request on its merits and take favorable or unfavorable action accordingly. The customary safeguards against the use of such funds for ~~the use of~~ political activity would, of course, be taken. Once such a grant-in-aid had been made, the responsibility for fulfillment of its commitment would rest squarely on the policy body of the state group.

Sucha revision in the relationship between SRC and the state groups would require certain by-law changes, including

alteration in the present arrangement for election of some SRC board members by the state organizations.

Structure of SRC

A reorientation of SRC along the lines described above would necessitate some redefinition of the present staff structure. Present positions and staff duties are largely geared to the needs of the current state organization effort. In taking on more direct program functions, it would no doubt be necessary to supplement the existing staff and to redefine the responsibilities and duties of some of the present staff members. We are not attempting here to propose a detailed reorganization of this kind. That could best be done perhaps by a special sub-committee of Executive Committee members working closely with the staff. In general, however, we would envision the consolidation of staff functions under the major headings of executive, information, and field services.

Functions of SRC

Again without attempting to offer a blue print, we submit the following types of activity as representing the new or heightened program emphases which the Council might undertake:

1) Consultant services to establish public and private agencies.

The consultant service project under the direction of John Hope II was conceived and has been used as a service to the state affiliates. It has proved to be an extremely effective technique. Already it is contemplated that these services should be made available to interested private groups and public bodies concerned

with desegregation, the expectation being that such groups would bear the cost of the consultant service. In the next phase of the Council's work, such use of the consultant services deserves high priority. ~~Indeed,~~ It is our opinion that we should provide consultant services free, if necessary, in those situations which ~~will~~ are likely to produce the most effective results.

2) Coordination of Agency Leadership.

SRC now has more opportunities than it can grasp to advise and coordinate the leaders of national, Southern and local groups concerned with race relations. In the coming period, SRC should take the initiative in bringing together such leadership for joint thinking and planning. ~~and receptive roles and programs.~~ This will take staff time, travel, and resources that have not been available in the past. The arguments for extending this function are very strong. SRC has information and insights that are not available to other agencies and groups, and it commands the respect ~~xxf~~ of a host of such organizations of many different types. Further, the effective mobilization of the religious, labor, civic, and other agencies ~~is~~ is a major part ~~of~~ the desegregation effort.

3) Speakers Bureau

Several of the staff members and officers of SRC are now heavily in demand for speaking engagements. In this case too the demand is greater than the supply, and the potential demand is ~~yet~~ greater yet. Many of these occasions are invaluable opportunities

to carry our message to important segments of the public. In the coming period, we should recognize the furnishing of speakers as an important organizational function, and in order to make the best possible use of speakers without unduly diverting from other activities, we should systematically build up a speakers bureau drawn mainly from our lay leadership and suitable for supplying different kinds of occasions in different parts of the region. The selection, briefing, and arranging of schedules for such speakers would be a staff function.

4) Free Distribution of Literature

SRC has in the past produced little in the way of free literature. Our budget alone has made it necessary for us to sell our materials to interested people and groups, however worthy the use to which they are to be put. We should seek the resources to enable us to distribute without cost literature that will serve a specific, effective purpose. We do not conceive of broadside or indiscriminate distribution of free literature as a worthwhile method. More calculated uses, however, are often possible but must be forgone because there is no ready way for the cost to be borne from non-SRC sources. It should be noted here that the White Citizens Councils and other resistance groups are making wide-spread distribution of free material, with telling results.

5) Interpretation and application of social science findings.

There is a considerable body of social science findings with positive implications for use in the South today. This knowledge is having little practical effect, mainly because of the communication gulf between academic social scientists and the lay public. SRC is peculiarly well fitted to bridge this gap. Working in collaboration with the social scientists and their professional organizations, we could play a key role in getting their insights interpreted through ~~national~~ popular media and brought to bear in local situations. Our consultant service ~~program~~ program is a valuable beginning in this direction, but the ~~present~~ precedent needs ~~would~~ to be extended on a nation-wide basis. To carry out this role we must be prepared to ~~double~~ expend a substantial amount of staff time and effort, as well as some money.

6) Expanding present functions.

Many of the activities now carried on by the central office should be intensified or, if temporary, continued on a ~~regular~~ regular basis. An outstanding example of this is the work with church women directed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly. Another example of a different sort is the fact-finding program now being carried on under a special nine-months grant from the Fund for the Republic; the results of this program are now coming in and will be aired through SRC publications and general publicity. These findings should serve to shed new light on the nature of the South's problems and promising approaches to their solution. ~~In coordinating program the~~ Such special fact-gathering and interpretation should be a continuing

part of SRC's program. Additional examples in this category would be intensified work with the press, television, and other mass media; conferences of Southern leadership; and work with the college students and other young people in the region.

7) Finances.

Because of limitations of time, we have had no opportunity to develop any detailed estimates of the budget that would be required to carry out a program of the sort here outlined for a three year period. Our rough estimate would be no less than $200,000. per year. This is approximately $150,000. per year more than SRC has thus far managed to raise from sources other than the Fund for the Republic. During the current fiscal year, October 1956 - October 1957, we must exceed our past performance by a goodly margin. If we are successful in raising the larger amount from other sources required for our operation this year, we believe that the Fund for the Republic will be more receptive to our request for future aid. By the same token, they would probably expect similar performance from us in subsequent years.

This fact, coupled with the resignation of the present Executive Director, makes urgent the assumption of greater responsibility for fund-raising by the Board and Executive Committee. It is our hope that any planning of the Council's future will give major consideration to this need.

We would also hope that in financing the Council for a future period, it will be possible to secure funds on a flexible basis and that we can avoid rigid allocation of such

funds for ~~fixed~~ pre-determined purposes. The situation in the South today is an extremely fluid one, subject to ~~rigid~~ rapid and unpredictable changes. Our program and financing should be adaptable readily to these changes in need that cannot be anticipated ~~long periods~~ far in advance.

Nothing said here is intended to conflict with the Council's whole-hearted follow-through ~~in the third year in~~ of the state organization program during the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1956. If this general proposal should be approved, however, it might ~~be~~ well be possible to begin in the weeks and months just ahead to begin developing some of the additional functions contemplated. It is possible, for example, that the Fund for the Republic might be receptive to a request for additional aid during the year for such a purpose. In any case we would welcome the opportunity to discuss these matters further with the Executive Director and the Executive Committee in order to arrive at a plan to which all of us can lend our full support and energies.

STAFF MEMORANDA

in regard to

THE FUTURE OF SRC

C.H. PARRISH

The future of SRC would seem to center around Program, Organization, and Financing with priority being given to these items in the order of their listing.

Two questions to be considered in connection with program are:

What is the unique role of SRC as presently constituted?
Is there any need for SRC? Or more precisely - Will there be a need for SRC after the period of the grant from FFR?

Perhaps it would be fitting to say that what is unique about SRC is not what it does but how it does it. Ours is an integrated approach. We have in the past combined in various degrees advocacy, professional service and research. For the most part the emphasis has been on advocacy. We have urged equality of opportunity and we now urge compliance with the law of the land. We will have fulfilled our unique mission, however, if we can'sell' the integrated approach. We are in a better position than anyone else to promote this approach because we have been working at it longer than anyone else. Our future depends upon the extent to which we can incorporate this experience into a body of technical knowledge and thus make available to the South a much needed professional service. Our major function would be that of imparting to others the skills we have acquired. We are not staffed for research but we have a continuing function of disseminating the findings of other research workers. Under appropriate conditions our files should be available to responsible social scientists for research purposes.

Assuming the realization of the ideal of twelve financially secure, autonomous State organizations dedicated to the achievement of SRC goals, it is difficult to see the need for anything more than a skeletal regional organization to serve as a sort of clearing house that would facilitate communication among the affiliated groups. Even if this ideal is not reached, any movement toward it would involve a corresponding reduction of SRC staff and budget.

The prospect is not bright for financial support that would make the State organizations independent of help from outside their borders. It is unrealistic to expect memberships and individual contributions of small sums by many people to be nearly enough to keep State organizations going. Sizeable donations in "hard core" States will almost invariably turn out to be bribes to get us to turn aside from the school segregation controversy. Local financial support for the SRC program would appear to be in inverse relationship to Need. On the other hand, in a few states where the political atmosphere is more congenial to our purposes, effective State councils may be taken over and operated at public expense. This would be an extension into the South of the pattern of official recognition and backing of human relations programs. In any event SRC would have to look to outside foundation support for its continued existence.

If SRC demonstrated its ability to provide the unique professional service which will be in great demand throughout the South during the next few years, there should be no great difficulty in getting the necessary funds. This is the task before us.

G.S. ALEXANDER

Reasons for continued existence

There are a number of reasons that could be advanced for the continued existence of SRC. First of all there seems to be a definite need for the Council in the supervision and coordination of activities of the several State affiliates. As it now stands SRC furnishes the hub of communications between the State Councils. The need for effective communications in any organization cannot be overstressed. There is also a need for some central point where information can be disseminated and chanelled to the different State organizations. There is also a definite need for research which can best be performed by SRC on the regional level.

It is my conviction that the State affiliates would function less efficiently without the present services that are being offered by the staff of SRC. These services mentioned above, I think, can best be performed by a central office rather than on a limited scale by the separate State affiliates.

Financial Support

However, in order for the central office to continue on its present level a very difficult financial problem presents itself. Ways and means for providing financial support for the program of the Council would have to be given serious consideration by the members and staff.

HAROLD FLEMING

I think it would be useful for the Executive Committee to consider the main alternatives confronting the SRC after the expiration of the Fund for the Republic's grant. One formulation might be:

1. Liquidation.

2. Limited continuation, dropping all functions except that of direct field servicing of State organizations.

3. Limited continuation, dropping all functions except that of information -- i.e., publications, information center for press, other agencies, and State affiliates.

4. Continuation at present level of operation, retaining all functions.

5. Continuation with expanded functions.

Need

It seems to me unquestionable that the SRC on something like its present scale will be needed for a minimum of three years beyond the anticipated end of Fund help. We will be lucky if by October 1957 most of the State groups are able to continue effectively on their own. It would be over-optimistic to hope that they would be strong enough collectively to maintain a regional office. It would also be over-optimistic, in my opinion, to hope that they would continue effectively without a regional office. Those in the lower South will particularly still need not only the practical help of the regional office, but also the psychological support of feeling themselves a part of a Southwide movement. Left on their own, communication between the States would soon break down and the weaker and more embattled organizations would wither away. The stronger groups -- mostly those in the more advanced States -- might well survive; but the most difficult areas would be left unserviced.

Another point: There is plenty of evidence that the other side is consolidating its strength across State lines. Witness the inter-State spread of the White Citizens' Councils, the efficient communication between the various Southern hate groups, Senator Eastland's proposal for a regional commission to "tell the South's story." These people see well enough the strength that comes of regionwide coordination and they will be pushing hard for it in the next few years. This kind of solidarity among the pro-segregation forces can't be effectively countered on a State-by-State basis. It calls for a regional instrument -- namely, SRC.

Noteworthy, too, that one aim of Eastland's proposal is to propagandize the Jim Crow version of the "South's story" at the national level. Again, only a regional group can offset this kind of propaganda aimed at a national audience.

Realities

It's easy to promote the continuing need for SRC in vacuo. Clearly, however, there are practical obstacles -- notably financial. In addition to the current fund-raising effort, the Executive Committee might begin planning some activities for the last grant year that would spread awareness of the need for a continuing SRC. Examples:

1. One or more conferences of leading people in the State organizations to explore the question of whether and how SRC is to continue.

2. A carefully staged meeting of New York philanthopoids (The New Yorker's word for foundation people.)

3. Consultation with friendly agencies, church groups, labor people, etc., aimed at involving them in the problem.

Nothing new about these ideas, but given the critical stage of Southern transition and an impending demise of SRC, they might produce some results. A lot of these people, who now take SRC for granted as a Fund project, might be startled into some kind of fruitful concern. While we wouldn't want to make such approaches too early, planning should proceed during the next year.

Conclusion

At the moment, it is my conviction that SRC should either be continued on at least its present scale or be frankly liquidated. I don't think we can go back. To limp along on a much-curtailed basis would, I think, be self-defeating in terms of both morale and financial support. Moreover, I believe efforts to continue the SRC should be based on the overt recognition that it will probably have to be largely subsidized for the duration of its life by sizable grants from outside the South. We can realistically hope for indigenously supported State groups within the next three to five years. But I doubt that it is realistic to hope for an indigenously supported regional organization too.

FRED ROUTH

The decade now ending has been a period of accelerated change for the South; SRC has played an important role in assisting the region and its people to adjust to this change. Recently SRC has completed the first phase of a vastly expanded program in the South; the setting up of human relations agencies in the twelve States of the area. These agencies have needed considerable aid and assistance from the central office, not only financially, bur organizationally and program-wise as well. Today and tomorrow these organizations face and will face the necessity of assisting communities in their respective States to meet the challenge of desegregation and integration. They, along with religious, educational, and business institutions and organized labor, have looked and will continue to look to SRC for guidance.

Thus, the first question to be answered by any organization which asks, "What of the future?" has received an affirmative reply. Is there a need for the continued services of the Southern Regional Council? YES! If the past decade can be referred to as the "decade of accelerated change" the coming decade may well be referred to as the "era of jet-propelled transition." And the needs of the State organizations, the region, and the people for constructive guidance will be multiplied not lessened. The South is well on its way back into the main stream of the nation's life. There are strong forces however, out of the past, which work to keep the South isolated.

The Council would be grossly negligent, indeed foolhardy, if it fails to assist the forces of progress in the South in the coming decade. Its program must be expanded, not constricted nor terminated, if we are to work out constructive transition.

At the time that the grant from the Fund for the Republic expires we may expect that desegregation in the schools will be well under way in some of the Southern States but it is almost beyond hope that much change will have taken place in Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina. Georgia or Mississippi. There will be work still to be done by a regional office to assist the State organizations to help bring about compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

The trend of the recent Supreme Court decisions is toward holding un-Constitutional the expenditure of public funds for segregated facilities or services. I.C.C. rulings demand non-segregation in inter-State transportation and in terminal and depot facilities. The President's Committee on Government

Contracts is working to end discrimination and segregation in all plants which have contracts with the federal government. Organized labor is united as never before and this gigantic force is seeking an end to discrimination and segregation in its locals. As big business and industry move into the South new demands for conformity to the national pattern will be felt even now.

The demands for change on the part of the South are multiplying; they are many times what they were only months ago. To assist the South and its people through this period of transition there is a need for an integrated organization which has had experience in assisting social change and has earned the confidence of both white and colored people.

There is in the South today only one organization which meets all of these requirements: The Southern Regional Council. A joint planning committee composed of representatives of the Board, the central staff, the State staffs, and competent social scientists should sit down together to examine the needs of the South in the continuing adjustment and to plan how the Council may help fill those needs. Its future must not rest on the continuation of funds from one source, no matter how generous. A well organized, far-seeing Finance Committee is a must. A professionally competent program planning committee is a must. An adequate professional consultant service is a must. A well-trained professional staff is a must. A dedicated Board of Directors is a must.

If the Council really cares about the South of the future toward which it has worked, then it has work yet to do. Let it never be claimed that the leaders of SRC said, as did Louis XV,

"Pres moi le deluge."

MRS. DOROTHY TILLY

The future of the Southern Regional Council as to finances seems dark -- but the future is bright with challenging opportunities and most definitely with direct responsibilities of SRC to help the South through the difficult days of adjusting itself to the inevitable enforcement of the Supreme Court decisions.

Never has there been more need of SRC than there will be in the next few years. To retrench would amount almost to betrayal of our section and of those organizations and individuals who have, through the years, sought direction from it.

Poor indeed will the South be without SRC with the field left to a Regional setup of the Citizens' Council.

I believe a Finance Committee, really feeling the seriousness of the situation in the South (the defiance of the supreme law of the land, the fear, intimidation, and terror engendered by the Citizens' Councils) and seeing in the situation the opportunities and challenges to the SRC could speak so convincingly they would secure the funds needed.

Needs

1. The State Councils will not be able to stand alone in another year or so without a coordinated and directing Central agency. Therefore, the Central office needs to be strengthened by both staff and space.

2. Yearly conferences of several days for each of the following South-wide groups. Leaders in the field of Social Sciences, Church Women, heads of denominational Boards of Education.

3. We should face the fact that our publications, for the most part, reach only those whose social conscience is already quickened. However , these will continue to need something like New South. There should be found some way to reach the masses so easily persuaded by the propaganda of such organizations as the Citizens' Council. Simple factual material tied up some way with their Bible Belt South, I believe could be just as effective as Talmadge's Statesman, etc. This too calls for more finances, but if it can be done -- it will strenthen the appeal for funds. (Talmadge spent one half million on trying to extend the County unit system to general elections. The other side $13,000 and won.)

George Mitchell says we should plan for three further years, after the expiry of the help from the Fund for the Republic, which occurs in September 1957. His plan contemplates three years of further modest aid to some of the States, and continuance on a reduced basis of the most essential services of a central office.

Argument on the States runs as follows. In 1957 we shall be aiding the States on a level of $8,500 for each State. Each will run to a total budget of over $15,000. After 1957 there will be some of the States which in all likelihood could not carry on in reasonable strength unless they had some extra help. SRC would be free of any commitment to help all the States alike, and could put help on the States that would need it most. How many? Say six. How much? Say an average of $6,000 each. Call it $35,000 of annual subsidy to State organizations, on a minimum basis; and $50,000 of annual subsidy on a reasonable basis.

On the central office, certain services would have to be saved. You should keep up an interchange through an organ like New South. You need a paymaster, by title a Secretary-Treasurer. You would have to have at least one man traveling out to the States a great deal; ideally a combination administration and program man. New South lives by having someone to collect information, that gets called a Director of Research. You would need two and probably three clerks. And you would need some sort of Director. In a budget, for minimum and for reasonable, it looks like this:

next p.

Possible Budget for
Southern Regional Council

Typical Year 1957 et seq.

States	Minimum	Reasonable
For subsidy	35,000	50,000
Central Office		
Salaries		
Executive Director	8,000	10,000
Secretary	3,500	3,500
Secretary-Treasurer	4,000	5,000
Director of Information	7,000	7,500
Director of Research	7,500	5,000
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Clerk	3,000	3,200
Field Man	7,000	7,500
	37,000	43,800
Travel	5,000	8,000
Rent	1,200	1,500
Supplies	1,000	1,200
Telephone & telegraph	1,200	1,500
Postage	800	1,000
Printing	10,000	10,000
Social Security	1,200	1,400
Miscellaneous	500	500
	57,700	68,900
Total, Central Office	58,000	69,000
Total, Central Office & State	93,000	119,000

In three years,
Central Office and State

Minimum	279,000	-	280,000
Reasonable	357,000	-	360,000

How do you get together such sums?

By all experience, there is something that the staff can raise by friendships of the past. I would estimate this as follows:

XKX

(1958-60)
Per Year

From Churches	10,000
From Labor	10,000
Subscriptions to New South	15,000
Individual Gifts	1,000
Sale of Literature	1,000
Honoraria	1,000
Total	38,000

Annually, on the minimum budget of $93,000, this leaves $55,000 to be raised by a finance committee.

On the reasonable budget, it leaves $81,000 to be raised annually by a finance committee.

If you go on a three year basis:

XKX

Minimum budget:

Needed - 3 years
$280,000
Staff to raise
$114,000
Balance, finance committee
$166,000

Reasonable budget:

Needed - 3 years
$357,000
Staff to raise
$114,000
Balance, finance committee
$243,000

All of which is to say that three more years would cost on a mimimum basis, say $165,000 more than is in sight; and on a reasonable basis, $240,000 more than is in sight.

STAFF-MEMORANDUM

Re: Proposals (financial, terms of employment, reserve fund for conferences)
(program analysis and implied activities)
From: CHP

I

Dr. Mitchell in explaining the possibilities of securing an additional sum from the Fund for the Republic ~~describes his proposal~~ as suggesting that $50,000 be requested to cover the employment, clerical help, travel , for full time persons to be added to the staff for program operation. In my opinion, the amount of the proposed request should be retained but the request should permit flexibility so that persons could be employed either full time or part time. Under such a flexible arrangement, staff positions would be filled only as needs develop. We would like to assure a year's employment to such staff persons to begin with the day of the employment of that person and to involve only such portion of the grant as would apply to that job.

/ and qualified persons become available.

Suggested types of employment.
(on basis of $7,500 annual salary)

A. Full time
B. A third time ($2,500), paid on monthly basis where the person would be available approximately 7 days a month, mostly on week-ends. This arrangement would involve a minimum of work at the staff person's home base.
C. One 1/2 time ($3,750) paid on a monthly basis, but invilving more work at the home base of the staff person, including the planning of workshop and institutes, preparation of memoranda and small research projects.
D. Per diem basis ($35-50 per diem, plus travel expenses).

If a person is available full time during the summer months, the same rate of pay would be maintained for example a person working on 1/3 time would be paid 10months at $208,33 a month and 2 months at $ 625 per month.

It is assumed that a person working in any of these capacities would make the necessary arrangements with his regular employer.

It might be desirable to reserve a portion of the year grant, say $7,500, for a series of conferences planned for and recommended by the expanded program staff.

II

In talking over the kinds of services which might be rendered by the new staff persons, some of us worked out an outline of the kind of things we need to do:

A. Training, recruiting and evaluation.
1) Training of present staff members in the states and conducting institutes for board members.
2) Recruiting additional staff persons, looking for potential board members and professional consultants.
3) Evaluation of the effectiveness of the state programs

B. Liaison.
1) Relations between SRC and its state affiliates
2) Relationship between SRC and other similar organizations (NAACP, AFSC, etc..)

3)Relations of SRC to regional and local organizations such as church bodies, labor unions, etc...

Officialdom 4) Relationship to ~~official bodies~~ government, at national, regional and local level.

5) Relationship to communication media.

C. Level of involvement

1) the initiative function
2) support and guidance function
3) "role shooting"
4) counteracting

D. Coordination and policy

****

Conceivably, the activities of the new persons to be hired would revolve about the items mentioned above in the analysis of SRC function. It might be that we might have on our staff specialists for different functions.

We might also consider the possibility of setting up a series of regional, state or city conferences in which a few people would be brought together for strategic purposes.

By and large, we aim to perform the catalyst function and we should avoid taking on a colt-like character.

cc: Frank Clayton
Roger Malone
Marge: 20) C. D. Forrest
10) K. P. Vissel

The State Chapter of NCCJ has manifested considerable interest in SRC materials on the "Sit Ins". I do not have the individual names and addresses but if you can have 20 packets sent directly to me I'll see that they are distributed at the next board meeting on Nov. 24.

There is another group of Chamber of Commerce members who have quietly discussing "Sit Ins" and are working on the Louisville situation. Perhaps another 10 packets of materials could be sent to Charles Steele or directly to Mr. K. P. Vissel Executive Director Louisville Chamber of Commerce (3rd & Liberty St.) with a note indicating my request

Miss Margie Mandison

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DUPONT PLAZA HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PLEASE RESERVE 1 single ROOM THURSDAY, AUGUST 7-SATURDAY, AUGUST 9. WILL ARRIVE BEFORE NOON AUGUST 7.

WIRE CONFIRMATION COLLECT, PLEASE.

DR. C. H. PARRISH
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Scheduled travel and activities for C. H. PARRISH beginning August 4.

DATE	PLACE	ACTIVITY
August 4	Baker Hall, Ohio State	Panelist and main speaker
5	University, Columbus, O.	for National Student Asso.
6	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - -
August 7	DuPont-Plaza Hotel	Interviews with Dr. Hansen
8	Washington, D. C.	and others about D.C. schools.
9	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - -
August 10	Arrive Atlanta 7:45 p.m.	
11	Office	
12	Office (Exec. Comm.)	
August 13	Columbia, S. C.	Conferences with Mrs Alice
14		Spearman on SCCOHR
15	- - - - - - - - - - -	
August18-28	Office except for possible trip to N.C.	Rough draft on education pamphlet.
August 29-31	Chicago	Nat'l Catholic Conference on Race Relations.
September 1	Louisville	
2	St Louis	Educational Research
3	- - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - -
September 4	Memphis (?)	
September 8-11	Office	Complete draft of pamphlet

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Kentucky State College

Frankfort, Kentucky

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
OCT 15
Southern Regional Council

October 9, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sending you a copy of a paper which was given to me by Dr. C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville. I thought the paper might be interesting and perhaps helpful to you.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. Atwood

R. B. Atwood
President

RBA/jnf

Line Staff - Parrish, C.H.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Rec'd 3/30/64

March 26, 1964

MJ

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Two weeks ago I received a letter from SRC which I read hurriedly and promptly forgot until yesterday. It was a reminder that I had not formally accepted the invitation to return as a member of the Council. I hope this letter will correct that oversight. For the record: I accept, with pleasure.

Benjamin Muse was here week before last preparing his report on Louisville for the Conference of Mayors. I have had a letter and two telephone calls from him for additional information. I think he has gotten a fair picture, although Louisville is always more impressive to outsiders than it is to those of us who are close to the situation. The announcement came today that Louisville had received one of 11 All-America Cities Awards, a venture sponsored jointly by the National Municipal League and Look Magazine. I am eagerly awaiting the next issue of Look. The enclosed letter carries a table that might interest you as a political scientist.

Sometime soon I hope to get to Atlanta for a long talk about local and national matters, e. g., Roy Wilkins' timely comment, as reported in New South.

Give my regards to my friends and former colleagues at SRC.

Cordially,

C.H.

C. H. Parrish

NOTE

This paper was prepared as a committee report in connection with a course in Social Problems (Sociology 303) given at the University of Louisville, Summer Session-1953. The outline followed in the analysis was an adaptation of a suggestion by Louis Wirth: Contemporary Social Problems.

The final organization of the paper was the work of Miss Barbara Farris. Other members of the student committee were:

Virginia M. Davis

Margaret Alexander

Daisy Harlemert

The paper is reproduced here without alteration or correction. If it is to be used in published form due credit should be given to the committee members and an opportunity should be given to Miss Farris to make such corrections as she may deem advisable.

C. H. Parrish, Instructor

PROBLEM CONCERNING DESEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

I. Statement of the Problem:

At its next session, the Supreme Court of the United States will be faced with the task of giving a decision concerning the constitutional legality of compulsory segregation in the public school system. If the court should decide that segregation is in definite conflict with the "equality for all" which is required by the constitution, the United States, and particularly the South, will be confronted with a difficult and complex problem. It is that problem which will arise from a decision favoring desegregation with which we shall concern ourselves in this paper. We shall not attempt to offer a definite solution to the problem, but shall, instead try to present accurately all of the aspects of the possible solutions.

II. A Sociological Approach to the Problem:

It is necessary to approach the problem from a scientific, sociological, point of view, if anything is to be accurately analyzed. Therefore, it is essential that we examine carefully this issue, and try to perceive if it does in fact, constitute a social problem. "The mere undesirability of a condition does not automatically place it in the category of a social problem. The condition must be recognized as 'harmful' and 'changeable' by a large section of the public before it becomes a significant 'problem' in that society."[1]

In order to have reached the Supreme Court, to have aroused the interest of magazines and newspapers throughout the country, and to have

1. Cuber, John F. & Harper, Robert A. Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict New york, Henry Holt & Co., June, 1952 p. 37

become a generally discussed topic of conversation, a large section of the population must recognize the issue. If some people did not feel that the condition were changeable there would be no case before the Supreme Court, no campaigns by newspapers and various organizations which favor one side or the other, or no outspoken fears in the part of those people who enjoy things as they now exist, that they are in danger of being changed. Surely segregation in the public schools can be correctly called a "social problem".

In dealing with a problem as controversial as this one, it is necessary to put behind us as much as possible any preconceptions which we undoubtedly have, and study the issue as objectively as possible, endeavoring always to arrive at a solution which will be most satisfactory for the greatest number of people without ever forgetting the needs of any minority group, regardless of its size.

III. Goals to be Sought in the Solution of the Problem:

A--- Preservation of a democratic form of government:

In an interview with Dr. Philip Davidson, president of the University of Louisville, he stated that he felt that "full legal rights" must be clearly established, and full legal protection for the Negro must be established before we can hope to attain a United States which offers real equality of opportunity. This equality of opportunity seems to us to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of a democracy. It is certainly not necessary or even desirable for every man to have the same amount of monetary wealth or to be a member of the same occupational group. It is necessary, however, to the survival of a democracy, for every man to feel that potentially he has the legal opportunities, the economic opportunities, and the moral sanction of his countrymen to become whatever

his abilities will allow him to become. If this feeling is taken away from him, a democrary cannot possibly exist. It is, therefore, necessary to the survival of a republican form of government that the Negro, and all other minority groups, in truth have equal rights. As stated by Dr. Davidson, only after legal equality is attained can economic and social equality be attained. Desegregation can certainly be considered a part of legal equality. A more substantial democracy is certainly one of the goals to be sought in the solution of the problem.

B— Better Citizens

One of the traits which Americans consider very important is good citizenship. This, of course, is in line with the concept of a democratic government. Children who have well-developed, well-integrated personalities, will of necessity, make the best citizens. Segregation in many instances, has kept the personalities of both minority and majority group children from developing as they should. "A minority group child learns the inferior status to which he is assigned - As he observes the fact that he is almost always segregated and kept apart from others who are treated with respect by the society as a whole... these children often react with feelings of inferiority and a sense of personal humiliation."[1] These children can not do very well in their job of being good citizens in a society which allegedly feels that personal dignity is of utmost importance. On the other hand, the discriminated-against child may become overly aggressive and outwardly bitter toward all members of the majority group. Because of these deep-rooted inner conflicts, the child cannot

1. The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Report-September, 1952. p. 4

be the happy, useful citizen that he might otherwise be.

In contrast to this child, is the child who is a member of a majority group. Although many good citizens emerge from a society filled with prejudice and discrimination, many mediocre citizens emerge from and because of just such a society. "Those children who learn the prejudices of our society are also being taught to gain personal status in an unrealistic and non-adaptive way.... They often develope patterns of guilt feelings, rationalizations and other mechanisms which they must use in attempt to protect themselves from recognizing the essential injustice of their unrealistic fears and hatreds of minority peoples."[1] If a desegregated school system is able to produce better people, capable of more rational and more effective thinking, it is certainly worth taking into conscientious consideration.

C— A Better School System:

The school system in many southern states is not good, and in some states is very bad. One of the primary goals sought in the solution of the problem is the formation of a better school system. There are many evidences that desegregation would help greatly in this improvement. In Kentucky, for example, there are, in some rural areas, many Negro schools operating, which have an enrollment which is substantially lower than the minimum number of students required to operate a school. In such cases, the state has to pay for the upkeep of two buildings, the salaries of half-again as many teachers, and a double amount of school equipment. If a desegregation decision is handed down, the white school could take those few Negro students and thus have some of the funds which were

1. <u>The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation:</u> P. 5

fomerly provided for the Negro school. As a result, a more efficient school for both white and Negro students could be maintained, the Negro student would have much better facilities than he now has, and the taxpayers would save a great deal of money. On the other hand, in Louisville, for example, the situation is entirely different. "All of the Negro schools are overcrowded."[1] A substantial number of white schools in neighborhoods in which one of these crowded Negro schools exist, are not overcrowded. Many of the Negro children could attend the white schools and thus another bi problem would be alleviated. The lack of teachers in the elementary schools has become alarming. If desegregation were to become law, this problem also would be, in many cases, alleviated. When schools combine, the teachers will be free to go elsewhere, perhaps to some place where they are badly needed. If a better school system will in fact evolve from desegregation, there is in that potential accomplishment alone a great deal of merit. We shall later discuss the possible demerits of desegregation as it applies to teachers.

D--- Lessen Interracial Tension

In order to have a more efficient society, interracial tensions, especially in areas which are heavily populated with a minority group, must be lessened. The South is growing rapidly as an industrial area. If there were less tension between the races, more effective industries could be established, and greated production would be possible. There are arguments which assert that this tension is being lessened now and that desegregation would only tend to cancel out tremendous gains which

1. Taken from an interview with Dr. Rubido, head of teacher placement at the Louisville, Ky. Board of Education.

have already been made. On the other hand, however, is the argument which asserts that desegregation would cause children to meet each other and know each other as individuals, and thus greatly decrease interracial tension. Both of these viewpoints must be seriously considered and the merit of whichever one of these points of view seems most logical, must be recognized. It seems to us more logical that people who knew each other as individuals would have more respect for each other's race, and would have much less rension, interracially.

IV. Do Other Problems Depend on It?

One of the aspects of this problem which causes it to be so extremely important to so many people is the effect that it will have on many other conditions, the great number of problems which will arise from or be alleviated by the desision to desegregate the schools.

A-- The Teaching Situation

The effect that desegregation will have on the teaching profession is probably one of the most important aspects of the problem, and must necessarily be considered. It is considered by the most liberal men who are for complete and immediate ruling in favor of desegregation a most serious problem. As the situation now stands, the Negro teacher has no trouble whatever in finding a job. It is the only profession which is in reality completely open to him as a Negro. If desegregation were to take place the teaching profession might temporarily at least, be closed to many Negro teachers. There are several reasons for this. Because all prejudice could not possibly be wiped out with the wiping out of segregation, there is no reason to rationally think that every board of education will be completely fair-minded in hiring teachers. Even if it tried to be, it is not even plausible to think that the public in many places

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would allow it to be. For example, in a predominately white, or in an all white class, the board of education would not be at all likely to put a Negro teacher. Even if the class were predominately Negro, with a few white children as members, it is doubtful that a Negro teacher would ever be placed in charge of the class. Only in a completely Negro class would a Negro teacher be likely to be placed. This would immediately cause many Negro teachers to be thrown out of their jobs, and would cause them to be unable to get any other jobs. This situation, if anticipated, could be adequately dealt with, however. In Kentucky, for example, where many new teachers with little or no college training are being hired each year, a law stating definitely that no new teacher could be hired without the required 120 hours if there were another qualified teacher regardless of his race, would help greatly to solve such a problem. If this problem could adequately met, the need for teachers with a college degree could be more readily met. Actually, if handled properly, the teacher situation could be helped greatly, if desegregation comes to pass.

B--- Minority Groups Other Than the Negro

In many western states the problem of the Mexican, and occasionally the problem of the American Indian, in the few areas in which it exists, would also be affected by the decesion favoring desegregation. The Mexican child, as well as the Negro, would have a better chance to receive a more adequate education. The decision that segregation is unconstitutional would apply to segregation of any group.

C--- Public Entertainment and Public Parks

With the decision to desegregate schools undoubtedly following would be, in many places, the decision to desegregate public parks and public entertainment. In all of the states the problem would arise, at least,

and probably often would be decided in the affirmative. This would offer a greater cultural advancement for the Negro, and, in the case of the parks, would save the taxpayers a great deal of money. In many areas there are two playgrounds being operated, when only one is necessary. This envolves not only equipment, but also the payment to two recreational supervisors, in many instances. In many Negro parkd, however, there are no recreational supervisors. This desegregation of playgrounds, if and when it came about, would provide supervised recreation for more Negro children.

D--- Effect of Decision on the Taxpayers

Although there may be no drastic change in the lessening of taxes if a desegregation decision is made, there will be a great increase in taxes if segregation-with-equal facilities decision is handed down. "If this is the Supreme Court's decision, then the South will find itself faced with a tremendous financial problem. It is estimated that the new capital outlay for equalizing physical facilities alone will cost from fifty million to more than one hundred million dollars in each state and that the total new capital outlay for the South would more than a billion dollars. Added to this would be the increased annual cost of operating and maintaining the Negro schools at the new level - probably a quarter of a billion dollars a year."[1] It is reasonable to think that if many taxpayers were informed of these huge expenditures which will be necessary to equalize facilities, they might of their own accord decide that they would rather have desegregation than such a huge expenditure.

V. How the Man on the Street Feels:

It is always a very difficult thing to ascertain how the man on the

1. "The Impending Crisis of the South", Johnson, G. B. <u>The New South</u> Vol. 8, May 8, 1953

street really feels about a question such as this. There is always the great probability that after definite action has taken place his attitudes will change considerably. Several surveys have been made, however, and they are probably worth nothing, at any rate. "The best evidence is a survey made by Elmo Roper, in 1950, which found that only 17.1% of white and Colored Southerners questioned, wished at that time to see the end of all segregation in the schools."[1] Of course a desegregation decision would not end all segregation. There would be many instances of natural segregation. In many neighborhoods, for instance there would be a substantial Negro population and the schools would naturally be either all or practically all Negro populated anyway. This would apply in the same way to schools in almost completely or completely white districts. Also, as has been shown, the opinions of those who are against desegregation are not nearly so violent as one might expect them to be. For example, in a survey made in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1952, after the admittance of Negroes to the University of Louisville, over 50% of the people said that they were opposed to the plan. There has been little or no trouble, however, at the University of Louisville, since there has been actual desegregation. In the deeper south, of course, the problem might be slightly different. It is safe to judge, however, that a great many people who now say that they oppose desegregation, would accept it if it did become law.

VI. Who Has a Stake in the Problem?

A--- The Teacher and the Other Professional Negro People

As has been previously discussed, the teacher is of vital concern

1. "Southern Crises: The Segregation Decision" Dabney, Virgginius <u>Saturday Evening Post</u> November 8, 1952

in the solution of this problem. In E. Franklin Frazier's article entitled "The Negro's Vested Interest in Segregation", he dicusses some of the reasons that many Negroes might at first be opposed to desegregation. "The various institutions and organizations reflect the economic and social stratification of the Negro community, which owes its character largely to economic discrimination and to the isolation of its members from their fellow Americans. ..... All these various bodies - even the class structure itself - have become vested interests of sort, for some elements in the Negro group. They have become vested interests in the sense that Negroes feel that they have a right to the exclusive enjoyment of the social and material rewards they derive from the system of segregation. As the system, is under attack today, it is necessary to take into account these special interests behind its walls." In order to combat these feelings the leader of Negro society must be made to feel that he has a very real place in the society outside his own group. He must feel that he is first a human being, an American, and second, a Negro, if he must feel his race at all.

B--- Parents' Stake in the Problem

Most parents are vitally interested in their children's well-being. Parents very often are more influenced by the patterns of tradition than by actual knowledge of what would be really best for their child. If they could be approached as parents rather than as good Southerners or good voters, they might be more anxious to learn the real effect which desegregation will have on their children and might be inclined to look at the problem from a more reasonable point of view. If the parents can accept the decision, whatever it might be, and particularly if it is in favor of desegregation, the child would be in a much better position to accept the situation.

"The Negro's Vested Interest in Segregation", Frazier, E. F. Race Prejudice and Discrimination, editor, Rose A. M., N.Y. 1951, Knopf Pub. Co.

C--- Child's Stake in the Problem

The child is it seems, the most important individual concerned. As has already been discussed in the section concerning good citizenship, the child who is free from prejudice and discrimination will have a much better chance of developing into a well-integrated individual.

D--- City and State Officials

The solution of this problem is quite important both to city and state officials. It is important to most of them primarily because their stand on the issue will mean votes for them. The governers of many leading Southern states have made definite statements concerning the problem. Governor Herman Talmadge made the statement that as long as he was governor Negroes would not be admitted to white schools. Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina has stated that his state will abandon the public school system rather than accept desegregation. With the attitude with which such influential men as these view the problem, it makes the task of educating the people far more difficult than it might otherwise be.

E--- International Importance of the Decision

Our apprent discrimination against the American Negro in the United States has always been a perfect target for the ugly Russian propaganda, which is so often directed toward that problem. The propaganda may be ugly, but at present we are in no position to deny the truth of Russia's accusations. The rest of the free world, also, will be watching the decision which is made and the way it is handled. The problem does definitely have international importance.

VII. Means for Bringing about a Solution and Recommendations on the Part of Experts Involving the Solution of the Problem:

Many different solutions to the problem are offered. "Rep. Brooks

Hays, of Arkansas, one of the most enlightened of Southern congressmen, feels that any sudden liquidation of segregation in the public schools or over a still-wider area would be extremely damaging to all concerned."[1] He, as do many others, obviously favors a more gradual change. Dr. Philip Davidson, of Louisville, believes, however, that desegregation is the best thing and that it will be readily accepted by most people, and that those who do not accept it will not have any outwardly violent opposition, to speak of. There are some experts who take the middle road. Alfred Mynders, editor of the Chattanooga Times, wrote, "The people whould remain calm and every effort should be made to avoid sensationalizing the ruling."[2] Most everyone seems to feel that the only real experts are the supreme court judges. The most any of us can do is to hope that whatever the decision, the people will attempt to think clearly, accept the decision, and do as much as they can to help better themselves and their country through an intelligent understanding of the new condition.

1. "Southern Crises", Dabney Sat. Eve. Post Nov. 8, 1953
2. "The Impending Crisis of the South", Johnson, G. B.

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Frazier, E. F., The Negro in the United States, New York, 1941

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"The Effects of Segregation and the Consequenses of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement" Sept. 22, 1952

"The Impending Crisis of the South", Johnson, G. B.; The New South, May, 1953 Vol. 8

"Journal of Negro Education", Spring 1953

"Journal of Negro Education", Summer 1952

"Southern Crisis: The Segregation Decision" Dabney, Virginnius The Saturday Evening Post Nov. 8, 1952 p. 40

Personal Interviews:

Dr. Philip Davidson, University of Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Rubido, Louisville Kentucky Board of Education

Mr. Steele, Louisville, Kentucky

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Stagg, Paul

REGARDING:

Rilling's recommendation re article on Stagg experiences
In Front Royal, Va.

DATE
August 13, 1959

(See)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Peters, William
(HCF ltr to regarding article on Stagg) - dtd. August 1959

August 13, 1959

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director

From: Paul M. Rilling, Director of Field Activities

I believe that an article on Paul Stagg's experiences in Front Royal would be interesting and helpful if it could be placed in one of the national high circulation magazines. As you know Paul Stagg had a Baptist Church in Front Royal and is currently with the American Baptist convention in New York. Paul was minister of the downtown Baptist Church in Front Royal. He was the senior minister in town, active in virtually every community civic endeavor and considered one of the town's leading citizens. From the beginning of the education crises in Front Royal Paul has taken a forthright and unequivocal position in favor of compliance with court order. Due to his influence the county ministerial association became the only liberal group to speak out against school closure and the establishment of makeshift private classes. Paul was practically the only person to speak out as an individual on the liberal side of the controversy during the troubles last year. He was practically the only white man in town who maintained liaison with the Negro community and gave comfort and support to the Negro group struggling for recognition of their rights. As a direct result of his position Paul was subjected to social pressures, verbal abuse, insults, ostracism, and eventually he found it wise to accept another position in the face of an open revolt among some of the laymen in his church.

Paul's contribution in Warren County was significant and the story would make good copy. He would, I think, appreciate the recognition that such an article might involve and would actively cooperate in its preparation. The record of his statements and actions is readily available in newspaper clippings and among his own papers. There is, I believe, a value in calling the attention of the nation to the constructive role that Southerners like Paul are playing. An article on the Stagg story would also recognize the contribution that some ministers are making in the South under pressure of current tensions.

PMR/sl

for CO Files

Rilling personal

August 25, 1959

Mrs. Flora Morrison
52 Morton Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Flora:

It was good to hear from you again. You and yours have been a real source of moral support during the last year and I appreciated your taking the trouble to write to me in my new office.

I was sorry to hear that you had been ill. I do hope that you are really all right and that they don't require you to curtail your activities too much.

I have not seen Patty recently although we have exchanged a few letters since I've moved to Atlanta. I am looking forward to future field trips to Virginia in my new capacity. I believe that we have found a good man to take over in Virginia. This has considerably lessened my own guilt feelings about leaving.

I hope things go well with you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl
cc: Dan Bowers

Staff - Rilling

November 2, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

As I have been somewhat critical of the movement of human relations professionals from the South to Washington and points North, it is with some embarrassment that I tell you that I have been offered an appointment as Executive Director of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations of the District of Columbia and that I have accepted the appointment as of December 10.

I have found my four and one-half years of work with the Virginia Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council challenging and rewarding. It is with extreme reluctance that I contemplate leaving SRC. I have a strong professional and emotional stake in the Council and in the various Councils on Human Relations. I shall not only miss my contacts here, but also a direct involvement in the exciting developments throughout the South.

I do look forward, however, to a different opportunity. I am sure I will enjoy the lightening of travel obligations and it should be interesting to work for a public agency and with the firm backing of government policy. It is therefore with mixed feelings that I submit my resignation as Field Director of the Southern Regional Council effective December 7.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Rilling

PR:mm
cc: Mr. James McBride Dabbs
President, Southern Regional Council

Staff - Rilling

D. C. Human Relations Chief Picked

Nov. , 1962

The post of executive director of the city's Human Relations Council has been offered to a specialist in intergroup relations now working for the Southern Regional Council.

The District Commissioners yesterday wired Paul M. Rilling, 39, of Atlanta, of his appointment to the $12,845-a-year post. It has been vacant since August, when David A. Sawyer resigned to accept a similar position with the Army Material Command.

Rilling is director of field services for the Southern Regional Council, a private, biracial group that seeks to promote equal opportunity in the South.

From 1958 to 1959, he served as executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. He came to that post after completing a special project in race relations for the Southern Area YMCA. A combat radio operator with the Army during World War II, Rilling also taught political science at North Texas State College and the Mobile center of the University of Alabama. For two years he directed community education services at Emory University.

Before choosing Rilling, the Commissioners interviewed 14 applicants. The Commissioners Council on Human Relations, a group of appointed citizens, is charged with enforcing policies barring discrimination within the District government or in the use of District facilities. It also seeks to encourage fair employment policies by private employers.

MEMORANDUM October 22, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling
Re: Eliza Paschall

I believe that the idea of Eliza Paschall for the directorship of the Georgia Council merits serious consideration.

Actually, you would probably be in a better position to evaluate her potential for this job than I.

On the one hand, she is well known in the state, has respectable status, has had useful experience with the League of Women Voters, and is conscientious and dedicated. On the other hand, she has not had professional orientation in this field and I have no way of evaluating the scope of her understanding of subject matter or strategy. I would expect her to be a good organizer and administrator, but how effective would she be in program initiation and advice?

There was some criticism of her work as president of the Georgia League of Women Voters by Frances Paulley and others. Of course, Frances can always find something critical to say about everyone.

MEMORANDUM December 15, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Business Leaders' Conference in Atlanta

At the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Georgia Council, McDowell Richards reported on a recent meeting which he had attended, arranged by several prominent ministers. Dr. Richards said that some ten or so of "very important business leaders" of Atlanta were present and that the purpose of the meeting was for these businessmen and several leading ministers to explore together what the businessmen could do concerning the school crisis.

Although he did not name those present, Dr. Richards indicated that he was rather discouraged concerning the spirit of the meeting. Although there was some difference of opinion among the businessmen present, the general consensus was that they were becoming a little weary of talking of it, that there is little they can do at the present time, that efforts by them to intervene with the governor might well do more harm than good in increasing the gap between Atlanta and the rest of the state, that Governor Vandiver cannot be motivated to shift his present position, etc.

Thought you would be interested in case you haven't heard.

File

MEMORANDUM December 23, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Consultation on Emergency Educational Services for Displaced Pupils, Saturday, December 19

As can be indicated from the attached agenda, the group gave attention both to specific situations and to the general problem. The bulk of the time was spent in consideration of the Prince Edward County, Virginia situation as an example of what can be expected in other parts of the South in years to come.

Concerning the present situation in PEC, it was noted that 59 students, mainly Juniors and Seniors, are currently attending Kittrell College in North Carolina. The students have been accepted at a special rate of $250 per year by the college. Parents are paying for six of these students, the PECCA has assumed responsibility for paying for the other 53. They are "around" $6,000 short of the funds needed to meet this obligation.

It was agreed by those with knowledge of the PE situation that local leadership is a critical problem. Rev. Griffin and one or possibly two others are providing virtually all of the leadership there is. As a result, the total effort of PECCA has been vague and nebulous, and somewhat disorganized. It is agreed, however, that morale is quite good and there would be very few takers for the private Negro schools currently being organized by white segregationists.

The effort to organize play groups for the elementary children was somewhat of a fizzle. There is only one play group presently in operation.

A number of children are attending school elsewhere, but nobody seems to know exactly how many. The children were sent away were selected on a first come first served basis, but with priority going to Seniors first and Juniors second.

A Negro women's sorority, referred to in the meeting as "The Deltas" are raising money across the country for scholarship purposes. They do not know yet how much will be forthcoming. Two Christmas parties are being planned for some or all of the children. One by the Deltas for the Seniors and a community party by a group of primarily Negro journalists and publications in Washington.

As a result of the consultation, it was recommended that a plan for response to the PEC situation be formulated as rapidly as possible and that it be peddled to foundations, etc. It was felt that the plan should have the following general characteristics:

1. It should attempt to involve a large number of the children presently out of school, rather than a small number.

2. It should in some respects reach the total Negro community, both by way of involvement and for morale purposes.

3. It should in no way be organized along the outlines of formally graded classes, but should clearly be an emergency effort. There must be no taint of substitute private schools.

4. In the case of the high school students, emphasis should be placed on attending regular high school classes outside the county. If possible, some of these students should be placed in desegregated school situations.

5. The program should include some literacy work for adults in the community. Such a program might also involve some citizenship training and exposure to Negro history, etc., for adults.

6. Such high school students who cannot be sent away to school might be given the opportunity to take recognized correspondence courses at the high school level. This could be organized in a somewhat disciplined way with times and places set aside for study halls, with parents serving as study hall supervisors to maintain discipline, and with tutors being available on a once or twice a week basis to help the students.

7. Although the organization of anything for 1,200 elementary children would be a monumental task, it is hoped that it will be possible to involve at least a number of the children in workshops or clinics on communications skills, such as remedial reading, etc. They might also be exposed to some training in basic civics, in hygiene and in Negro history and achievement.

8. It was suggested that the play groups originally planned be in fact organized, with the educational emphasis introduced from time to time through the play groups.

9. It was thought that an essential part of any program that could make any contribution in this situation was the employment of a full time educational coordinator who could be resident in the county. Such a person would organize and set up the program as well as handle some of the work himself.

10. The educational program should be carried on through the existing PECCA group and primarily through the churches. It was even suggested that the total program might be called an effort in Christian education. If the program is to be accepted by the community, Rev. Griffin should be involved with perhaps some funds for travel and expenses in connection with the program.

Follow-up Action

1. Henderson and Daniel will continue to fact-find and will come up with a thorough report under our CSP.

2. Frank Gregory feels that the Fund for the Advancement of Education might be interested. He will explore this possibility.

3. Jean Fairfax and I will draft a specific project involving anyone we may need to help.

4. There was no discussion of the old war chest theory. The thought now seems to be that as these types of situations develop, we would attempt to determine the facts, the Interagency Committee will develop a program (perhaps using consultants) and we will jointly try to market it to "the anonymous donor" or other sources of largesse.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 2/10/60

To: HF ✓ From: SM

Subject: Greensboro strike

Connie suggested four contacts:

Dr. Warren Ashby, Philosophy Dept. (probably best lead)
Woman's College
Greensboro, N.C.

Charles Jones (chairman, N.C. - Va. region, NSA; graduate student at Johnson C. Smith)
2212 Trade Street
Charlotte, N.C.

Max Heirich, College Secretary
AFSC
High Point (lives in Greensboro)

Leon Murray (student at A & T, tho he may be co-oping this quarter)
609 E. Gaston St.
(Broadway 4-7232)
Greensboro, N.C.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Monday, Feb. 8 (1960)

To: Staff From: sm

Subject: Dinner with state staff

Mrs. Comer at A.U. has asked that we change the time of the dinner this Wednesday to 6:30, so that she not have to pay the help for overtime and make life more difficult for all of them.

MEMORANDUM January 27, 1960

To: SRC Staff
From: Paul Rilling

Re: State Staff Meeting and Dinner

The State Staff Meeting will be held in our Board Room on February 10 and 11. We are anxious that the state staff have the opportunity of knowing our staff better and vice versa. We are, therefore, planning a dinner for Wednesday, February 10, at 6:30 - 7:00 p.m. in Bumstead Hall of Atlanta University.

We do feel that this is important from the standpoint of closer cooperation between state groups and our office, and hope each of you will be able to come. Husbands and wives are invited. SRC foots the bill.

Please indicate below whether you will be able to attend. (and number, if more than one.)

~~definite answer to come~~ OK Will Come

MF ✓
HF ✓
PA ✓
PR
SM ✓ 2
MA ✓ 2 ~~(Can any team act as hostess?)~~
RA ✓ (1)
MET
LWD ✓ (2?)
JC ✓
LC
BC ✓
EW ✓ yes
MM - Yes
WF ✓

15

(15) 8 / 24

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 9, 1960

To: HF From: PR

Subject: Staff Meetings

I am somewhat disturbed about the general nature of our staff meetings. The idea of sharing with all involved is a good one, but somehow it often seems to bog down in desultory and random discussions which consume a great deal of time and achieve very little.

I really have no very specific constructive ideas on how to improve our staff meetings. Perhaps it would be well to convene them only when we have some specific ideas of general interest. Perhaps a clearly defined time limit would be useful. Perhaps it would be well for PA to check with various staff members and even pull together an informal agenda.

Probably one of my problems is that I don't myself know how to contribute very constructively to the staff meetings. There seems little point in simply reporting and there are not many aspects of my work which would seem to require general staff discussion.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 22, 1960

To: PR ✓ From: HCF

Subject: State School Study Commission

Over the weekend Philip Shulhafer called me to offer a suggestion. He feels it is likely that some Negroes, through coercion or blandishments, will be caused to appear before the Study Commission and testify in an Uncle Tom vein. Whether or not this happens, would it not be desirable for representative, articulate Negroes to seek to appear before the Commission? It isn't at all certain that this will take place spontaneously, particularly in the less urban Congressional districts. Do you know if anybody, NAACP or otherwise, is doing anything about this? If not, would it be appropriate for the Georgia Council to concern itself? Clearly this is not a HOPE function. I will appreciate word from you.

*we are working on it

*met Atl. Council, some HOPE individuals

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 28, 1960

To: Harold Fleming From: Paul Rilling

Subject: Alabama application to the Field Foundation

Talked to Bob Hughes this week and raised the question of the missing application for consideration by the Field Foundation. Bob advised me that the revision process became lost in the welter of emergency and trouble shooting activities growing out of disturbances in Montgomery and elsewhere. In view of this situation and because of some continued differences of opinion, Bob and Father Foley have decided to convene the full program committee and have something ready by the fall meeting of the Field Board. The Alabama Council is writing Field concerning this decision and we are to receive a copy of the letter.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 28, 1960

To: H. Fleming From: P. Rilling

Subject: Harry Boyte

Thought I had better bring you up to date on Harry Boyte's project to testify before the Sibley Commission officially representing the Atlanta Council. You won't like it.

As we agreed, I called Cowart and emphasized our view concerning the role of the Executive Committee of the Georgia Council or some other responsible group in the decision making process. You talked to Harry the same day, I believe. Although I told Cowart to keep me informed and to call on me if we could be of further help, I heard nothing further.

On Wednesday morning, March 23, Mrs. Knox informed me that Cowart had decided not to convene the executive committee, that there had been telephone conversations involving Hollowell and Haas, Boyte and Cowart, and that Harry Boyte was going to make his official presentation at the hearing that day.

Harry did so and made a fine forthright statement. So far as I know, it was authorized by none. Cowart may have agreed. The Atlanta Council Board may have agreed, but even this I doubt.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 27, 1960

To: HF From: PR

Subject: page 3 NSA Conference report

Considering the very short time in which the Conference was planned the actual running of it was quite smooth and efficient on the part of the NSA staff. Facilities for mimeographing and reporting and for tape recording proceedings were first-rate and functioned rapidly. The facilities of the All Saints Church were adequate and the Park-Sheraton Hotel was able to house virtually all of the large group.

Publicity coming out of the Conference was not very widespread. I do not know exactly how this was handled and whether it could have been improved. There was fair publicity in the Washington Post, very little going out over the news wires.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 27, 1960

To: HF From: PR

Subject: page 2 NSA Conference report

The Conference undoubtedly served some constructive purposes. It was probably of particular value to the Northern students who were in the majority although I believe the Southern white students were also particularly helped. The Southern Negro participants enjoyed the interaction among the student groups but tended to feel let down by the seeming unwillingness of the Conference to "take a firm stand" or "take real action" in support of the sit-ins. This feeling of disillusionment among some of the Southern Negro students was intensified when the Conference petered out at eleven without completing action on sixteen recommendations for action because of the lack of a quorum.

The interaction of the students and of the white and Negro students North and South seemed to be extremely constructive and helpful during the small group discussion period. A number of these groups established unusual rapport and frankness and dug fairly deeply into some of the problems concerned.

The Conference was undoubtedly handicapped by some confusion concerning the purpose of the meeting. This confusion was quite possibly unavoidable. Some of the students came with the feeling that they were creating a new national organization to "take over" the protest movement. A group of the protest leaders related closely to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference wanted from the meeting specific and detailed endorsement of the Raleigh Conference plans and of their plans. Some of the delegates including the few Southern white delegates from places such as the University of Texas and the University of Florida obviously felt that this was simply a consultation and exchange of viewpoints. They were surprised to find that others wished formal action on such matters as public endorsement of boycotts, etc. As it turned out, the matter was academic since the Conference adjourned before action could be completed on such matters as the boycott. It was perhaps questionable to spend so much time with formal speeches and with formal legislative action inasmuch as these activities took time away from the more informal interaction of students and also were restricted so far as the formal sessions were concerned to the smaller delegate, mostly Northern group.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 27, 1960

To: Harold Fleming From: Paul Rilling

Subject: Recent NSA Conference on Sit-ins

Nearly 500 students attended the recent Washington Conference held at the All Souls Unitarian Church. Approximately 150 of these were "official" delegates, student body presidents or their representatives. The remaining 350 were "observers," in most cases students but without official student government status. There were only four or five white Southerners among the delegate group but a larger sprinkling of them among the observer group. A number of the Negro participants in the sit-in protest movement were on hand as observers and probably 5 to 10 of these were also serving as official delegates.

Only the delegates could participate in discussion and voting during the plenary sessions. The observers were limited to listening to the speeches and were also encouraged to participate in the discussion group meetings out of which the official resolutions came to the floor.

The Friday evening session consisted of nine speeches, from 8 p.m. until midnight. These included two by Southern white students, two by Southern Negro protest leaders, one by a Negro minister active in the protest movement and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, one by a foreign student, two analyses by supposed human relations experts, and the wrap-up speech by a former president of NSA. There were three more speeches by students Saturday morning, primarily reports on Northern campus activities in support of the sit-ins.

Discussion group sessions were scheduled for morning and afternoon on Saturday. Due to time pressures, however, there was only one two-to-two and a half hour discussion group session. There were a large number of discussion groups with from 10 to 20 students in each.

In addition to the speeches and discussion groups Saturday, the session included reports of discussion groups at a plenary session from approximately four until seven and a formal parliamentary session to pass upon resolutions from 8 p.m. until 11 p.m.

MEMORANDUM August 29, 1960

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Paul Rilling

Re: BURNSVILLE.

Since our regular contact in Asheville is currently in Europe, although due back September 1, I contacted Bill Bagwell by telephone concerning the current status of the Burnsville school situation. As usual, he warmed to the task and talked at great length.

The gist of the matter is that they will be carrying on with the same school plan this year as last. Litigation is pending, but technicalities have postponed the legal procedures and there seems to be virtually no chance that there can be a decision prior to next spring. A tax payers' suit to prevent the building of the new Negro school did not succeed in preventing the construction; although, the suit itself has not been finally determined.

The new Negro school, a three-room affair, is supposed to take care of all twelve grades and will be ready several weeks after regular opening. The regular opening date for the Yancey County schools is this week.

The parents have definitely decided not to accept assignment to the Negro school, but to carry on as last year with elementary grades in the church basement and high school students attending Allen School. They are a little better off insofar as teaching is concerned. During the summer a young man, who has been out of college only two years, helped out with a special tutoring effort. This man has agreed to stay on as the regular elementary school teacher for next year. There will, apparently, again be only one teacher.

The group has practically no money left over from last year and is naturally concerned because, as ~~they~~ we learned from the Prince Edward County experience, the school deals have great emotional appeal the first year and then sort of lose their pull.

I would strongly urge that we try to go to the well one more time on this. The probability is that the present set-up will continue throughout the year, although there is

some faint chance of relief during the second semester. They will need money at least as bad this year, if not more so, as last year. I am asking Bill Bagwell to give us, to the best of his knowledge, an exact breakdown of how money was spent last year. However, I would suggest that we move ahead immediately.

If you need any other data, let me know.

-END-

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Sept. 6, 1960

To: PA From: PR

Subject:

For the purpose of notices to the coming Interagency meeting, please add the names of

Wyatt Walker and James Wood for that of Ella Baker as representatives of the SCLC. Wyatt ~~intimat~~ indicated to me that he was eager to become involved in this meeting. I told him that we would let him know when the date was set.

We still have the problem of the planning session for Atlanta Interagency people. I suggest that this be done next Tuesday, Sept. 13. See what you can do along this line.

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Sept. 6, 1960

To: HCF From: PR

Subject:

I meant to discuss the Burnsville situation with you before getting away but did not have a chance to do so after the B'ham situation developed. I do hope that you will carry through opening overtures concerning a repetition of last year's grant. Let me know if you need additional information.

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Sept. 26, 1960

To: HCF ✓ From: PR

Subject: Montgomery

At the initiative of the president of the Chamber of Commerce, a group of leading business figures and political figures and Negro leaders are meeting informally in Montgomery. The effort started approximately a month ago at the initiative of some of the ministers. The group has agreed to consider how tensions can be eased within present framework. It is understood that some of those present on various sides of the racial lines may be actively working for or against desegregation, but that these matters will not be on the agenda. Some top level Negro leadership, generally of the more conservative sort, is involved, including several members of the Alabama Council.

The group has agreed first to consider aspects of police brutality.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 4, 1960

To: hcf ✓ From: pr

Subject: Bob Hughes

I was extremely pleased by the tone of the meeting of the Alabama Council board Saturday, October 1. The ACHR is taking full responsibility for the financial obligation and shows no inclination of dumping it in our laps, although considerable appreciation was expressed for our efforts to date.

It now develops that the total obligation to the Birmingham attorney s will be in the neighborhood of $5,000 rather than $7,000. A bill for $4,500 and attorneys' fees has already been presented and paid by the Alabama Council. This includes the $2,000 paid earlier and $2,500 paid recently. The Alabama Council has raised nearly $2,000 to date. The Council is just about broke, but is receiving the special Field Grant and the regular quarterly grant this week. The only other obligation to the Birmingham attorneys will be for long distance ~~fning~~ phoning and court costs. These bills have not been figured by the attorneys, but are anticipated to be in the neighborhood of $500.

In other words, as of now, the Alabama Council stands to lose $3,000 from its regular operating funds through the Hughes case. We have already in effect made up $600 of this by allocating a larger share of the Field grant to Alabama becuase of this situation.

Father Foley reported that he had been in touch with a national organization that usually receives a considerable annual contribution from the Washington lawyer who was active in the Hughes case. He says this organization is suggesting to the lawyer that his assistance to Hughes be considered as his contribution to the organization, if he so desires. So, it is possible that we will not receive a bill from this attorney.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 10/4/60

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: page 2 - hughes memo

The Alabama Council has decided to immediately proceed in the search for a new director. They have decided, against my advice and against that of Father Foley, to maintain the office in Birmingham for the time being. Bob made a strong case for continuing in Birmingham as the geographic center, the site of media contacts, etc. He feels that any move would probably be to Mobile and that this would be unfortunate because of distance involved and because of Father Foley's activities in that area.

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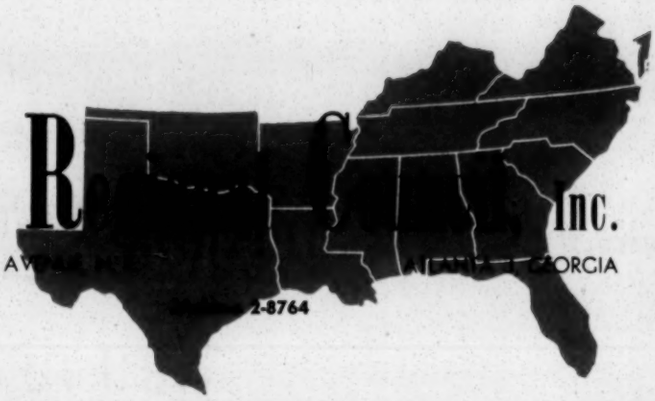

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 10, 1960

To: HCF ✓ From: PR

Subject: New Orleans

Things are relatively unchanged in New Orleans. The two committees are generally keeping out of the public limelight, but attempting to spread their influence through direct mailings, person to person contacts in the city and throughout the state. The group in Baton Rouge has been formally organized and is active. It is known as OPEN. The first three letters stand for Operation Public Education. No one seems to know what the N stands for, but opposition suggests, "Negro". This group is carrying out a series of neighborhood coffee meetings and has attracted a membership of 400 to date. They have a friendly and cooperative press in Baton Rouge.

Kabacoff seems to no longer be working on the school problem. He takes the position that all has been done that can be done and that it now rests in the lap of the gods or the Governor. He feels that all public efforts in behalf of public education should be soft pedalled.

There are thousands of rumors circulating, all from "authoritative" sources. It is possible that the school board may admit some Negro children prior to the November 14 deadline. October 7 is or was the cut-off day for applications for Negro students.

The Governor has said that he will not convene a special session. No one can figure out what he could do to prevent desegregation short of a special session or closure of all schools, but there is much fear that he may think of something. Attorney General Gremillion has privately told friends that there are no plans to close down schools regardless. Both sides are extremely quiet, in fact, Emile Wagner has dropped out of ~~sight~~ SIGHT rather mysteriously for the past two weeks. He has addressed no meetings, did not attend the latest school board meeting and has not even picked up the pictures of his daughter's wedding though they have been ready for some time. Private rumors have it he is out of the city.

I did not see Mrs. Stern; she is still in New York because of the illness of her daughter. She did get back for the opening of the Royal Orleans, but left immediately.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Oct. 10

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: p. 2 -- New Orleans

One of the majority members of the school board will be up for re-election November 8. He will be opposed by the president of the white educational association, in what is regarded as a referendum on the school issue. Members of both committees are naturally very active in his behalf.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 27, 1960

To: hcf ✓ From: PR

Subject: Tennessee Council

I was greatly heartened by the seeming strength of the Tennessee Council, displayed at its recent annual meeting in Knoxville. This group was virtually on the ropes a year and a half ago. It now has 469 members, a seemingly firm financial base, new strong lay leadership.

The recent meeting was a strong one, well attended, in the buildings of the University of Tennessee. The evening banquet at which Marion Wright and Lewis Jones spoke was welcomed by the vice president of the University and the Mayor of Knoxville. The proceedings of the meeting were fresh and timely and included several pieces of new research such as Dr. Weinstein's report on "Why Nashville Parents Do or Do Not Elect to Send their Children to Desegregated Schools."

James Glasse is continuing as president for the next year. Katherine Jones is a competent social worker with little experience in this particular field but a broad background of concern and natural contacts with the question. She has worked in the North and was instrumental in desegregating the welfare office in Nashville. She is quite strong in administration and office procedure, the area where Louise was most weak. She seems to have a firm grasp of the direction and needs of the Council and is anxious to work closely with us. She is conscientious and hard-working and I anticipate continuing top progress by the Council.

The main problem to date has been lack of a state-wide program. Slightly over half of the membership is concentrated in the Nashville area. The new Memphis group has roughly 100 members, however, and Miss Jones plans to travel widely during the first six months of her term in efforts to strengthen TCHR contacts in other parts of the state.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 28, 1960

To: hcf From: pr

Subject: activities of field office, November 1959 - May 1960, filling out for the purposes of an annual report the material already given for May 1960 - September 1960.

For purposes of simplicity, I will indicate the additional material under the same general headings as were used in the September report.

1. Under noteworthy state Council developments, the fund-raising section should be corrected to note that during the first 3 quarters of 1960 the nine state Councils raised a total of $40, 376, compared to $33,324 during all of 1959. This is the largest total that state Councils have ever raised within their respective state areas. It indicated a response to the matching fund plan that has been used this year by SRC. It also reflects some thaw in the climate of opinion in several of these states.

2. I think the section on reaction to sit-ins is fairly complete. It might be noted that seven of the state groups were specifically involved in reactions to the sit-in developments. These were Councils in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. In a shorter summary of these responses by state Councils it might be pointed out that state Councils and their local affiliates have been generally involved in one or more of three ways: 1) support of the student sit-ins or of the goals of the demonstrating students 2) analysis or interpretation of the demonstrations for the benefit of the white community 3) efforts to initiate negotiations among the parties involved, looking toward a solution of the issues. I believe it would be fair to say that some direct contribution was made toward negotiation and solution by state and local groups in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

3. Last year two of the state Councils, those in Florida and Tennessee were on shaky ground financially and in doubt concerning their future. The Florida Council has paid off all of its debts and is now operating in the black. The Tennessee Council has greatly increased its membership and financial support, is now operating on a sound basis financially, and has employed a competent new director, Miss Katherine Jones, former director of Davidson County Welfare Department.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Oct. 28, 1960

To: hcf From: pr

Subject: page 2

4. Local Councils on Human Relations established since last November include groups in the Hampton - Newport News area of Virginia; Norfolk, Virginia; Memphis Tennessee, and Raleigh, North Carolina.

5. A Council on Human Relations has been organized in Houston, Texas. This group has employed staff as of the fall of 1960 and is currently engaged in a fund-raising effort. The Houston Council is cooperating directly with the field office of SRC.

6. Under the Consultant Service Program, it should be noted that three consultants conducted an interracial workshop in Houston during the late fall of 1959. The workshop brought together a broad cross-section of community leadership and focused on planning for desegregation. IN HOUSTON Those attending were John Hope, Herman Long, Lee Coleman, and Paul Rilling.

7. Also under CSP, SRC made it possible for the Arkansas Council to use the services of several nationally known consultants in a workshop for the ministers of the Pine Bluff - Little Rock area. Participating were Kyle Haselden, author of The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective and Dr. Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University.

8. Under 'Other Activities', participated in a workshop for leaders of the YWCA in New York during February. Spoke to the southwide meeting of Unitarian young people in Atlanta, in April; served as chairman of the Consultation on Human Relations Programming in South Carolina, involving meetings in May, July and August. Served as Southern chairman of NAIRO during this year.

9. The CSP also made it possible for the Arkansas Council to bring Mr. John Wheeler of Durham to Little Rock for two days of consultation with Negro leadership. Mr. Wheeler, a board member of SRC and a key figure in the effective organization of the Negro community of Durham, explained the procedures and methods used in Durham to attain greater unity and effectiveness.

PAV
LWDV (See esp. p. 2)
MF

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 6, 1960

To: HCF ✓ From: PR

Subject: visit to Florida (week of November 20)

The Florida Council seems to be in considerably better shape than a year ago. The Council is on a solvent basis with all bills paid and $1,500 in the bank. At the last board meeting program concerns dominated the discussion for the first time in a year. Bill feels that his board is stronger and more willing to take responsibility as a result of the financial crisis.

Bill has spent most of his time since last spring visiting groups outside of Miami and strengthening his ties with groups throughout the state. He feels with some substantiating evidence that he has succeeded in creating a better relationship between these groups and the state office and in strengthening their program concerns.

The board of the Florida Council at its next meeting will consider the matter of opening a state office. If the decision is made to do so, Bill will recommend that the office be located in Coral Gables which is closer to his residence and where he feels rents are more reasonable. Bill and his wife obviously feel that it would be better if the office were to remain in Bill's home and feel that there has been if anything some increase in staff efficiency since the move.

The Florida Council has finally faced the impasse concerning the Dade County Council. It has been decided that the board of the Florida Council will appoint a steering committee of Miami persons to direct the organization of a local unit of the Florida Council in Dade County. The present membership of the Dade County Council will be circularized and urged to continue their membership in the Florida Council and join the new local unit. There will be a number of activities for the membership fairly quickly so as to get the group underway in an auspicious a fashion. Bill feels that some prestige persons will help with these efforts. Members of the DCC have always been members of the Florida Council as well so that Bill feels it would be legitimate to simply urge them to renew their membership in the Florida Council and join the local group as their memberships expire.

Bill continues to take a somewhat dim view of Saul Silverman's work with the Governor's Commission. He feels that the Commission itself has been of extreme value, but that Silverman is a con type who does much talking and very little solid work. He indicated that Silverman spent exactly one day in Jacksonville and much of that time attending meetings set up by our people there. Bill feels that Silverman has since claimed for this and other efforts disproportionate credit. This view of Silverman personally seems to be shared by at least some of the lay leadership of the Council, including, according to Bill, Cannon McClosky in Jacksonville who was one of Silverman's original contacts but is now supposedly disenchanted. McCloskey is chairman of Christian Social Relations and is firmly backed by the Bishop of the Episcopal Church and according to Bill and Ruby was apparently the major white factor on the liberal side there.

I conferred in Daytona Beach with Mable Reese, the new state president, and with the chairman of the local group there. They informed me that the public beaches of Daytona have been effectively and quietly desegregated throughout the summer. They also reported that the local Mayor's Commission is of very little value consisting of a few good Negro people, some Uncle Tom Negro types and some segregationist white persons. Mrs. Reese indicated that Herb Davidson has had serious doubts about Bill's effectiveness as director and that he was prepared at one time to move formally for his removal at a board meeting. Something happened, however, and Herb could not make the meeting and apparently the thing has fizzled out. Mrs. Reese is herself influenced by Herb's doubts and thinking on many matters but rather clearly will think for herself and disagrees with Herb on several important organizational matters.

I believe that there is evidence that Bill has learned from his recent experiences and is today a better director than he was two years ago. His finances are being scrupulously handled with an outside bookkeeper. Bill is extremely conscious of his expenditures and fiscal balance. He has tightened up on organization, including liaison with the president and board and contacts with local groups. There is still a sort of vagueness and lack of firm direction about his operation. Things still move slowly and often get bogged down and forgotten for months. He still lacks the decisiveness which is needed in the situation for an ideal type of operation.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 20, 1960

To: hcf ✓ From: pr

Subject: Houston

The situation concerning the Houston Council is not much changed since my visit there last spring. Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw, the chairman, is a lady of some prestige and significance in the community. The groups is relatively small, about 50, but does include some fairly significant persons. Functioning virtually exclusively through its executive committee, the group last year did the usual chores of issuing statements, supported the sit-ins, urged the appointment of an inter-racial committee, which was done, held a couple of workshops, etc. The group is now engaged in a drive for funds to meet the matching conditions laid down by SRC. They have perhaps a 50-50 chance of meeting these requirements. They have opened an office an employed a fairly high level secretary. Irwin Glatstein of the Jewish Community Center and James Noland of the Council of Churches continue to give professional guidance to the group. Ted Friedman of the ADL is not involved and is apparently in a position of general skepticism and even opposition to the formation of the new group.

Houston was badly shaken during the recent election when the four school board races all went to staunch segregationists. The Houston Association for Better Schools had a slate of moderates in the field and expected to win one or two. The liberals are criticized for being "too ethical and too gentle to win ~~the~~ campaigns"

There are eleven Negro students in three or four elementary schools under the stair-step plan. There were no disturbances and this was apparently determined by the power structure of the community. At the schools themselves, practices of partial segregation seem to be in effect. At McGregor School, there is one Negro student. The first grade class of this student no longer has physical education outside the building and is assigned to a separate lunch hour from the other classes. The first grade class in the same school with no Negro students shares lunch hour with the other classes. At the Betsy Ross School, the Negro children have been assigned a separate restroom from the other members of their class. There is a general hesitation to press the protest of these issues while things generally are going well. There are plans for

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Dec. 20, 1960

To: hcf From: pr

Subject: Houston - p.2

a quiet, private protest to school officials.

Mrs. Charles White is extremely flattered and pleased with her election to SRC's board of directors. She is increasingly frustrated in her present situation and indicated that she does not plan to run for reelection to the school board. She indicates that the majority members of the school board, excluding her and one white moderate, normally hold secret board sessions to decide the business before the public sessions on TV are held. She is subjected to increasing harassment during these public sessions and to some discourtesy by the current chairman of the board.

It seems that both the Shamrock and Rice Hotels in Houston now permit Negroes free use of the lobbies and welcome desegregated eating in private dining rooms for meetings. Evidently on one or two occasions, Negroes have actually stayed in the Shamrock in connection with conferences. On such occasions they have been served in their rooms.

At the Anderson hospital which is supported with both public and Anderson Foundation funds, there is completely desegregated eating. The Hilton people are given considerable credit for liberalizing hotel policy since they have taken over the Shamrock.

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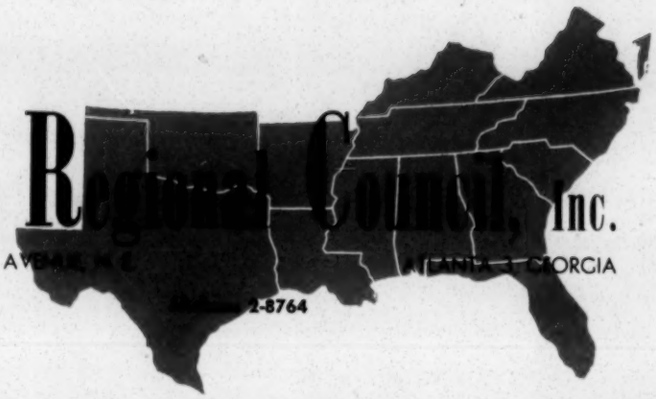

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 20, 1960

To: hcf ✓ From: pr

Subject: N.C. Council (visit of Dec. 12)

This year has seen some outreach of the N. C. Council from its traditional concentration on the Charlotte area. A Council has been organized in Raleigh of some 70 members. As in the case of Charlotte, the Raleigh Council is primarily a prestige operation. It has no official connection with the N. C. Council, but Harry Jones is serving as professional consultant and spending considerable time in Raleigh.

The new chairman of the N. C. Council is Henry Ruark, a city councilman from Laurinburg. Ruark is personally acquainted with incoming Governor Sanford and is well connected throughout the state.

In Charlotte, the activities of the local group continue to emphasize efforts to block the creation of two new segregated junior college operations and to work intensively on the problem of merit employment. An employment committee is at work consulting with employers and seeking to place Negroes who are employed below their proper level. Harry reports that a major problem here has been a shortage of available Negroes for skilled and supervisory positions in those few places that are opening up. The Charlotte group and the Raleigh group both continue a regular series of monthly meetings. The Charlotte monthly forum is open to the public and covered by the press.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 12/30/60

To: HCF From: sm

Subject: interagency meeting

Harold:

I don't know whether Paul mentioned what he and Jean Russell would like for you to handle at the interagency meeting next week:

a. analysis of the recent tensions, bombing, etc. in Atlanta. (with Art Levin)
off
b. lead/discussion on "new frontiers in the area of executive responsibility after January 20."

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Feb. 6, 1961

To: Hcf, lwd, met

From: pr

Subject: Developments in Alabama

The following information was gleaned from recent conversations with Richard Shapiro and Father Foley. Richard has been working intensely in Alabama. Some of it is hush-hush.

1. Negotiations over the lunch counter situation continue in Mobile and have involved increasingly significant business leaders. The lead has come from Father Foley and from the Rev. Eugene Peacock, a Methodist minister, with the tacit encouragement of Commissioner Langan. A meeting was held this week at the Alabama Power Company with the apparent knowledge and approval of the company. At this meeting, the Negroes, led by Rev. Lowry, Mr. LeFlore and Bishop Smith presented their demands, hinting that sit-ins might be the alternative. The demands were for a fair employment policy, particularly in places catering largely to Negroes, and
1 lunch counter desegregation. The Negro leadership indicated that they would be willing to defer lunch counter desegregation for a time if the employment consideration were handled immediately. The business men present were cautious but suggested that they might be able to reach an agreement on this basis. No students were involved.

2. There was an extremely hush-hush meeting held following recent events in Georgia at the offices of the Birmingham News. This meeting was convened by News executives, apparently James Cooley (?). A very select and powerful segment of business leadership in Birmingham discussed the significance of Georgia developments and their possible future meaning for Birmingham. As we might expect, there was little feeling that there needed to be any planning or discussion or that the Georgia developments had any relevance to the Alabama situation. The interesting thing is that the News, considering its editorial policy, would take the initiative in convening such a meeting.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Feb. 6, 1961

To: _____ From: pr

Subject: Alabama - page 2

3. I believe this was in the press, but in case it wasn't, the Episcopal diocese of Alabama has recently created an interracial committee for the purpose of facilitating communication between the races. The membership of the committee has not been revealed nor is it known as yet to our contacts.

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MF-file

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Feb. 10, 1961

To: LWD & HCF ✓ ✓ From: pr

Subject: Kentucky Council on Human Relations

I attended a meeting of the executive committee of the Kentucky C. in Louisville Feb. 4 and spent several hours in consultation with the new president, the Rev. A. D. Pinckney. To put it mildly, the outlook for this group is not auspicious.

During the last two years, Dr. Atwood has pretty much let the group go downhill without initiating much activity or raising much money or holding the membership of the group. Dr. Atwood is now chairman of membership and finance. He announced at the board meeting last October that a membership drive was then in progress. He got around to sending out renewal letters to old members in January of this year. The Council now has approximately 30 members who are paid up. Dr. Atwood indicates that the only way he feels he can legitimately raise money is to write letters to members and friends asking for some and letting it go at that. The group cannot meet our matching funds condition for the second half of the $1,500 grant unless they raise over twice as much as they have been bringing in annually. There is little sign that this may be possible.

The KCHr is carrying on several research type efforts in Louisville and Lexington. Some interesting studies have come out of these efforts, but they actually represent the labors of some three or four people rather than the on-going activities of an organization. There has been much drum-beating about a proposal to use the consultants of the Council as consultants to local communities in the area of merit employment. The plan has been for the CSP of SRC to sponsor a training session for the consultants who would then be available. There have been requests from two or three communities in this direction. The only problem is that last spring they were going to have the training workshop. They then decided to hold it last fall. It has not yet been held. I am afraid that this if fairly typical.

Mr. Pinckney is a Negro Congregational minister who has a record of achievement and efficiency in civic work. He is going to try very

hard to shake up and rejuvenate the organization. The task may well be beyond him. At the board meeting which I attended, he had considerable difficulty controlling some of the members who were reflecting strong personal and institutional sensitivities. This was particularly true of Dr. Atwood and Mr. Charles Steele of the Louisville Urban League.

The group is quite optimistic about the future of the official state commission which Galen Martin is now staffing. They expect to have close cooperation with Galen's office and have overlapping board membership with the state commission and with the advisory civil rights committee.

Unless there is a substantial change in this situation, we should again drastically reduce our assistance to them next year and consider cutting them off altogether.

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MF-Feb

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Feb. 10, 1961

To: HCF & LWD

From: pr

Subject: New Orleans

More information on our contacts in New Orleans. The Fitzgerald Agency, major channel for the funds passing through for SOS activities, has pretty well taken itself out of this role in New Orleans. Fitzgerald representatives have informed Mary Sand that they can no longer service the SOS group unless more fees are forthcoming. Kabby has indicated that no additional funds will be forthcoming from the previous source. Andy Rogers, who has functioned with skill and ability as a strategist and a stabilizing influence for SOS will have to sharply curtail his activities. The Fitzgerald people have indicated that no free time is available for him to contribute to SOS. Andy even suggested that he be put on half pay for a year and given free reign to work on the school issue. This request was denied. This means that one of the most effective key workers has been pulled out at a very critical time. This would also seem to mean that the only aspect of our original agreement remaining is the coverage of my own expenses and activities relating to New Orleans. There is no indication that new projects or new funds will be made available for other aspects of the program. This accentuates the need for some other assistance to the SOS group if such can be found.

We have met all obligations on these funds with the exception of the fee connected with the private survey. The fee was $3,500 and we are approximately $1,600 short of having sufficient funds in this account. Kabby has been notified.

SOS telegraphed Kennedy following his recent press conference, urging further action and suggesting consultation.

Both SOS and CPE are currently considering programs which would envision educational activity and some organizational effort throughout the state. Some local persons connected with neither group met jointly with persons selected from each committee to see if common

FUND-raising efforts could not be launched which would sustain a field worker who could represent the interests of both groups. As usual, the negotiations fell down and each group decided that joint action would not be possible. The money for this idea was never firmly in sight, at any rate. CPE is now considering trying to raise enough money to employ an educational or public relations person to travel the state. SOS is considering training a committee of four or five volunteers who would do this work in much the fashion that HOPE has in Georgia.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 2/13/61

To: SRC Staff

From: pr

Subject: state staff meeting

This will remind you that the state staff meeting will be held in our conference room from 10:30 a.m. Thursday until 3:30 p.m. Friday the 24th. The state directors will be eating lunch here together on both days. All SRC staff members are invited to eat with us on these days. There will probably be three new directors on hand and we are anxious that all state directors have the opportunity to meet and talk with SRC staff.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 2/27/61

To: ~~Iwd~~ HCF ✓ From: pr

Subject:

Bill Williams reports that Ernest Salley who reported to the Florida investigating committee that had spied on SCEF, NAACP, "peace groups" and the Florida Council on Human Relations had apparently attended meetings of the Dade County Council on Human Relations. Bill felt that his comments were not harmful to the Council.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 3/3/61

To: HCF & LWD From: PR

Subject: conference with Kay Jones of the Tenn. Council

I am increasingly impressed with the feedback we get from Will Campbell and others concenning Kay Jones' effectiveness with the Tenn. Council. She under claims rather than over evaluates her work and its effectiveness. She is now working with 5 community groups in Tennessee andhas some rather significant achievements already to her credit. Primarily through her efforts, the municipal museums were desegregated in Nashville. This was achieved entirely through negotiation without any demonstrations or publicity. Even more significant, she has been able to stimulate some moderate folks in Jackson, Tnn. to enter into regular interracial discussion. 100 persons in Jackson are now meeting in five discussion groups in homes on a regular basis. Although this seems to be simply interracial discussion and communication, it is no mean achievement in a cotton belt Tenn. community which has been torn by sit-in demonstrations.

Kay reports that the chairman of the Mayor's Committee of Jackson is a member of the board of the Tenn. Council. She reports that the Negro boycott has been quite effective.

She suggests that L-Report type mailings go to Mr. Sam Walsh, Walsh's Slippor Shop in Jackson, Tenn. Walsh is apparently a friendly and concerned merchant.

tell JC
Jim

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

CONFIDENTIAL

Date 3/3/61

To: HCF & LWD

From: PR

Subject: trip to Richmond and Prince Edward County, Va. Feb. 17 & 18.

This situation seems to be rapidly developing into another Fayette County mess with the liberal forces rent by dissension and mutual mistrust. I talked at some length with Dan Bowers and with Dorothy Michael, his associate, also with Lester Griffin of PECCA and Helen Baker, the local AFSC representative.

Griffin impresses one as a sincere and hard-working person with limited background who is giving all that he can to this cause of the Negro children in Prince Edward County. He operates, however, as a prima donna and a law unto himself. He collects money and dispenses it, keeps no books, makes no real reports to anyone on what happens to the money. The AFSC people feel that they can no longer channel funds through him and are dispensing their program directly through their office in Farmville. In addition to Helen Baker, Jean Fairfax and Will Hartzler have spent some time in Prince Edward County for AFSC as has Dick Ramsey. Griffin feels that AFSC is attempting to go around him and "take over" the situation. He claims that they have misrepresented facts on the national scene and that they are devoting all their money and energy to frills such as taking kids to Williamsburg and Washington, while the hard-pressed centers are in dire need of funds and added facilities. AFSC, on the other hand, contends that they must operate in their own fashion, and that it is not feasible to work through PECCA. They are increasingly critical of PECCA in private. Helen Baker impresses Dan and Dorothy as being quite capable and realistic in her work. She has done some work with Center directors and with the Negro community generally. She has succeeded in pressuring PECCA into setting up an office and employing a secretary who will keep the books and who is on good terms with Helen Baker. It is significant that Griffin, who is very high in his praise of Irene Osborne, does not think highly of Helen Baker. Some weeks ago, Jean Fairfax and Helen Baker convened a meeting of the PECCA board in Griffin's absence and apparently without his knowledge. This has been a source of some strained feelings/

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 3/3/61

To: _____ From: pr

Subject: Prince Edward County (p. 2)

Dan is trying to play the role of broker with these two groups and he and Dorothy have both spent considerable time in Prince Edward County. Dan's role has primarily been to soothe ruffled feathers and to encourage the national media to interpret the Prince Edward situation. He and Dorothy have guided a number of press personnel through the county, and worked closely with the Virginia girl for the Washington Post and the reporter from the Long Island paper, both of which publications carried features on Prince Edward. They have recently been cooperating with an assistant editor from the Saturday Evening Post on an article, which will appear shortly. Dan is quite apprehensive that a sharp reporter who is not too sympathetic may choose to expose the confusion, dissidence, and inefficiency inherent in the present situation. Dan himself feels that Griffin is shrewder than appears on the surface and suggests that he" may be less than completely honest." Dan is quite critical of the role that Jean Fairfax has played in Prince Edward, feeling that she has been unrealistic and bureaucratic. He thinks highly of Helen Baker. Dan is obviously one of the persons to whom Griffin goes for encouragement and support and for a sympathetic ear to his complaints. As a result of the Long Island articles, a committee has been formed there which is providing assistance to the PECCA group.

Everyone I spoke to seems to be quite negative concerning the recent Southern Christian Leadership rally in Prince Edward. Both Dan and Griffin feel that more money was raised than was turned over to PECCA and nobody seems to know exactly how much was raised and what happened to it. $1,000 was turned over to PECCA. Griffin claims that they actually raised over $2,000 on that occasion. Griffin is quite unhappy about the proposed march of the children to Washington under the aegis of Milton Reid of the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference. He says that he will "put a stop to it."

The NAACP of Virginia has made some substantial contributions

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 3/3/61

To: _____ From: pr

Subject: Prince Edward - page 3

to PECCA. Dan himself is holding several hundred dollars which has been contributed through the Virginia Council for Prince Edward. He is tentatively planning to deliver the funds directly to the Center directors explaining to Griffin that the tax exempt factor is such that the funds cannot be channeled through PECCA. He hopes thus to put the funds where needed without alienating Griffin.

Some 16 of the Centers for Negro children seem to be in actual operation with widely varying degrees of effectiveness and skill. The Center directors were supposed to get around $100 per month and assistant directors $50. As best Dan can determine, the directors have been paid a total of $100 since last September. Some of them work extremely hard and long hours.

Dan reports that Dean Moss of Hampton-Sydney has been slapped down and quieted by the college. He suffered badly fromhis participation in the ESCRU Williamsburg meeting and has subsequently withdrawn from ESCRU. He has since succumbed to pressure and will say practically nothing about the Prince Edward Situation to anyone.

Dan and the Virginia Council have been repeatedly mentioned and attacked by the local Farmville paper, edited by Barry Wall. Dan was noted as "one of the dangerous persons operating in Virginia." Statements that he made in meetings at Charlottesville and Richmond were picked up, roundly denounced, etc.

A group of from 4 to 9 white moderates continues to keep in touch with each other and with Negro people. Dean Moss is no longer identified with this group.

Another interesting tidbit: Griffin in noting his selfless dedication to the cause mentioned that Martin King and Wyatt Walker have called him "foolish" for not taking a larger personal cut of the contributed funds. He reports King as stating that he kept 15% of all funds donated in the Montgomery situation when he headed the MIA as part of his arrangement. with that organization

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 30, 1961

To: HCF ✓ From: PR

Subject: New Orleans

I talked with Kabacoff Tuesday. He stated that to the best of his information, recent developments have solved the financial crisis. He said he would check further, but advised that we take no action for the present.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 30, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject:

I am enclosing my schedule commitments for the coming month or so:/

1. Saturday, April 15. State College workshop, Greensboro N.C. (expenses paid by YWCA)

2. Monday, April 17 & 18, state board meeting, Virginia Council, Richmond.

3. Saturday, April 21 & 22, state board meeting, North Carolina Council in Greensboro.

4. April 24 & 25 - John Lassoe, exec dir. of NAIRO will be in town and will of course expect to see you.

5. May 2 & 3, Southern Inter-agency meeting, probably in New Orleans. (I may be in New Orleans May 1 - 4)

6. May 5 - 8 state board meeting, Florida Council, and consultation with Florida leaders.

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May 10, 11 and

possibly 12

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 11, 1961

To: HCF ✓ From: PR

Subject:

Have you been able to make any representations concerning the Inter-Citizens Committee in Birmingham? I have received repeated queries from Oliver and would like to be in a position to make some sort of report to him.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 2, 1961

To: LWD From: pr

Subject: Tenn. State Council on HR

The Tenn. Council continues to show signs of increased vigor and effectiveness. Kay Jones is doing a first rate job in the staff position and is already one of our most effective state directors. The Council membership now stands at 581. Significant programming is going forward in Nashville, Memphis, and Jackson. The director is also in touch with, although not primarily responsible for interracial group activity in Chattanooga and Oak Ridge. She continues to spend the greater portion of her time in Nashville as did her predecessor. Although the organization does not function as well throughout the state as we might wish, this concentration of time is hard to criticize in view of the development of progress in Nashville. The Tenn. Council office has been one of the nerve centers during the recent theater situation. Negro leadership, white observers, even theater owners have been checking in with Kay to ask for and to give information.

On the first evening I was in Nashville, the Nashville Conference on Community Relations, sponsored its annual workshop. The program was first rate, all local participation, with four hundred persons on hand.

Fund-raising remains the major difficulty here. Dr. James Glasse has not yet appointed a finance committee nor does Kay Jones have any specific plans underway to meet the financial deadline for matching funds June 1. We discussed a number of ideas, and I suspect they will make it one way or another.

The group is in the process of tightening up its organizational structure. At present only one group, that in Memphis, is officially affiliated with the Tennessee Council. Unaffiliated groups operate cooperatively in Nashville, Knoxville, Oak Ridge, Chattanooga, and Jackson. The Oak Ridge group is quite militant and wishes a cooperative arrangement with the state council but with the freedom of political activity. Under the terms of its charter, the Nashville Community Relations Conference goes out of existence at the end of May,

Tenn Council - May 2 - Memo

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1961. The plan seems to be to bring this group into the Tennessee Council as a local unit. Part of the procedure involved will be to elect George Barrett, who has been chairman of the Nashville Conference, as the new state chairman. The plan seems excellent.

Kay reports that theaters were desegregated on a carefully controlled basis during the week of April 24. As of today, this cannot yet be publicized. The symphony society has decided to open sales and orchestra positions to all as of next fall. This too cannot be publicized. Kay reports that the boycott in Jackson of the downtown area is successful, but that the boycott in Memphis has not received community wide support from Negroes. In Memphis, picketing has been carried on by prestige adult Negro leaders.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 10, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Atlanta Council on HR

The role of the Atlanta Council in the current school situation has included participation in a car pool to aid Negro students in picking up transfer blanks, assistance through the person of Harry Boyte and two other Council members to students and parents appearing at the Superintendent's office for such blanks, repeated inquiries to the school board to obtain information concerning the administration of the placement plan, a protest over the policy of making public the names of students appearing to pick up blanks, etc. At the meeting of the executive committee on Tuesday, May 9, several persons agreed to speak with the editors of the papers concerning the coverage of the school desegregation situation, and the publication of students' names.

There has been considerable criticism of the role of the Atlanta Council. It is my opinion that the bulk of this criticism derives from the conflict between the role of an openly integrationist group and the attitude of a number of our moderate friends who are concerned primarily with supporting the school board and maintaining law and order. It is probably true that the Council has made some errors of tact and timing, but I suspect that these are minor factors.

Harry Boyte is planning to leave the Council in June and this has precipitated anew the conflict over this arrangement between the local and state groups. The Atlanta group seems inclined to employ Eliza Paschall as the new director and Harry reports that the Unitarians are in agreement with this procedure.

The Atlanta Council is moving ahead with plans to implement the shift in directors. The Georgia Council at the same time, both Frances Pauley and Richard Hocking, are quite concerned about the situation and are asking that they be involved in the review and examination of the arrangement before new commitments are made. The Atlanta Council seems to take the position that the arrangement with the Unitarians is their concern, the Georgia Council that it should be involved and must agree to the arrangement. A committee of board members of both

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 10, 1961

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: Memo - page 2 Atl. Council

groups has been appointed to facilitate liaison, but this basic conflict of approach between the two groups has not been resolved in the appointment of the committee.

Mrs. Pauley has hinted that she would not feel able to continue should Mrs. Paschall be employed as Atlanta director. The two women have worked together in the past and always under conditions of conflict and difficulty. So it goes.

The Atlanta Council is proceeding with plans to finalize the arrangement at their June board meeting. The representative of the Unitarian Service Committee will be present at that time.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 23, 1961

To: LWD From: pr

Subject: my travel schedule for the coming months.

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May 26 & 27 - Greensboro, for meeting with Bill Bagwell

May 28 - June 3 - Blue Ridge, YMCA meeting

June 9 + 12 - New Orleans

June 16 - 17 - NAIRO board meeting in Detroit

June 26 - July 1 - Fisk Institute in Nashville.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 16, 1961

To: LWD, BM From: Paul Rilling

Subject: New Orleans

During my trip to New Orleans to attend a conference of north Louisiana and Mississippi folks, I spent several days checking with some of our regular contacts in New Orleans. I talked with Irv Schulamn of the ADL, Henry Cabirac of the Catholic Human Relations Council, A. P. Tureaud, NAACP attorney, Dr. Leonard Burns, vice chairman of the Catholic HRC and one of the officers of the key Negro coordinating group, Rev. Sam Gandy, Dillard Chaplain and fairly militant Negro leader, Mary Sand and Betty Wisdom of SOS, Mrs. Robt. Lancaster of CPE, and Mrs. Edgar Stern.

1. There is general expectation that desegregation in New Orleans will be broadened to a number of new schools in the fall. Judge Wright has said as much to several different persons. Tureaud states that applications are pending at 14 of the 19 schools where the Negro housing situation would make possible reasonable applications. The school board takes the position that new students may come in only at the first grade level. Tureaud is appealing this and has applications pending from some in the 2nd and 3rd grades.

2. Mr. Walker, the new school supt., is generally rated as a mediocrity who is being given the job as a reward for long years in the service. The school board continues to take a quite conservative position and is unwilling to take any initiative in the direction of preparation.

3. SOS and the Committee on Public Education both are working in the same direction although without coordination. Each group is planning a series of neighborhood discussions throughout the city, but concentrated specifically in the areas of the elementary schools. It is the intent of each group not only to create a climate of acceptance, but to find a group of supporters in each primary school who can serve as a bulwark against a boycott effort. It is a general assumption that many of the additional schools will be in better neighborhoods and much less susceptible to boycott efforts.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 16, 1961

To: LWD & BM From: PR

Subject: NO - page 2

4. A new state law provides that whenever a school loses as much as 75% of its enrollment over a two-year period, that school must be closed. The law is aimed obviously at the Franz and Mc Donough Schools in New Orleans and Tureaud is sure this can be stopped by injunctive action. There is some chance, however, that the school board will declare McDonough 19 to be a Negro school since no white students have been attending. The white attendance at the Franz school got as high as 17 whites this spring.

5. There is still very little initiative and very little leadership for any change in public climate. The Mayor will evidently be leaving soon to accept a diplomatic post and his successor as acting Mayor will be selected by the city council from among its members. The two men most frequently mentioned are less able and more conservative persons. The top business and civic leadership continues to take little action. The Chamber of Commerce was to vote this week on an open schools resolution. The chances were rated at about 50-50. There is a good chance of another round of statements by ministerial groups, etc. but these groups have spoken before.

The one new development ~~is the indication~~ giving any indication of hopefulness is an apparent move by Louis Riecke, chairman of the school board, to create a sort of informal citizens group to assist the school board in contacts with the community, looking towards September. Riecke is apparently thinking of forming such a committee and giving it an office in the school building. Kabacoff was present at the first meeting and reports that most of the people present were not major power figures but League of Women Voters, United Church Women, CPE, etc. No SOS persons were present. Some of the persons involved were those who planned the testimonial dinner for the school board last winter. This move seems to have promise, but lacks top prestige. Kabacoff states that the next move is left up to Riecke by the group and that nothing has been done in the month since the group met. I am probing for further word of this from my contacts and also suggesting that this seems to be a useful direction.

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C.O. files

File Paul SRC Staff Rilling

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 31, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Paul Rilling's Visit to Florida, July 21 through 25

The visit included participation in a meeting of the board of the Florida Council on Human Relations at Daytona, and consultations with the president, Mrs. Reese, there. This was followed by a day of more detailed discussions with Bill Williams in Miami. The current situation of the Florida Council is as follows:

(1) The FCHR is again in some financial trouble. Although there are no bills outstanding, there remained in the treasury as of the above date only some $35.00, with an August 1st payroll coming up and no additional SRC funds due until October 1. The Council has to raise an additional $2,000 before claiming SRC matching funds. The matching deadline is now September 1. This would seem at this point to be a virtual impossibility. The FCHR has no state finance chairman or committee, the total burden resting on the director. The local group at Cocoa has been quite successful in fund-raising efforts in that area. During the remainder of the summer efforts will be concentrated on working through several other of the larger local chapters.

(2) There has been a great resurgence of activity in the Tampa area following a successful workshop that was held there last spring under the joint sponsorship of the Florida Council and the AD. Several throusand persons were involved and those present made the decision to form a local Tampa Council. There has been no local effort in the Tampa region. A large number of persons, including some leading figures, have committed themselves to the organization of a council in Tampa. There is current speculation about moving the state headquarters to Tampa, both because of the interest and potential of this group and because of (3) below.

(3) The Florida Council is virtually dead in the Miami area at the present time. The Dade County Council never recovered

from its demise at the hands of Senator Cain. Although I have been hearing for a year about efforts to reorganize a local unit of the Florida Council there independent of the carcass of the Dade County Council, no such effort has materialized nor, it would seem, has any been actually attempted. There were once 400 members of the Dade County Council. Approximately 100 of these are still dues paying members of the Florida Council, but with no local activity or organization. It would seem to me wise for the FCHR to consider relocating the state office elsewhere. We, in fact, recommended this a year ago. Emphasizing the mess in Miami is the fact that the Florida Council actually lost money on what was supposed to be a gala fund-raising dinner in Miami.

(4) Bill has been on the road much more this year than previously. His efforts seem to be reflected in tighter liaison with the local councils. Problems still remaining are relatively feeble liaison between Bill and his lay officers, the darkening financial picture, the lack of any operation in Miami.

It should be noted as incidental information that Lew Killian's group at FSU has completed a study of the status of Negroes in the Daytona Beach community. The study has been turned over to the local interracial committee there. Mrs. Reese has unofficially seen a copy and reports it as "highly interesting." I plan to write Lew suggesting that we would like to see a copy when and if it can be made available.

There was much discussion at the board meeting concerning the Pensacola situation. It was noted that Pensacola was the only community which apparently would be ordered to desegregate this fall. Even this remained in some doubt at that time, pending a final decision by the court scheduled for July 27. Since the community claims to a mathematical chance of avoiding implementation this fall, absolutely no preparation for desegregation has gone forward. The opinions were expressed, however, that the county superintendent was a competant and able man, not unfriendly to change, and that the political and civic leadership of Pensacola generally was fairly sophisticated. The editor of the Pensacola paper, Marion Gaines, is a member of the Florida Council and in fairly constant touch with Bill. Other good contacts in Pensacola were noted as the Rev. Joe Neal Blair, of the Ferry Pass Methodist Church, and Mr. Wilson, local NAACP attorney, 507 West Gadsden Street. Despite this fairly optimistic evaluation of the leadership strata of the community, fears were expressed of possible difficulty, primarily on the grounds of the lack of preparation and the danger of groups descending on the community from surrounding counties. There is not a strong or well organized segregationist local group in Pensacola.

The Pensacola Council has asked the Florida Council to enable Bill Williams to spend the entire month of August in that community working with local people. At the board meeting the FCHR declined the request, because of the financial crisis and committments in TAmpa, but answered that Williams would give what time he could in Pensacola. We were asked at the board meeting whether SRC would consider making a trouble-shooter available in

August in Pensacola, provided that FCHR paid his local expenses and if Bill Williams were unable to give the time required to be helpful in the situation. I replied that Bill should inform us if such aid were requested, and that I would check with Les concerning the possibility.

Other incidental information: Dean Epply, of the Human Relations Department of the University of Miami, is leaving Miami to go to West Virginia. Miami is apparently going through a rather severe reorganization and the whole Department of Human Relations may be a casualty. Don Sprague, however, expects to stay on at the University. Haskell Lazere has left the American Jewish Congress office in Miami and has gone to the west coast. He has been replaced by Harold Kramer, former AJ Committee man in Washington, whose selection is viewed with some alarm and pessimism by AJC in Miami, which considers Kramer to be incompetent for the job and a "hatchet man" type of operator.

It was reported in Miami that the desegregation of the University is proceeding without incident, with some 25 Negroes in attendance this summer. All of these Negro students live off of the campus. There is an informal understanding that some Negro students will be admitted to University housing in the fall.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 31, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Trip to New York, July, 1961

The trip included contacts with Cohen of ADL, Muravchik of the Jewish Labor Committee, Carey and Robinson of CORE, Allen of the Urban League, Fleisman of the National Labor Service, several national staff members of the American Jewish Congress, Lukas, Danzig and Murray of the American Jewish Committee, Malin and Reitman and another senior staff member of the American Civil Liberties Union. The following points seem worth noting:

(1) CORE plans to open a Southern office in either Atlanta or New Orleans by fall. They would be happy to have our recommendation as to the city if we see a difference. The CORE budget has doubled this year and the staff is expanding rapidly in the wake of the Freedom Rides. I consider Gordon Carey to be a responsible and reliable channel for contact and consultation.

(2) The Jewish Labor Committee wants to open a Southern office when possible, probably in Atlanta. Muravchik would welcome discussions with us concerning possible joint sponsorship or financing of such an operation.

(3) Cohen of the ADL invites our comments or additions on their school closing brochure. These will be forwarded to ADL this week. Cohen also requests our consideration of a joint sponsorship or sharing in the financing of the Little Rock case study which has been some time in preparation. This is about 100 pages long, and will require "major revisions" before it can be released. Cohen desires an early answer from us on this matter.

(4) ADL is beginning to develop the preparation of a question and answers pamphlet on race relations intended for foreign visitors, etc.. They wonder if we would be interested in joint sponsorship or consultation on the preparation of such a brochure. He would like an answer on this fairly soon. I recommend that we take an affirmative posture on this particular

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

project.

(5) Both Cohen and Muravchik suggest that a study of the practices of public employment services in the southern states would be of particular value at this time, because of the federal emphasis on merit employment, etc.

(6) Lukas of AJC suggests that more should be done with church leadership. He suggests that religious channels are not properly enlisted in the effort, and that national church leaders, such as Eugene Carson Blake, would be happy to be of service in the Southern situation if they were but asked.

(7) The American Jewish Committee (Danzig) is planning an in-service training workshop for next summer for persons already engaged in intergroup relations work who want to sharpen their exposure to some of the literature and their skill through lectures, case studies, etc.. The workshop will last for four weeks and be fairly intensive. Would we be interested in sending persons? I indicated my personal feeling that several of our state staff would benefit from such a workshop and that I would explore whether or not SRC could handle the financing thereof. I would urge a favorable consideration of this idea.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 8, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Mississippi Situation

You will remember that we indicated to John Yungblut that we would make some decision several weeks ago concerning his proposition for joint financing of some work in Mississippi, or possibly helping with some funds to enable him to continue his contacts over that way. It seems to me we have approximately four alternatives in this matter:

(1) We could continue as now, which means working primarily through Gene Cox, with occasional trips by field personnel such as Ben Muse and me.

(2) We could make certain funds available for travel purposes to enable John Yungblut to cultivate contacts in Mississippi, convene occasional meetings, try to organize local groups in three or four places which he believes to be possible. He would probably use these funds in addition to some he is expecting through his Boston friend, whose name I forget. If this were done, I think it should be rather clear to whom John is responsible. Would he be responsible to us, to Dr. So-and-So, or would we be simply contributing money to an autonomous operation?

(3) The possible joint financing through John of a half-time man who could work in Mississippi. The suggestion here was Ed Rider, currently YMCA General Secretary at the University of Mississippi. Rider is elderly, retiring, dedicated, Southern, well-intentioned. He might or might not be the right man for this type of operation. I have known him for some years. I think this kind of possibility should be considered only if there were a clear line of responsibility of supervision through the Southern Regional Council.

(4) Your thought that we might be able to arrange for a full-time man. I would be somewhat wary of a jointly financed full-time operation in the state. If this is the best answer,

I would prefer to see us do it ourselves. At the very least, we should have administrative control. Personally, I would oppose a full-time operation in Mississippi, unless it were the regional man I have occasionally suggested, ~~that would~~ who would operate in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, helping to fill the gap there.

I am checking with Will Campbell this week-end on his evaluation of Gene Cox's operation, what are the supplemental needs there, could Gene fit into any of the above suggestions, etc.. I think we need to develop some sort of answer to John fairly quickly.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 8, 1961

To: LWD

From: PR

Subject:

Have we, or should we press for support to the Birmingham case studies from Taconic or New World? If I remember correctly, Taconic has it but not Vernon.

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"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 24, 1961

To: LWD

From: PR

Subject: Trip to Virginia, August 15, 16

I was extremely pleased with the way that Lee is taking hold of his responsibilities in Virginia. He is putting the office on a more organized and professional basis than has been true in the past. He shows an excellent understanding of what is needed and of the possibilities. He ~~has already working~~ is already working actively in the Richmond scene and has established excellent working relationships with the very strong NAACP organization in Virginia.

The Virginia Council now reports 16 locals, one of the latest in Stanford ~~(?)~~ (? - MM), Virginia, and 3,000 members. The large increase since the last membership report was through the merger with the Women's Interracial Council in Norfolk. Dan Bowers is keeping in close touch with the state office, but is very self-consciously avoiding any effort at directing or ~~don~~ dominating the new director.

Lee finds that he is well ~~acc~~ accepted by the ~~Bap~~ Baptist ministry in the area, at least so far, and has already spoken as a guest minister at one of the major churches. He indicated that the Baptists seem to make some sense of pride that one of their number should be carrying on this kind of work and find their own guilt somewhat assuaged. ~~This atmosphere of sweetness and light~~ Lee expects this atmosphere of sweetness and light to evaporate as soon as the Council is required to take a strong stand on a controversial matter in the future, but he is making the most of it in the meantime. He seems well-situated as far as his home situation is concerned and he is enthusiastic about the work. In going over the records, Lee and I have found some rather disturbing indications of sloppiness and short-cuts in Bowers' administration of the records, but these are the not surprising shortcomings of a good man who is very busy concentrating on important program concerns.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 24, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Trip to Tennessee, August 18 and 19

The program workshop in Jackson Friday and Saturday was quite successful, I felt. About 35 persons attended the sessions. They had been planned for a leadership group. In his first assignment as consultant in this type of role, Eric Lincoln did a first-rate job. He showed a good understanding of the potentials and the limitations of a local interracial Council program. I think he will be a valuable addition to our consultants panel.

The new Council on Human Relations in Jackson is worth noting. The achievements to date and the potential of the group are both somewhat unusual. As of last fall, there was virtually no communication between the races in Jackson, and demonstrations by Lane College students triggered several ~~instances of~~ incidents of violence and heightened tension throughout the community. Shocked by these events, a few people of good will, assisted by Kay Jones, moved to reestablish communications and in a short while some 200 persons were involved in five discussion groups meeting in various parts of the community on an interracial basis. A number of leading citizens were involved in this effort. The moving local spirits were a shoe store owner named Sam Wahl, and a prominent civic leader, Mrs. George Allen, both white.

In large part because of the work of these groups, a younger group in the Chamber of Commerce was able to win the agreement of the Chamber to some initiative in facing the problems of the community. The Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee with complete authority to act for the Chamber in negotiating with Negro leadership. The spirit and the give-and-take between the groups has been excellent, and the merchants have committed themselves to lunch counter desegregation, probably by the time college reconvenes this fall. They have also committed themselves to employment of Negro clerks at some time after the lunch counters have been successfully desegregated, and the issues of school desegregation and the opening of recreational facilities are under discussion. Few ~~tangible~~ tangible things have been achieved, but the spirit and climate is one of mutual respect and trust.

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The five groups were merged recently into a Council on Community Relations, which will not be officially affiliated with the Tennessee Council at this time. Serving as the president of the Council is Mr. Henry Forgy, Jr., executive of a local business and highly respected in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Community at large. Although liberal on the race issue, Forgy comes from a conservative background and is a Right Wing Republican on issues of taxation and economic matters. The vice-chairman is a Negro school principal named Merriweather, who reports no adverse pressures on ~~his~~ him because of his active role in the Council. Mrs. Merry, wife of a Negro professional man, is secretary and treasurer. Mr. Wahl continues to play a prominent role, and a Mr. Porter seems to be the ~~leading~~ leading Negro figure in the community and in the Council membership. I am preparing a list of the names and addresses of some of these persons. Wahl is also a member of the Chamber of Commerce negotiating committee.

The Council would seem to have an auspicious future with excellent contacts in the highest places and with power structure involvement.

In other respects the Tennessee Council is having financial troubles. Kay Jones ~~is~~ does not consider herself strong in the fund-raising area, and had not exerted too ~~much~~ much effort in that direction during her first year. She felt that she first had to establish rapport and trust with her ~~constituents~~ constituency. James Glasse has been an excellent president in most respects, but as he himself puts it, "I have a mental block about money." The Tennessee Council is some $900.00 short of meeting their matching goal by the September 1 ~~dead~~ deadline. There is about $35.00 in the treasury and Kay has not been paid for the month of August. I suggested a possible SRC loan, but she indicated that she thought it was good strategy to face the membership with this kind of a crisis rather than to claim the matching funds already met or to accept a salary loan.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 29, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Trip to New Orleans, August 24 - 26

The situation in New Orleans looks much rosier this year than a year ago. Among the encouraging differing factors are these:

1. Three of the four new schools selected are in "good" neighborhoods where trouble is expected to be minimal.

2. Only 6 white students requested transfer from these schools to avoid desegregation; the time for transfers is past.

3. The businessmen seem much more willing to become involved this year. Kabby reports that a state-wide organization is in the process of formation. Over a hundred names of local businessmen are already ready, and more are expected for an ad to be published shortly. Businessmen are also producing a half-hour film, which will be shown on TV and which will be available to club and civic groups.

4. The new citizens' group that Lloyd Rittner mentioned on our last visit seems to finally be organized. It is called Citizens for Public Schools, and is under the presidency of Dr. Lancaster, who last year headed CPE. CPE, as such, has virtually ceased to function. CPS has made a considerable effort to involve persons from the various groups interested in the cause. Three SOS board members are on the new committee. The businessmen, however, have refused to become involved in this group, prefering to act on their own. CPS has excellent liaison with the school board and with the businessmen's group.

5. Although there seems to be a considerable danger that boycotts will continue at the two schools affected last year, there are a few signs of organized efforts in the four new schools. One of these schools, however, McDonogh 11, remains somewhat of a question-mark.

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6. There seems only slight possibility at the present time of a special session, which would provide the kind of sounding board for extremist sentiment that was available a year ago. The governor, too, seems to be taking a much quieter role.

7. The legislative committee set up to investigate the New Orleans school situation has now indicated that it recognizes the elected school board as the official school board of the city.

8. The majority members of the school board are much firmer in their posture this year and are much more willing to lend direct assistance to efforts to avoid trouble.

The White Citizens Council in New Orleans is ominously quiet, This is variously interpreted as discouragement, defeat, sinister new strategy, etc..

The new mayor and superintendent are not considered to be factors of strength. Mayor Schiro is considered by most of my contacts to be little more than a political hack, unlikely to exert any particular statesmanship or initiative. Superintendent Walker, likewise, is expected to attempt to exercise no ~~initiative~~ initiative or to take no particular leading role.

The much heralded private school in the Frantz and McDonogh 19 area is nowhere near completion and the prestige of this group has suffered badly as a result.

All the reliable indications I could find point to no Catholic school desegregation this year. A persistent rumor continues to circulate in New Orleans, however, that three schools will be desegregated and that the information is simply being kept quiet by Monsignor Bezou, Catholic School Superintendent. Our Catholic contacts report that a new Bishop Coadjutor is being assigned from Kansas City. The man, a native of St. Louis, is reported as strong on the school question.

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Although Dan Thompson had talked big about arranging contacts and meetings for me last week, he did not do so, pleading the pressure of the due date on his study. He evaded talk about the Negro community, preferring to talk about the general conditions. I gather that some feeble efforts are going forward in training and preparation of the total community and particularly the transfer applicants (the larger group). From what Dan reports, I would doubt that anything has changed very much since Foster was there.

No one in New Orleans, including Kabby, who claims to have discussed it with Wright, anticipates a decision which would admit more students this year.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date ~~September~~ August 30, 1961

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Prince Edward County, Virginia

After several days in Prince Edward County, Happy Lee reports that in all probability local response to the recent court order will be to open one Negro school, call it a public school open to all, and use social pressure to keep white students from attending. There is a biracial group meeting again in the county on a weekly basis, with 12 white persons, mostly college-based, involved.

Lee has learned that some shop equipment has been moved in the dead of night from the public school building to the Foundation school. It is not known whether this was done with approval and knowledge of the school board.

The theory of the strategy noted above, of course, is that the judge voided tuition grants only where public schools are closed.

Both white and Negro groups are split on strategy. A diehard group in Prince Edward is against even this much of a compromise. They favor continuing private schools with completely private funds raised throughout the South.

The Negroes are likewise split. Robertson, state NAACP president, feels that Negroes should refuse to attend such a public school. Others believe that if this plan is upheld by the courts Negroes should attend it and attempt to make it work. Indications are that from 2 to 10 white children would attend such a school.

Memo from **PAUL M. RILLING**

October 2, 1961

LWD

Alabama CHR met its matching funds quota. All state councils did but Kentucky, and Florida, which met all but some $400.00 of its possible ~~in~~ total in matching funds.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 6, 1961 (Dictated Oct. 2)

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Arkansas Council

I had a long conference with Nat and with Ozell Sutton, his new Associate, while in Memphis. Mrs. Arnold, their office secretary and a power in her own right, was present, as were several of the lay officers.

The Arkansas Council has added 88 new members during the past few months and has made their matching fund level, no mean achievement for this small group. I get a definite impression from Nat and also from some of the laymen in the Little Rock area that Ozell Sutton's contribution has been significant and competent. He has been working closely with the parents of the Negroes moving into the new desegregated situations. White sponsors have been provided for each Negro family as was done in Atlanta. His group of Negro parents and students and white sponsors have formed into sort of an informal organization and have already worked to prevent dropouts at the technical high school. The percentage of dropouts has been fairly high in the past.

Ozell is also working on a voter registration campaign which will involve using students from all three of the Negro colleges in the area, with the official permission of college authorities for canvassing and other aspects of registration efforts. Two of the colleges have already approved the idea.

As part of their recent finance and membership drive, the Council has held a series of meetings in Little Rock and in Pine Bluff with, they feel, good effect and educational value. Granger Williams, former chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, has joined the Council on Human Relations.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 6, 1961 (Dictated October 2)

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Gleanings from Southern Interagency Conference

1. Henry Cabirac reports that local Catholic Councils are active in San Antonio, Washington, St. Louis, New Orleans, and, he thinks, Raleigh.

2. Jean Fairfax reports that the summer teaching project sponsored by the Virginia Teachers' Association was a great help and a success, that 37 teaching machines are now in experimental use in the county, that 37 Negroes have already been sent out of the county for education this year. This includes new placements in Berea, Kentucky, and Washington, D. C. The Negro community in Prince Edward County generally expected some sort of resolution of the crisis by this fall. Morale is consequently somewhat low and there seems little incentive to organize new recreational centers this year. The ruling of the federal court has not been appealed to the circuit court. The Negro strategy pins its hope on a case currently before the state supreme court, claiming that the state must operate public schools in Prince Edward County on the basis of the state constitution and laws, particularly the tax laws. There is still some danger that the segregationist leaders may open one or two"public schools" to which no white student would be expected to go, but which would presumably free tuition grant funds for the private schools. These schools are operating at present without tuition grant funds.

3. There was an interesting discussion of the whole Freedom Ride movement and its future, with reports by Wyatt Walker and Jim McCain. Both agreed that it was unlikely that the Freedom Rides would be continued in the near future on the same basis. It was agreed that financial resources have been just about exhausted, and the organizations are quite concerned about getting some rebates on the $500.00 per person cash bond which has been posted. Both indicated that their problem has somewhat been how

to gracefully close out the effort. McCain feels that there should be, at some time in the future, an intensified effort, if the ICC regulations do not prove too successful in effecting a change. He feels that there needs to be a group of persons recruited who are willing to serve out the entire jail terms. Walker, on the other hand, felt that this would not be practical and that it would not be possible to recruit that kind of group in the foreseeable future. Walker further suggested that it might be possible to work out some sort of compromise with the Mississippi people which would involve some return on the $500.00 bail funds. One possible approach to this would be the nolo contendere plea, which was tried on a pilot basis in the case of several of the riders. This resulted in a court ruling that $200.00 would be returned to those so pleading, but the money has not been yet forthcoming. Walker suggested that Mississippi had given some indications of willingness to bargain on the entire matter, etc.

4. As I believe I mentioned to you earlier, SNCC has the Bellafonte money and is proceeding with a voting project and is proceeding with the employment of 14 field personnel who will be placed in Mississippi. Miss Diane Nash has been designated Director of the Direct Action Activities of SNCC and will be based in Atlanta. Her salary will apparently be paid out of regular SNCC funds. Charles Jones has been designated Chairman of the voter registration effort, and will be based in Atlanta, his salary coming, presumably, out of the Bellafonte funds. Charles McDew will apparently also be based in Atlanta, but it is not yet clear to me what he will be doing. There has been no appointment of an over-all staff director.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 13, 1961

To: LWD and PA From: PR

Subject: Data on state groups for Annual Report

During 1961 the Councils on Human Relations achieved the highest level of self-support in their history and strengthened and expanded their program effectiveness. By the end of the third quarter of 1961 the state Councils had raised on their own a total of $43,106, some $3,000 more than had been raised at this same point during 1960. (If we wait two more weeks we can get the final figures for 1961.) The Councils now have over 6,000 individual members and some 57 affiliated local groups.

Three of the state Councils are receiving significant foundation assistance. The Arkansas Council received a renewal of its grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, to make possible the continuance of a 2-man, biracial professional staff. The Georgia and Tennessee Councils have recently received grants for 1962 from the Field Foundation.

There were a number of staff changes in the state Councils during 1961. Mrs. Frances Pauley, a former state president of the League of Women Voters and field organizer for HOPE, became the first full-time director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. In Virginia, the Rev. Heslip Lee, a Southern Baptist minister, became director of the VCHR, succeeding the Rev. Dan Bowers, who returned to the active ministry. The Rev. Robert Hughes, who had served the Alabama Council courageously and effectively since 1954, resigned his position to follow a life-long ambition to undertake mission work in Africa. Bob is now in London after a term of training in Boston, and will be going to Southern Rhodesia in the fall of 1962. He has been succeeded by the Rev. Norman Jimerson, an American Baptist Convention minister, who has recently been active in the Council in Hopewell, Virginia. Mr. Ozell Sutton, a former farm manager at the Rockefeller Estates near Little Rock, was named as Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Atlanta Council on Human Realtions during 1961 entered into a cooperative arrangement with the Unitarian Service Committee involving a full-time director for the Atlanta Council, paid by the Unitarian Service Committee. Mrs. Eliza Paschall,

also a former president of the state League of Women Voters and prominent civic leader, is serving in this ~~ac~~ capacity.

During the latter months of 1961 organizational efforts were underway in Mississippi and SRC was also cooperating ~~s~~ with several local groups in New Orleans toward the organization of an interracial committee of some sort in that community.

file

PROGRAM EMPHASES OF COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS, 1960-61

ALABAMA: The Alabama Council on Human Relations remains the only regular channel for interracial communication and coordination in this Deep South resistance state. Although one of the smallest, the Alabama Council is one of the best organized of the state councils. It has developed a tradition of unity and loyalty, and has been most effective from the stand-point of self-support and financial solvency.

The Alabama Council works through a series of district and local organizations which completely cover the state. The local groups, ten in number, meet regularly on a monthly basis for study and discussion. In Birmingham the local council was one of the first groups to speak out for law and order and in appeal to federal government during the riots in the wake of the Freedom Rides. In Montgomery the local council publishes a responsible regular newsletter of comment and analysis concerning local affairs, which is mailed to a wide variety of community leaders. The state headquarters has been particularly effective in interpreting local developments to newsmen throughout the nation. The Council is also an effective crisis agency, which has frequently come to the aid of persons subjected to pressure or intimidation.

Last fall the able director of the Council, the Reverend Robert Hughes, was jailed because of his refusal to divulge financial records and membership lists of the ACHR to a grand jury probing New York Times articles concerning the Birmingham situation. The incident brought considerable national sympathy and some sympathetic interpretation of the Council through Birmingham news media. Bob, who is now studying to fulfill a life-long ambition in the missionary field, will be replaced August 1 by the Reverend Norman Jimerson, who has been serving as the Federal Prison Chaplain in Hopewell, Virginia.

ARKANSAS: Among recent activities of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations have been: (1) the organization of an informal, interracial committee to attempt to consider and resolve the sit-in controversy in Pine Bluff. (2) The sponsorship of a retreat for ministers of the Little Rock-Pine Bluff area, focused on the complications facing the minister in the area of human relations. (3) The organization of a local Council on Human Relations in Fayetteville, and the sponsorship with this group of a community-wide community relations workshop. (4) The successful sponsorship with several other groups of a poll-tax and registration contest between the churches of the Negro community to stimulate increased voter registration. (5) The coordination of the first southern conference of NAIRO, the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officers, held in Little Rock.

The Arkansas Council has recently filled its post of Associate Director with the employment of Mr. Ozell Sutton, a former staff supervisor at the Winthrop Rockefeller Farms in Arkansas.

FLORIDA: The Florida Council on Human Relations issued several analyses on the Jacksonville riots last year, virtually the only complete reports made available to the people of that area. The FCHR director was personally active throughout the trouble in Jacksonville.

The Council is carrying out a survey of clergy in 31 cities to examine the organization of ministerial associations and the role of minority representatives.

The FCHR was able to use its good offices to mediate a controversy over hospital facilities in Fort Lauderdale. Public officials of three communities were convened with Negro leadership to consider a tense situation growing out of wade-in rumors. Successful workshops were sponsored in five Florida communities, with over 2,000 persons attending a four-evening workshop in Tampa.

GEORGIA: The Georgia Council on Human Relations now has its first full-time director in Mrs. Frances Pauley, a former president of the state League of Women Voters and a field representative of the HOPE organization. A new local council was organized in Savannah recently, at the height of the tensions growing out of the boycott of a major Negro high school there. The GCHR recently held a workshop for members of the state and of local boards.

The state Council recently produced the first full-scale slick paper magazine to be issued by any of the state groups. It is planned that the publication will appear on a quarterly basis. The Atlanta Council on Human Relations has substantially increased its membership in recent months and is heavily involved in an interorganizational effort to create a constructive climate for the school transition this fall.

KENTUCKY: KCHR is the only unstaffed Council assisted by SRC. Although small in membership, it has made significant contributions over the years through commissioned research efforts and the administration of a few effective special project efforts. It recently issued a report on the job aspirations of Negro high school students in Lexington, Kentucky. This year KCHR has focused primarily on the matter of merit employment and has sponsored one state-wide workshop in this area.

A former director of the Kentucky Council, Galen Martin, is now the staff director of the newly created Governor's Commission on Human Relations.

NORTH CAROLINA: The North Carolina Council has continued its program of mailings of special documents and analyses to a select list of 2,000 leaders throughout the state. This year the NCCHR organized a new group in Raleigh, which now has 75 members.

During recent months the North Carolina Council has negotiated with the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce for more participation of Negro groups and individuals, carried on an unremitting campaign against the building of two new segregated colleges in Charlotte, protested before a state advisory committee the state policy of tokenism in public school desegregation, and issued a helpful and thorough analysis of the meaning and impact of the Freedom Rides.

SOUTH CAROLINA: One of the most effective achievements of SCCHR during the past six months has been directed toward the reestablishment of communications at the college level. Two student conferences have taken place, with representatives from the major white and Negro colleges involved. These are the first such meetings to have been held in the state on an interdenominational basis for some years.

The SCCHR also sponsored a series of district conferences and worked with several Negro groups for the organization and motivation of more effective Negro leadership in several communities. Special state-wide meetings have been held in the area of church concerns and of merit employment.

TENNESSEE: One of the least effective of the state groups until two years ago, the Tennessee Council has displayed continuously increasing strength since the employment of two successive full-time directors. This year TCHR was helpful in the successful mediation of Nashville theatre stand-ins; it interpreted the needs in Haywood and Fayette Counties to the state advisory committee and to the Civil Rights Commission, participated in a conference with the Governor and Vice President Johnson on the merit employment problem, and took the lead in successful efforts to desegregate cultural public institutions.

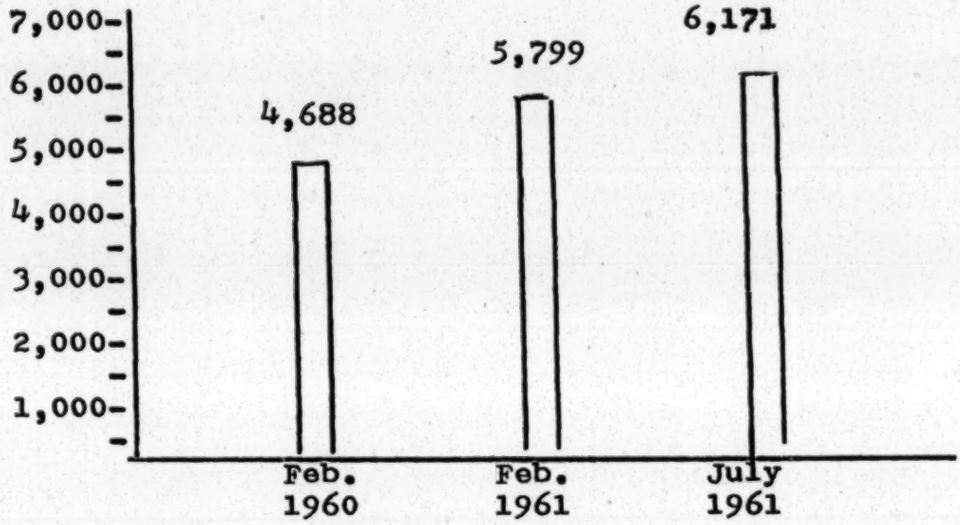
The Nashville Community Relations Conference held its second annual meeting. The director of TCHR was able to organize a promising council in Jackson, a difficult western Tennessee area.

VIRGINIA: VCHR's able director of the past two years, the Rev. Dan Bowers, who resigned his post to return to the ministry, will be replaced as of August 1 by the Rev. Heslip Lee. This Council continues to be the largest of the state groups both in terms of membership and in terms of local councils. During the past few months, local groups have been organized or have affiliated with VCHR in Norfolk, Roanoke, and Loudoun County. In Charlottesville, the local council has been able to organize a council on human relations among University of Virginia students. The Council in Norfolk was instrumental in desegregating the YWCA cafeteria. In Fairfax County, the local Council gained some significant breakthroughs in Negro employment and organized a high school youth council which successfully campaigned for the extension of extra-curricular participation to Negro students in desegregated schools.

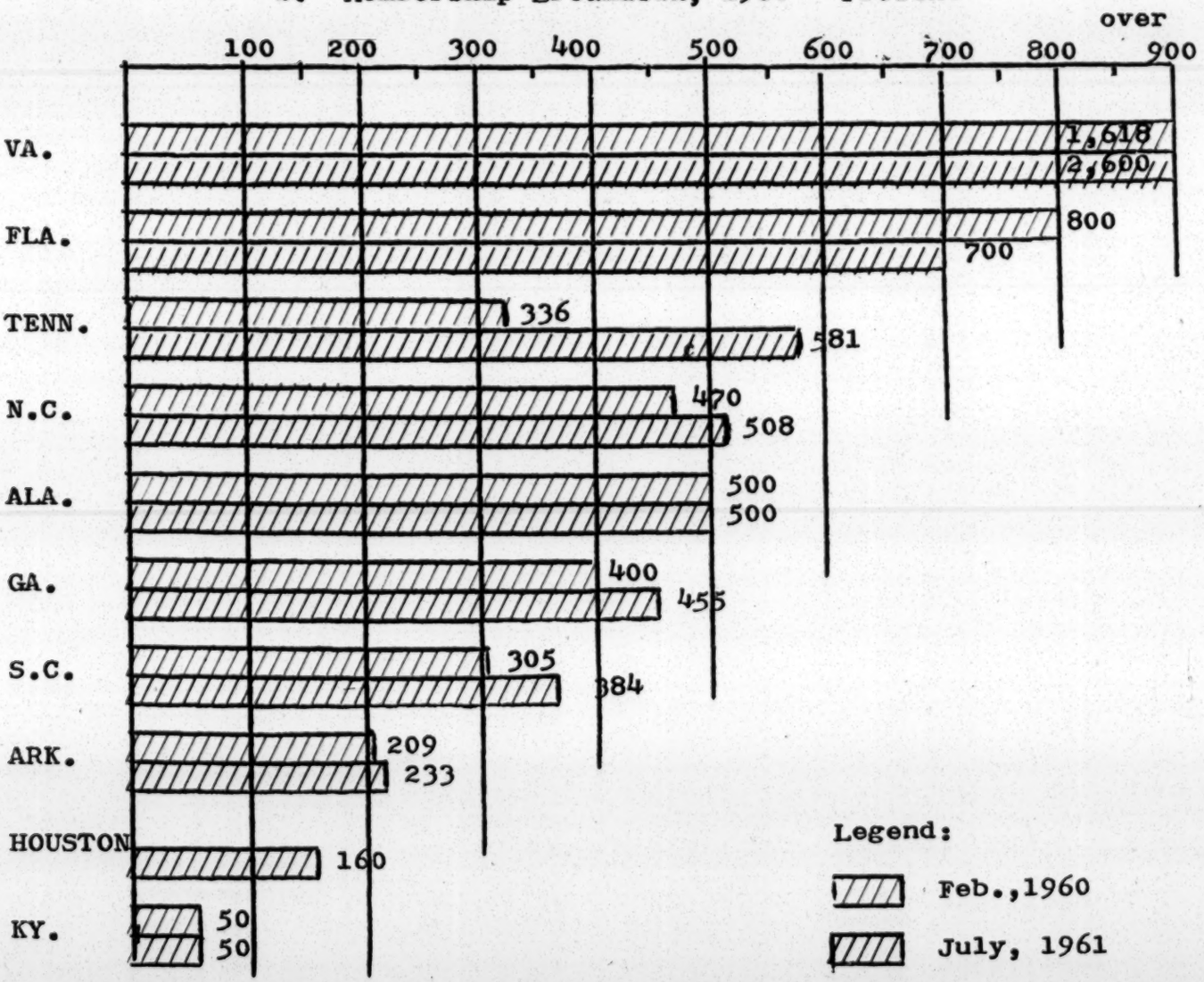
The state office of the VCHR has been in close touch with the Prince Edward County situation, and has been a major channel of news for national consumption.

HOUSTON: Last fall the board of SRC voted to assist the Houston Council on Human Relations, a new local group, if the HCHR could secure local support in the amount of at least $3,000.00 by the first of this year. It did so; it has now secured SRC assistance, employed full-time staff, and has 160 members and five working committees. The Council called last fall for real rather than token desegregation; it sponsored a series of ministerial meetings, and completed a survey of cultural opportunities in Houston. It recently coordinated a post-mortem session on the local experience of the first year of school desegregation.

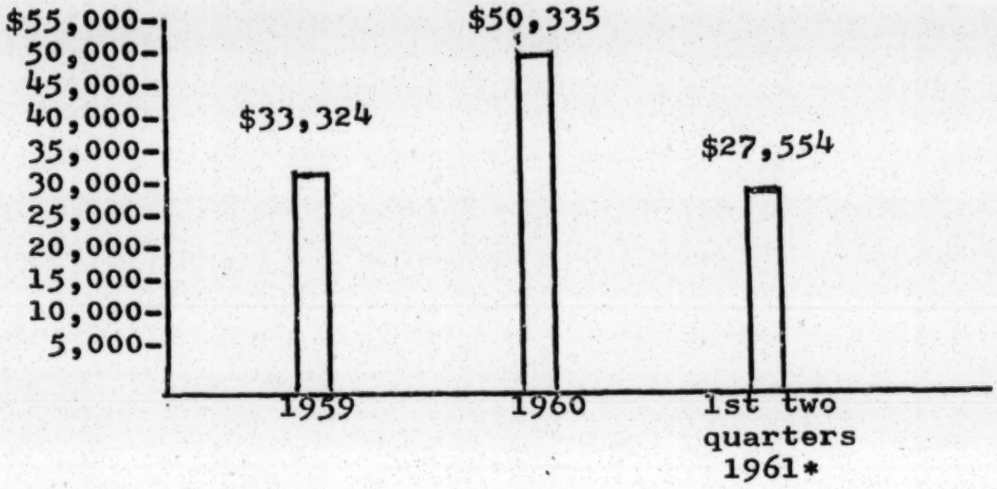
1. Total Membership, 1960 - Present



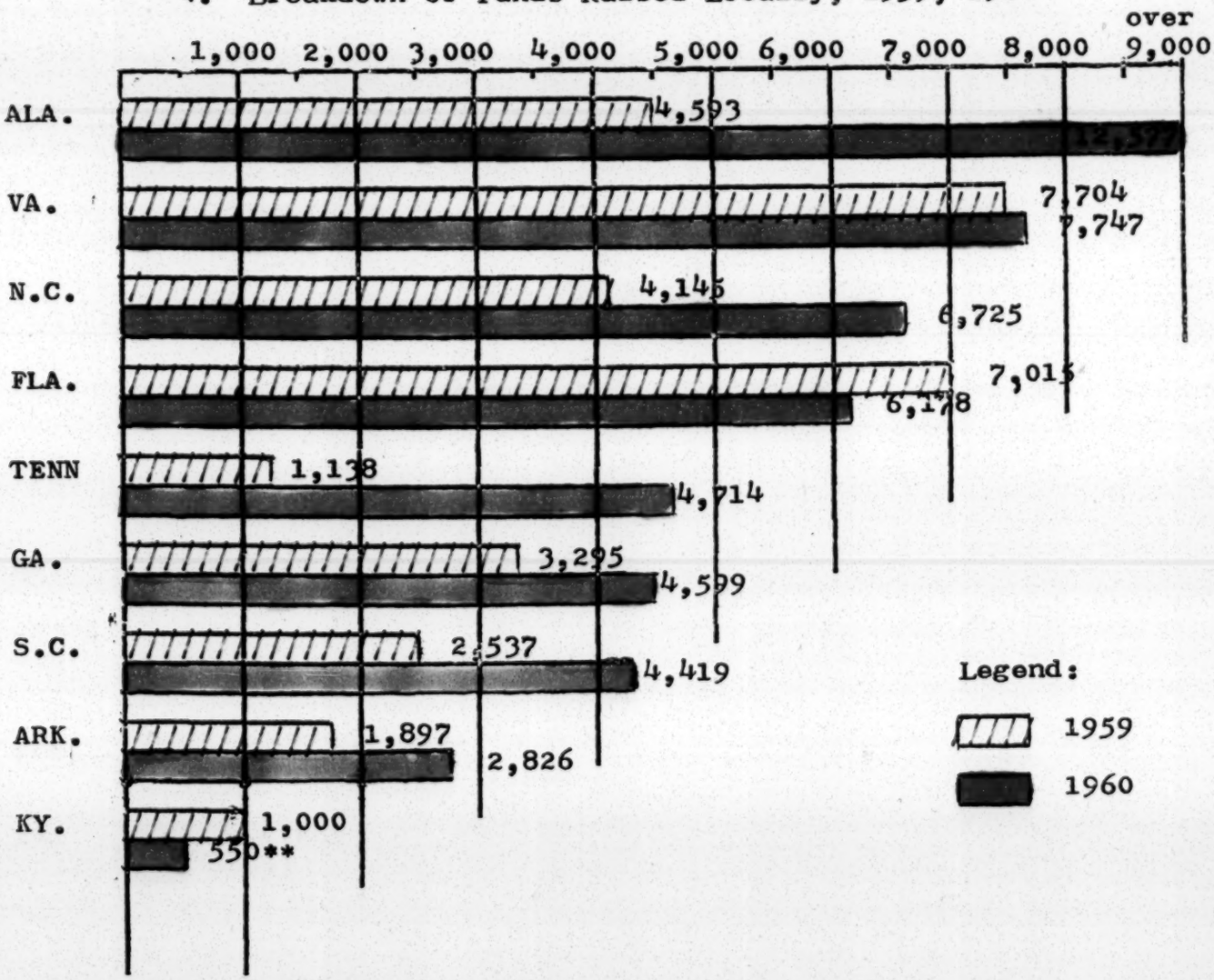
2. Membership Breakdown, 1960 - Present



3. Total Funds Raised Locally, 1959, 1960, 1961



4. Breakdown of Funds Raised Locally, 1959, 1960



* Total omits Kentucky; includes first two quarters plus two months in the case of Arkansas.

** First three quarters only

5. Number of Local Affiliated or Cooperating Groups

	Feb., 1960	Feb., 1961	July, 1961
ALABAMA	10	8	8
ARKANSAS	1	1	1
GEORGIA	4	4	5
FLORIDA	11	12	11
KENTUCKY	-	-	-
NORTH CAROLINA	1	3	3
SOUTH CAROLINA	4	5	5
TENNESSEE	3	6	6
VIRGINIA	10	11	14
AUSTIN, HOUSTON	-	-	2
TOTALS	44	50	55

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 22, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject:

The State Councils last year raised a total of $56,626 of self-support funds, not counting foundation help. This compares to $50,335 in 1960 and $33,324 in 1959. The bulk of the increase from 1960 to 1961 is accounted for by $3,500 raised by the Houston Council, and increase of $2,500 in the Virginia total, and an increase of $4,000 raised by the Georgia Council.

The state by state totals are as follows:

	1959	1960	1961
ALA.	$4,593	$12,577	$7,712
ARK.	1,897	2,826	3,481
FLA.	7,015	6,178	5,585
GA.	3,295	4,599	9,116
KY.	1,000	550	450
NC.	4,145	6,725	6,468
SC.	2,537	4,419	5,128
TENN.	1,138	4,714	4,687
VA.	7,704	7,747	10,499
HOUSTON			3,500
	$33,324	$50,335	$56,626

It should be noted that I have used the carrot-and-stick technique to encourage more fund raising on the part of the State Councils. The matching formula provided the stick. I have suggested the possibility of some increased assistance to the Councils with good fund raising records as the carrot. The stick has worked. What do I do for carrots?

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PA
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 30, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject: Notes on Florida Council on Human Relations, gleaned from visit to Florida January '61.

(1) Florida Council is broke and slightly in debt.

(2) The Council plans a series of fund raising dinners somewhat after the pattern of the Rowan dinner here. These will occur February, March, and April, it is hoped.

(3) FCHR's consultant program, launched with fanfare a year ago, has not gotten off the ground and probably will not.

(4) FCHR is still completely inactive in Miami, despite plans to rejuvenate that area as of a year ago.

(5) Considerable interest was displayed in organization in the Tampa area following a joint workshop with ADL there last year. This interest has not yet been effectively channeled into a local council.

(6) FCHR has organized activity in varying degrees in 12 communities. They are Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Cocoa, Melbourn, Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Gainesville, Orlando, Tallahassee, Pensacola, Tampa. Of this group, the following are paper organizations only, or are in serious trouble: Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Orlando, Tallahassee, and Tampa.

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MMB - file

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 5, 1962

To: LWD ✓ From: PR

Subject: Trip to New Orleans, January 31, February 1

Talked with the following people: Mary Sand, Betty Wisdom, Gladys Cahn, Helen Murvis, Catherine Wright, Andy Rogers, Henry Cabirac, A. P. Tureaud, Dan Thompson, Milton Upton (Chairman of Voter Drive), Father Twomey, Father McManus, Father Clancey.

(1) Attended meeting of Coordinating Council, clearing house of 90 Negro organizations, chaired by Dan Thompson. The group conducted the recent voter registration drive and has other projects in mind. The group includes all of the major Negro organizations and is conducted in a business-like, efficient fashion. The Coordinating Council deserves our help and cooperation whenever possible.

(2) There is agreement among Gladys Cahn, Mary Sand, and Betty Wisdom that SOS should officially go out of business, probably at the scheduled time of their annual meeting in April. SOS holds something over $1,000 in its treasury and an equivalent amount in the separate Back to School fund.

(3) LIFE is in paper existence with a young doctor as chairman. Mrs. Sand is vice-chairman. The projected LIFE program features tutorial and other educational assistance to Negroes moving into desegregated situations. Mrs. Sand and others felt very strongly that this program should be carried out, and are making plans in that direction. LIFE holds some $1,500.

(4) Mrs. Cahn, Dr. Dent, Mr. Kerns, and others are working hard on the projected human relations council. If such a group gets off the ground and shows real strength, Mrs. Sand is willing that the LIFE assets and program be channelled through this organization, assuming that LIFE and SOS oriented people

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will be represented in its leadership. It is possible that the assets of all of the organizations may end up in this projected council. The group is moving too slowly, but does plan an organizational meeting of some 50-plus persons in the near future.

(5) The PTA at Lusher School was thrown out of the state PTA Council when it admitted Negro parents. The group appealed to the national PTA and was informed that it was still in affiliation with the national Council and with the state organization. The state PTA has not recognized the national ruling, with the result that a number of comic opera moves took place at a recent city-side PTA meeting with the lesser group attending and participating but not permitted to register, etc.

(6) Henry Cabirac reports that in all probability parochial schools will be desegregated next fall with an effort made to include a number of schools in the process. The announcement will be made this spring. He indicates, however, that the decision is not yet final or certain. The archbishop will not delegate authority for this or much else to the new coadjutor.

(7) The situation inside the desegregated schools is reported as good. In fact, it sounds much healthier than that inside the Atlanta schools. Bob Coles agrees with this comparison.

(8) Mayor Victor Schiro and Senator Adrian Duplantier head into a run-off campaign which is rated extremely close and will probably feature racist charges. Duplantier is smeared as the candidate of the Sterns and of the Negroes. Both of these men come from the CCDA organization and the election has split New Orleans' traditional two-party set up wide open. Negroes plan to play a very silent role in the campaign to get out their vote.

February 5, 1962

Wiley Branton

Paul Rilling

New Orleans

While in New Orleans last week both Dan Thompson of Dillard, Chairman of the Negro Coordinating Council, and Harvey Kerns, Executive of the Urban League, spoke to me about possible assistance on voter registration. The Coordinating Council has just completed "their first phase" of a major voter registration effort in New Orleans. Some 200 plus voter registration schools were held throughout the city. Canvasses were taken for the most part by organizational membership such as churches, social clubs, etc., rather than by street addresses. The drive was under the direction of the Rev. Milton Upton, who was partly paid for his work. The drive had an office donated by the Longshoremen's Union, and one full-time secretary. Something in excess of$5,000 was donated for the effort by the 90-some organizations involved in the Coordinating Council. The money was expended in a drive from October through December last fall, aiming at registration for the recent mayoralty primary election.

According to Upton and Thompson, some 5,000 Negroes were added to the roles, although this was not a net gain. Around 4,000 Negroes had been removed from the roles in a recent purging of voting roles. They estimated that over 10,000 Negroes attempted to regiwter during this period, but then more than half were turned away by a non-cooperative registrar. According to everything I could learn, this was an effective and truly coordinated effort, worthy of our attention and support. They plan to keep pushing on the effort, even though no imminent election looms as incentive. They feel sufficient momentum has been built up so that the community will continue to cooperate.

Dan Thompson states that the Coordinating Council needs approximately $6,000 in financial assistance from outside the city to make possible a full-time field man to work throughout the community in this effort. The Coordinating Council plans to raise $7,500 in the New Orleans community.

Harvey Kerns mentioned that he had seen the Urban League proposal concerning the Joint Voter Project. He commented that as the local representative of one of the major participating agencies, he would be happy to support the application of the Coordinating Council or to have the funds channelled through the Urban League to the Coordinating Council, so long as the Leggue has sufficient representation on the voting committee of the Coordinating Council. He indicated he thought it probable that the local NAACP would similarly support the idea of channelling support to the Coordinating Council.

cc: LWD

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

LWD

Date February 28, 1962

To: ~~Travel Memo~~ From: Paul Rilling

Subject: Visit to Birmingham, February 23, 1962

Talked with Jim Merson, Chuck Morgan, Lucius Pitts, Herbert Oliver, the Rev. J. W. Wilson (Negro minister).

One of the most depressing factors of the Birmingham situation is the apathy and divisiveness of the Negro community. The Ware group, the Shuttlesworth group, the Gaston circle, are working at cross-purposes and constantly at loggerheads. Emery Jackson of the local World serves the role of a spoiler and tends to cut down potential leaders and movements with satire and other attack. Lucius Pitts seems to be in a position to play an extremely strategic role. As President of Miles College he has an automatic status position. As a newcomer to the city he is free from involvement with any of the cliques or factions in the community.

Inter-racial discussion between Negro leaders and white business leadership are continuing. If they produce concrete results explosive demonstrations can be averted. If there are no specific results, and this is the more likely conclusion, major demonstrations of one kind or another seem inevitable. There have been some changes in downtown stores in the direction of removing signs from water fountains, and desegregating elevators.

Pitts feels that if something doesn't give within the next few weeks the Miles College students will try to trigger some sort of a united Negro effort in Birmingham. This could take the form of a select buying campaign, or of a march on the city and lunch counter demonstrations. Pitts himself is not in good health and is obviously feeling the tension of the present situation.

Shuttlesworth, currently in jail, remains the undisputed head of the Alabama Christian Movement, still unaffiliated with SCLC. He is not the leader of the Negro community in Birmingham, however. He is widely criticized as well as widely respected by other Negro leaders. It is widely felt that he will not be able to retain

effective leadership of the community now that his family and church are in Cincinnati. Chuck Morgan, working with Arthur Shores and others, is currently involved in a liberal assault on the Democratic County Committee. There have never been Negroes on the Committee. The liberal group is running Negroes from every box where they have a majority of registered voters. They are also running white candidates in other parts of the city. Morgan's wife, for instance, is running in Mountain Brook.

Jimmerson is now in his third church, a small Presbyterian congregation, and has apparently found a church home. He met with the Sessions and was quizzed on his activities. The church is anxious to get in young adults to help with organizational work, and apparently will welcome the Jimmersons. I met briefly with the minister, the Reverend Mr. Gregg.

The Reverend Lew Mitchell, assistant Episcopal rector at a Birmingham church, has been under fire from within the church for his activity with the Council. The smear sheet has circulated in that church and the question was officially raised at Board meetings. Mitchell's response was to answer the charges and to announce that he had accepted the vice-presidency of the Birmingham council for the coming year. He has suggested that I speak before a meeting of the church leaders about SRC, etc. I indicated agreement if such a meeting could be set up.

Morgan expects that Connor will make a major issue of the Alabama Council in the latter stages of his campaign, attempting to use it as a whipping boy.

It seems to me that Jimmerson is moving with great skill and responsibility in this situation. He has spoken personally to most of the leading persons involved, including the white businessmen, and has established excellent rapport with several. He already has better contacts with the white leadership than did Bob Hughes. This may be a sign of the changing times.

PMR/mr

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 28, 1962

To: Travel Memo

From: Paul M. Rilling

Subject: Visit to South Carolina, February 20-22, 1962

I attended a joint meeting of three rural county councils on human relations in Jasper County, S. C. There were some 60 Negroes present. The only white persons came from the Penn Center. The South Carolina Council is the only council that is willing to maintain local units that are not inter-racial. I normally advise against this procedure, but the appreciation and warmth of the group toward the council and toward Alice was heart-warming and I think that there is little doubt that she gives something to these groups, at least psychologically.

I spent just a few hours in Charleston talking with Mr. Esau Jenkins, Chairman of the Negro Citizens Committee, Mrs. Toms, civic leader and former League of Women Voters president, Mr. Osborn, the local Unitarian minister, and several others. The Charleston school situation is in litigation. There have been no legal developments for some time but there are indications that the NAACP plans to push this case in the near future. It is probable that there will be some order by the fall of 1964, if not earlier. There seems to be little concern or awareness of any problem in the white community generally. There is a residue of moderate sentiment in the business and civic leadership of the city. Indications are that when a school crisis comes there will be considerable open schools type law and order sentiment. It is doubtful that this can be brought to bear on the situation much before an actual crisis.

The Negro community in Charleston seems to be rather fragmented and disunited. There is considerable competition and not too much cooperation between the Citizens Committee and the local branch of the NAACP. Both groups have focused some attention on the problem

of merit employment in business enterprises serving primarily Negro clientele. There has been little progress to date, but negotiations are going forward. One store did employ Negroes as clerks temporarily during the Easter season a year ago. Voting efforts have not been auspicious. There is some resentment toward Esau Jenkins as a "Johns Island man without much background."

Alice Spearman as an individual has excellent contacts in the Negro community and in the liberal and moderate white circles. The Council operation is vague and diffuse in its focus. Its program consists primarily of a series of rather repetitive and overlapping workshops. Despite this fact, however, it is somewhat of a unifying channel of contact between these groups throughout the state. It seems to have excellent liaison with Negro leadership, and Alice is regularly involved in consultations among Negro organizations. Organizationally and in terms of concrete program the South Carolina Council is very weak. In terms of influence, communications, the Council is a useful force. The major part of the contribution of the Council is through the contacts, the spirit, the tireless energy, etc., of Alice Spearman.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 5, 1962

To: LWD (cc: Ben Muse) From: PR

Subject: Travel Memo: Alabama, March 2 & 3

In Birmingham, March 2, talked with Dr. Henry King Stanford, President, Birmingham Southern College; Arthur Shores, Negro attorney; A.G. Gaston; David Vann, member ACHR board, white attorney, unofficial chairman of Democratic loyalists in Jefferson County; James Head, President of the Head Office Supply Company, and liberal white businessman; George Gambel, Director of the University of Alabama Center in Mobile and Associate Dean of Extension at the University; Joseph Ellwanger, Lutheran minister, white, and new chairman of the Birmingham Council; Emery Jackson, Ed., B'ham World.

A summit meeting of Negro leadership was scheduled for Friday night, March 2, in hopes of working toward greater unity. A complicating factor was the release on bond of Fred Shuttlesworth, who had scheduled a mass meeting for Friday night.

There seemed to be two types of white leadership at work to cool off the present strained situation in Birmingham. One group consists of persons like Monohan, President of Fulton Products, and Stern. These men have consulted with the commission and others and urged more moderate action, but refused to meet with Negro leaders under any circumstances. The second group of businessmen is willing to consult with Negro leaders and in fact has been represented in two or three meetings of this sort. Prominent in this group are James Head, Chairman of the Committee of 100 and a liberal businessman, and Sydney Smyer, President of the Chamber of Commerce. Smyer is a Dixiecrat politically, but seems sincerely desirous of working out a mutually satisfactory arrangement which would involve some changes. Head is currently running for a position on the State Democratic Committee on the Loyalist ticket. Smyer's son is running on the States Rights ticket for the Committee.

Men like Head and Smyer, along with Lou Jeffers of Hays Aircraft; Bishop Murray of the Episcopal Church; Ed Norton, President of Crown Cola; and at least once, Arthur Weibel of Tennessee Coal and Iron, and others (the president of Liberty Mutual, representatives of (? Name of store ?) and Foreman's stores, have met with such Negro leaders as Pitts, Ware, Gaston, Shortridge, (Treasurer of the Alabama

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To: _____ From: _____

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Christian Movement), Taggart (Negro dentist), Shores, Dru (Negro insurance man). As a result of these meetings, segregated signs have been withdrawn from drinking fountains in several downtown stores and elevators have been desegregated in at least one office building. They continue to resist in one other. They also have been able to call incidents on the buses to the attention of the local transit company, which is attempting to enforce the court injunction against segregation in good faith. The chairman of the board of registrars recently died. The moderate white group has been making efforts to get a former U.S. attorney appointed in his place. They have received informal assurance that someone will be appointed who will permit Negroes to register with more ease than previously. Head is himself liberal and is openly critical of other businessmen, lawyers, and ministers who he feels have permitted the situation to badly deteriorate in the city. Word of his activities is becoming increasingly wide-spread and some of his friends fear that he may be vulnerable to reprisal. He receives many critical and crank phone calls.

Vann was chairman of the Parks committee of the Young Men's Business Club, a liberal levening in Birmingham. He is also active in the Junior Bar, and indicates that the Junior Bar recently met with the local U.S. Attorney, who was widely critical of police irregularity, and urged the Junior Bar to appoint a committee to look into the matter. Vann sees this as an extremely hopeful development.

Gaston is quite critical of Shuttlesworth's leadership. There was general agreement among the Negroes I spoke to that Shuttlesworth does not command the loyalty of as many as 50% of the Negro citizens. Gaston feels that "conservative leadership" should and is playing an increasing role. Gaston is apparently ~~a~~ persona non grata with the Shuttlesworth group and the Ware group. Pitts maintains access to all.

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Page 3

Apparently all organizations have tried "every method" to encourage voter registration. All admit to disappointing results. Emery Jackson reported that a survey had recently been done by college students in several blocks to determine degree of registration in these blocks and the reasons therefor. He hopes to publish some of the results soon.

Vann is optimistic about the chances of the Loyalists to take over the Democratic Committee. He feels that the park issue, etc., may help in the Birmingham area. Both sides are pretty well laying off the parks to date. Since members of [whites? word unclear. MMV] currently striving for a solution are running on tickets of both factions, this may not be raised as an issue during the campaign. One gets widely varying evaluations of the governor's race. Everyone feels that Folsom will lead into the run-off, but that if his lead is small he will lose. No one feels that Connor has a chance, regardless of what trouble may occur in Birmingham. Head said flatly that Connor would withdraw before election date. Varying views were expressed that Boutwell, ~~Boutwell,~~ Wallace, Gallion, or de Graffenreid would be runner-up. People differed most concerning the chances of de Graffenreid, who I heard described as a man who can't win and as a man coming up fast who could win. Nat Welch, who was present at the board meeting, expressed the latter view and is supporting de Graffenreid. All Negroes I met seemed to be supporting Folsom. Stanford reported that the FM radio station which attacked the Alabama Council and SRC is on the campus of Birmingham Southern and uses rent-free studios there. It was Stanford who was able to cause the station owner to cease the attacks. He promised me that if they reoccur, the station will be ejected from the campus. The station was given housing because it is a good music station.

Several persons indicated that they had information to the effect that campus authorities at the University of Alabama were

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prepared to accept qualified applications, and that President Rose has informed the governor that he expects the state authorities to keep their hands off the situation when and if it occurs. There is little indication that any considerable efforts are being made to secure applicants, although Gomillion told the board meeting that he had one likely prospect for graduate school next fall.

Saturday I attended a meeting of the executive committee of ACHR at Tuskegee. The new chairman, the Rev. Powers McCloud, is impressive. He's minister of the First Methodist Church in Auburn, and has important connections at Auburn. He is a brother of Dr. Wallace McCloud of Atlanta, and a close friend of Jamie Mackay. McCloud is under attack in his church for his liberal views, but expects to weather the storm. He seems able and effective and willing to give considerable time to the affairs of the Council. I am impressed with the kind of lay leadership the executive committee is giving through such persons as McCloud, Foley, Gomillion, Welch, and Vann. Welch plans to give several days of his time in the near future to personal contacts in Birmingham for fund raising purposes.

I am quite impressed with the vigor and skill with which Jimerson seems to be operating. In Birmingham he seems to have complete access to the Negro leadership and is generally trusted. At the same time, he has access to business leadership reaching high into the power structure, and is treated by these men with attitudes varying from appreciation to skepticism to patronizing. Head speaks of him with warm appreciation. He worked closely with Stanford and Murray. The editor of the paper has said that he was well intentioned and useful, although the editor of the editorial page of the Birmingham News has attacked him to his face as left wing, etc.. I was impressed during the conferences Friday at the number of people who pass messages through him, back and forth across the racial lines and across factional lines within the Negro community. I doubt if ~~any~~ in any other state, with the possible exception of Virginia and Tennessee, does our

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Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

director have as open access to as many elements in both communities.
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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 2, 1962

To: Les Dunbar (cc: Ben Muse, J.J. Brewbaker) From: Paul Rilling

Subject: Travel to Pensacola, Florida, March 28-30, 1962

My visit to Pensacola was at the suggestion of Mr. Rubin Orr, Assistant County Superintendent of Schools in Charge of Administration. He learned about SRC through contacts with Brewbaker. He wished advice drawn from Atlanta, etc., on community preparation for school desegregation. He indicated that he was not particularly interested in my thinking concerning internal preparation, that he would handle the schools all right. He did say, however, that he plans to involve Brewbaker in future meetings with school personnel.

Following the agenda arranged for me, I met with the following groups: the School Assistance Committee (on Wednesday afternoon and again on Friday afternoon); Negro principals and white principals (separately); and on two occasions with the Superintendent, Dr. Woodham, along with Mr. Orr and the Assistant Superintedent for Personnel, Mr. Parten. I had individual conferences with Mr. Maurice Harling, political reporter for the Pensacola newspapers; Mrs. Eagan, a Negro lady who semms to have the major responsibility for planning in connection with school desegregation. I tried unsuccessfully to contact the Rev. William Dobbins, A.M.E. minister who is the apparent major Negro leader. I did meet him by accident at the airport on my way out of town and we had a brief chat.

Pensacola is under court order to desegregate next September. The school board, which is quite conservative, will apply the Florida pupil placement law with a few minor changes as approved by the courts. There is considerable local pride in Pensacola concerning the state pupil placement law, which is considered to be the handiwork of the late Judge Fabisinski, of Pensacola. The Superintendent and his staff are frankly segregationists and would prefer as little change as possible. They feel, however, that since the change is coming they have some obligation to meet it responsibly and smoothly. Mr. Orr will apparently be the major person responsible in the

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Superintendent's office. Mr. Parten is also public affairs chairman of the County PTAs, and has been speaking to groups of PTA units about the problem. The Superintendent's office expects something like 150 Negroes to apply to a number of schools. They guess that something like 15 would actually be granted approval to transfer. Mrs. Eagan indicated that a considerable effort is being made to find outstanding students and that some 20 plus have so far agreed to apply for transfers. This would involve the Junior College, Pensacola High School, one junior high school, and two elementary schools. One of the ~~applp~~ "Negro" children planning to apply for transfer is a Korean girl who has been adopted by a ~~Ng~~ Negro family.

The transfer procedure will be that during the week of April 23 any student, white or Negro, desiring to transfer from his ~~pr~~ present school to any other school must have his parents apply at the office of the principal of his present school for application blanks, which are then filled out and left with the principal. The blanks are quite simple. The school board has until July 15 to notify parents whether transfers have or have not been approved. The school board plans to follow the exact same procedure with white and Negro children and has been following the same procedure since 1957. A number of criteria will be applied as permitted by the state pupil placement law. Transfer applicants will be given psychological tests and their homes will be ~~visp~~ visited. Also considered will be their academic record, their citizenship record, and their academic ~~a~~ capacity as judged by standardized tests ~~p~~ given all students in the system. Mr. Orr will make the recommendations for the professional staff to the board and points out that his recommendations have never been denied to date. It should be emphasized again that this exacting procedure has been followed with transfer students going from white to white or Negro to Negro schools since 1957. Only the one week time span is new. Mr. Orr will meet with Negro principals separately and give them the ~~blank~~ blanks and carefully explain the procedures. They will also be outlined in the press one week prior to the beginning of the registration period. Mr. Orr claims that the procedures have already been explained to "Negro leaders."

The school assistance committee seems to be a potentially most effective instrument. It consists at present of some 30 persons

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

including businessmen, the chairman of the board of county commissioners, the city manager, the police chief, and representatives of the county sheriff's office, the school superintendent and assistant superintendents, prominent ministers of First churches, the editor of the news-paper, etc.. The group plans to do an OASIS type job of "supporting the school board and maintaining law and order." The president of the County PTA Council was on hand and indicated that her units plan to have special programs on the problem between now and the end of school. The committee plans to do its planning quietly, not coming out into public notice until after the May 8th primary at which two school board members and the legislative delegation is nominated. The group would carry out programs and activities through channels of various churches and organizations throughout the summer, probably culminating in a fairly loud public effort the last three or four weeks. The group will remain white, but plans close liaison with Negro leaders through a special liaison committee and perhaps occasional joint meetings. There was strong resistance to a biracial committee or to strong liaison with Negroes on the part of several conservative committee members.

As a result of questions raised during my meetings with Negro principals, Mr. Orr has agreed to have a joint meeting of white and Negro principals in late April or early May at which time he hopes Brewbaker will be on hand as a program resource. Brewbaker is currently scheduled into Pensacola Saturday, April 28. Orr would prefer him sometime during the following week. We discussed the Chattanooga materials and Orr agreed he would undertake "some sort of effort" with teachers of at least some of the schools most likely to be involved. The superintendent's office hopes that the schools involved will be those in fairly receptive neighborhoods. There is some fear concerning the possible repercussions in the northern part of the county, the rural part of the county.

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To: From:

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My opportunity to make contact with Negro leadership was, unfortunately, restricted on this trip. It seems to be true that the Negro community, approximately 20%, is fairly well organized and united, compared to most Southern communities. Voter registration is reported to be high. While I was there there was a mass meeting sponsored by the Negro ministerial association, featuring Congressman Diggs of Michigan, with over 2,000 attending. Just about a month ago, Pensacola resolved its lunch counter difficulties after sit-ins, picketing, and boycotting. The Rev. Mr. Dobbins was the leader in this effort. He is a young minister, probably in his middle thirties, who attended seminary in Atlanta. Another key Negro name in the area is Attorney Charles Wilson. All Negro leaders seem to be active in the NAACP, but it is not clear that efforts during the sit-ins or, currently, aimed at school desegregation, are being carried out through the organizational channels of the NAACP. White leadership has considerable respect for Dobbins and tends, I suspect, to over-estimate the preparation and organization of the Negro community.

The general situation looks promising. There is no currently organized resistance group. The area did have an active White Citizens Council several years ago but little has been heard of it lately and it is believed to be moribund and largely discredited. There is a considerable tradition of communication and mutual respect across racial lines. Both sides seem to be proud that the sit-in controversy was resolved by negotiation through a bi-racial committee appointed by the community council with mutual trust on both sides. I could never find out exactly what the community council is. It seems to be some sort of planning council related to the United Fund, with its own executive director full time. The chief potential for trouble during school desegregation would seem to be the White Citizens Councils of south Alabama, and probable sensational coverage by the extremist newspapers of Mobile, 60 miles away. The radio stations and television station as well as the press of Pensacola

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is involved in the School Assistance Committee and ~~p~~ will probably cooperate in keying ~~pprt~~ coverage into an overall plan. It was agreed, for example, that no publicity would be given to my trip ~~pr/to/the~~ nor to the committee until after the May 8th primary.

Key names in this situation in addition to those noted above are Mr. Wallace F. King, 1803 East Mallory Street. King is in charge of civilian employees at the Naval Base. He is a former chairman of the United Fund and has been selected as chairman of the School Assistance Committee. Mr. Jack Sisson, Catholic layman, advertising man, hard-working member of the School Assistance Committe, and also member of Operation Alert in Pensacola, 700 West Moreno Street; the Rev. Herbert Miller, First Presbyterian Church, who made a speech to the Kiwanis Club recently, which rocked the community, stressing the need for preparation for the inevitable; the Rev. Paul Duffy, First Methodist Church, the major prestige church in Pensacola; the Rev. Stanley Mullin, white Methodist minister, probably link ~~pt~~ between the School Assistance Committee and the liberal group in the Council on Human Relations; the Rev. Joe Blair, white Baptist minister, chairman of the Human Relations Council, considered too controversial at present for the School Assistance Committee~~/~~.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 17, 1962

To: LWD, BM, A. Spearman From: Paul Rilling

Subject: Field report on Charleston, S.C., Visit of May 14 - 16, 1962.

The Negro boycott of King Street merchants is now in its eighth week. The Rev. Ben Glover, Chairman of the local NAACP and of the boycott, estimates effectiveness at 50 to 60%. Other estimates range somewhat lower, but there seems little doubt that the boycott is hurting the merchants. This was confirmed by second hand reports from several white persons. The boycott is aimed only at King Street merchants, and will continue until the bulk of the merchants have agreed to go along with some changes in employment patterns. Around 8 stores have already made some adjustments, and approximately 3 or 4 others have promised to do so soon. As the stores come into line, pickets are withdrawn from those particular stores, but Negroes are still encouraged to stay off the entire street. ~~Boycotting~~ Picketing is carried on Friday and Saturday by approximately half and half teen-agers and adults. Flyers are printed every week and circulated at meetings and churches. The leadership of the Negro community seems to be fairly well united behind the effort, although there is at least some criticism of Glover's management and direction from a technical standpoint. Esau Jenkins, particularly, is critical of Glover, probably reflecting the competition for leadership between the NAACP and the Citizens Committee.

The major ~~portion of~~ push in the Negro community seems to be on Merit Employment and Voter Registration; the NAACP is heading up the job push, the Citizens Committee the Voter effort. Prior to the boycott there were several months of effort concerning Federal employment and contract industries. Help was received from the President's Committee and Glover reports 76 Negroes employed in non-traditional occupations in these offices. The Citizens Committee continues program of voter education schools and Esau Jenkins donates four hours a day to the work of the office. Results of the voter drive are somewhat hard to come by, however. Jenkins is somewhat discouraged and feels that the major barrier is apathy. He reports that the registrars are reasonably good. Glover conceeds that the Citizens Committee is handling the voter education effort.

Jenkins is proud that he has been able to carry on without outside help. He feels that the NAACP should have "first chance" to assist program. This indicates that any voter funds probably should go through the NAACP to Charleston. Both groups would accept this and some or all the money would be channeled through the Citizens Committee.

Esau Jenkins emphasized that he is "not yet" affiliated with the SCLC, even though their recent publicity concerning King's tour identifies him as "SCLC's man in Charleston." He indicated he had been under heavy pressure from SCLC and had been offered money for voter work. He is a great admirer of King and recently brought him to Charleston, but is a little cautious about this kind of affiliation. Glover is strongly counseling him against ~~it~~ affiliation and states that he is "somewhat worried about" SCLC's method of operation. In case SCLC is claiming an operation in Charleston it should be noted that they have none at present, except to the extent that Mrs. Septima Clark is residing in Charleston and somewhat active in between assignments at the Dorchester Citizenship School.

Late last fall a small interracial committee was formed. The white persons on it are primarily those referred to in Ben Muse's last report (Rabbi Padoll; Mrs. Thomas Tobias; de Rosset Meyers; Rev. Osborne, Unitarian). Most of the recognized Negro leaders were related to this group although Glover did not personally attend any of the meetings. The group was somewhat helpful in arranging for the employment of Negro bus drivers and then addressed itself to the task of persuading the Mayor to appoint an official body. They were in communication with us and others at that time. They tried to get Tom Waring and the Mayor to go along with them. Waring refused and the Mayor likewise. They then went to the Merchants Association and tried to set up some form of negotiation of the employment picture on King Street, where ~~patrons patrons~~ patronage is predominantly Negro. This failed. At this time the Committee, somewhat discouraged, disbanded and the white members agreed that the time had come for more direct action by the Negroes. The boycott was launched approximately one week later.

Like all situations that in Charleston is unique in some ways. The Negro leaders are unusually reasonable, moderate, and responsible. They evidence very little bitterness or hatred. Jenkins, particularly, is almost unbelievably patient and trustful of appeals to reason and good will. The ~~whit~~ white powers are unyielding, but in a sophisticated and responsible manner. ~~They~~ The ~~p~~ police force has been correct and fair, according to the Negro leaders, and has permitted the picketing. ~~They~~ There seems to be little violence potential in the situation. The local press, of course, completely omits any mention of current activities. The current effort seems to have attained some results on King Street, but none of the big establishments have as yet cooperated and there is certainly some doubt as to whether the boycott can be maintained until effective results are achieved. Several white persons with ~~s~~ whom I talked expressed the opinion that the general

community was almost unaware of the effort and that the only ones really concerned were the merchants on King Street themselves.

There seems to be virtually no activity on the school front and no case pending. Five Negroes did try to register some time ago. They were not accepted by the board on various individual reasons. They went through the administrative appeals but did not go to court. Several white liberals expressed some irritation that they were not too well selected and could not pass individual evaluation. There seem to be no plans afoot for the coming fall. Hallinan, before coming to Atlanta, had announced desegregation of Catholic schools next fall. No one I spoke with seemed to know the status of this or what will happen.

There seem to be woefully few forces for support in the white community. The Chamber of Commerce will do nothing. The Ministerial Association likewise; the Ministerial Association is completely inactive on such matters, so are the United Churchwomen, the YWCA, etc.. There are the usual group of well meaning liberal and sympathetic whites, some of them fairly well placed. Even more than in most Deep South cities, they seem to be out of touch with each other and with the Negro community. My contacts were as follows: 1. The Rev. Ben J. Glover, minister, AME Emanuel Church, 110 Calhoun Street, office phone: Raymond 2-2561, residence: Raymond 2-6301. Glover is President of the Charleston branch, NAACP. He appears to be an extremely able, sharp, balanced individual and the key Negro leader in Charleston at the moment. He impressed me as knowing exactly what he is doing and his work indicates a good degree of planning and organization. He is a sick man, suffering from hernia difficulties. Just prior to the boycott he returned from John Hopkins Hospital, where they wanted to hospitalize him for a year. He indicated he was "too busy" and came home. He recently told his friends he was giving himself three hours a day therapy because he could not afford the fees for therapy at the nearby hospital. All of this information came from others.

2. Esau Jenkins, chairman of the Citizens Committee. Jenkins is well known in the Civil Rights field. He is also a successful businessman, operating a motel and restaurant for Negroes in Charleston and several other restaurants on St. John's Island. He is from the Islands and has the difficult Island accent. He is a man of very little formal training, and this is somewhat evident in his manner of talk. He is a man of great heart and total commitment, surprisingly trusting and optimistic. He sees his role and that of the Citizens Committee as assuming greater importance than does Glover. The nearest thing he has to an office is the Registration Information Center at 41 Cannon Street, Telephone Number: Raymond 3-2908. His business is the J & T Cafe and Motel, Telephone Number: Raymond 2-9621.

3. Rabbi Burton Padoll, leader of the Reform Jewish Congregation, address of study: 90 Hazel Street; Office: Raymond 3-1090; Residence: 723-1086. Padoll is from Boston and has been in Charleston about one year. He worked hard on the interracial committee and has spoken on racial issues to his congregation.

He has received more criticism than support from within the congregation. He is currently somewhat discouraged and disillusioned. He feels that he has little influence anywhere, and is a little touchy that Negro leaders have not kept him closely informed since the boycott began. A young man, late thirties, he seems to be able and committed, somewhat impatient and idealistic.

4. Mrs Thomas Tobias (Rowena). Mrs. Tobias operates a public relations-advertising business at 121 Church Street, telephone number: Raymond 2-4438; Residence: Raymond 3-2414. Mrs. Tobias is Jewish, old Charleston, well placed in the business life of the city. She is fortish, vivacious, energetic, balanced, optimistic. Has well placed contacts throughout the white community and makes no secret of her views.

5. Herbert U. Fielding. Mr. Fielding is chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Negro PTA. He is a businessman, fairly affluent, operates a funeral home, etc. Considered, although fairly young, representative of the more conservative school of the Negro leadership, seeking accommodation, etc.. He is, however, working with the Citizens Committee on the Voter effort. He is quite defensive about a recent PTA project which resulted in the construction of a new Negro school because of over-crowding. Emphasizes that this was not because the PTA was opposed to desegregation, but...etc.

6. The Rev. William Kirkland, Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church in suburban Oakland, study telephone: Snow 6-6231, home: 766-3466. Kirkland is fortyish, quiet, extremely concerned, feels somewhat helpless. He is well thought of by Jenkins and Glover, seems not to know most of the other white liberals. Has been in Charleston less than a year. Indicates he would just as soon get out because of the repressive atmosphere which cuts across all fields. Was quite eager to talk with me. Suggested that some sort of one or two day workshop be organized quietly to pull together white and Negro leadership for some mutual planning and discussion with the help of outside consultants. I gave him encouragement on this. He will check it out with others. Was formerly in Milledgeville, Georgia, where he was involved with the Georgia Council and was smeared and isolated, he says, because of public identification with Guy Wells. Is anxious to make a greater contribution in Charleston if he could but see how.

NOTE TO LWD, AND FOR OFFICE USE ONLY:

The white liberals are generally not related to the South Carolina Council and not familiar with Alice Spearman. Several of them know of her somewhat vaguely. Mrs. Tobias is a member of SCCHR but does not take it very seriously. Alice is well and favorably known to all of the Negro leaders, who smile at her but respect and appreciate her. SCCHR is not strong or effective in the Charleston area, which was a major reason for my visit.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 4, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject:

Concerning my travel schedule for the balance of the summer:

1. June 11-13, Charleston, South Carolina
2. June 14-15, Pensacola, Florida. This is still uncertain.
3. June 25-26, New York.
4. July 7-12, Paris, et cetera.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 5, 1962

To: LWD From: PR

Subject:

I got a call from Jerry Miller, research man at SREB, with a possibility for our research post. Miller said he would send biographical data. I think the prospect sufficiently unlikely that we should not write until closer review of such data.

The man is Paul Gillen, a native, apparently, of Maryland; 57, ~~BA/&/and/MA~~ B.A. and M.A.: Johns Hopkins; Ph.D.: Columbia. He was ~~go~~ for six years an education management consultant and performed a survey at A.U., among other places. He has most recently been director of the Evening College at Fairleigh Dickenson, a very responsible adult education post. He has indicated an interest in coming South.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 22, 1962

To: LWD From: Pr

Subject: Field Report on Visit to Charleston, S.C., June 12-14.

JM
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LWD

cc: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Ben Muse

Contacts included Bill Kirkland, Episcopal minister, and the Rev. B. J. Glover, Chairman of the local branch, NAACP. New contacts included John Wrighten, 230 Coming Street, Negro attorney; de Rosset Mayers, 53 Broad Street, liberal white attorney; Dewey James and Jay Bass, editors of the West Ashley Journal in suburban Charleston; Morris Rosen, Corporation Counsel or City Attorney for Charleston, 45 Broad Street; and Gray Temple, Episcopal Bishop of South Carolina.

A school desegregation suit had been filed shortly before this trip. Although the suit has stirred wide-spread interest, there are no indications that the community is making any efforts to consider its future action. It is general expectation that the city will not be confronted with the need to act until the fall of '63 at the earliest. De Rosset Mayers, however, stated that he thought it not at all impossible that the courts might move with dispatch and require some desegregation this fall. The federal district judgeship in that area is currently vacant. Several persons indicated to me that they felt with Senator Olin Johnston's reelection, a "good" man would be appointed. There is a common belief that such a commitment was made some time ago.

My visit coincided with the election. There was general satisfaction among Negroes and white liberals in the results, particularly the reelection of Senator Johnston. I did meet some white liberals who had supported Maybank against the victor, Russell, in the governor's race. A most interesting thing about the governor's election was the surprisingly low vote received by Bethea, who ran a racist campaign.

The Negro boycott of King Street merchants seems to

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be proceeding as previously. Concessions by way of the employment of Negro personnel have been won from twelve King Street businesses. These include the West End Dairy, the Goodyear Tire Company, Sears Roebuck, Ward's Five and Ten Cent Store, Vane's Appliances; Kay Bee's, Moskins, The Shoe Box, Leon's Men's Wear, Kay's Drugs, the Farmers' Market, and the Piggly Wiggly Grocery Store. Rosen admitted to me that the merchants on King Street were "hurting," and had been talking among themselves in search of a solution. He indicated, however, that the boycott is causing very little stir in the city generally.

There is a general expectation among whites and Negroes that I met that the school crisis will not culminate in school closing or major disorders. Everyone seems to assume that the major powers of the city will rally to the law and order front at the proper time. An exception is Bishop Temple, who protests that he is new and inexperienced in Charleston, and who clearly expects major disorder and conflict over the school issue. He also said in passing that he expected that he and the clergy generally would be in the thick of the fight to save the schools. Bishop Temple spoke sadly of the "erosion of influence of the clergy in Charleston," a comment I had heard before. It is the Bishop's feeling that the campaign by the News and Courier and the rightists generally against meddling clergy and the National Council of Churches has rather effectively limited the influence of the clergy in Charleston.

Morris Rosen, Corporation Counsel for Charleston, is an affable, extroverted attorney of around 40. He seems to be widely respected in the city by all factions. He is at least a sophisticated moderate and quite possibly a liberal on race relations. He interprets the Mayor as being a very responsible and moderate man and points out that the Mayor refused a direct appeal by the Governor to arrest sitters-in on breach of peace charges. They were arrested on trespass charges. Rosen claims some credit for the peaceful desegregation of terminal facilities, indicating that he simply "advised the Mayor" that the law required the removal of discriminatory signs and the Mayor had them removed. He indicated that he and the Mayor would do all they could to gradually and carefully move along in compliance with the law.

It now appears that there were perhaps two interracial groups operating in Charleston some months ago or that they were perhaps two sections of the same over-all effort. It all seems somewhat fuzzy. The Rev. Bill Kirkland and an Episcopal minister named Ronald Woodruff were active

NA

in one committee, along with a Negro minister and others. This group seems not to have been the same group that Mrs. Tobias, Rabbi Padoll, and others were involved with. Padoll and Esau Jenkins, however, seem to have maintained liaison with both groups and they may have been two sub-committees of the same over-all effort. Even the participants are not sure. They did not, in fact, work together and Mrs. Tobias, for example, did not even know of the involvement of Mr. Kirkland. Kirkland and Glover and I talked about the problem of communications. Both Kirkland and Glover feel strongly that some effort should be made to initiate a new channel or to reorganize the older interracial group which was active some months ago. Glover was not involved in these earlier efforts, being sick at the time last fall. The two of them agreed to consider what initiatives they should take and in what way.

In talking to Dewey James and Jay Bass, of the West Ashley Journal, I was pleased to find them concerned and moderate. Their paper carried an editorial criticizing the news black-out of the News and Courier on the boycott matter. They have not personally had many contacts with Negro leadership. Both are fairly recent graduates of the school of journalism of the University of South Carolina. James worked last year on the News and Courier and tells interesting stories about the race policy of that paper. It seems, for example, that the word "Negro" can never be used in the News and Courier in the headlines unless employed in a favorable context. The paper's style sheet provides that white ministers are referred to as "the Rev. Mr. So and So.," Negro ministers as "Rev. So and So." The paper just recently used a picture of a Negro boy scout winning an award in the regular news section. This was a significant departure from tradition, according to James.

PR:mm

PR to HCF

Memo on Needs of S.O.S., New Orleans

During the current impasse in New Orleans the S.O.S. has been one of the very few groups within the white community which has been working to maintain public education in the city and to ameliorate the present tensions.

Organized during the spring of 1960, S.O.S. (Save Our Schools) is a group of several thousand white citizens of New Orleans working primarily to keep the schools open in New Orleans, and throughout Louisiana.

~~Throughout~~ During the New Orleans crisis S.O.S. has carried forward an energetic program. The activities of the organization have included educational activitiies through publications and mass media advertisements, and the sponsorship of public meetings. Leaders of the group have met repeatedly with the mayor, the police chief, the school board and members of the legislative delegation to urge constructive actions. Representatives of S.O.S. have been active in the lobbies during the many special sessions of the Louisiana legislature and have testified against extreme legislation before committees of both houses. The organization has issued interpretive statements to the media at the rate of three or four a week, reacting to rapidly moving developments. The group has also worked with many of the newsmen flooding into the city during recent months.

Responding to the white boycott of the two "desegregated" schools, members of S.O.S. continue to contact white parents in the area, urging that they return their children to the schools. For many weeks S.O.S. members personally drove the white children through the boycott lines to the William Franz School. S.O.S. subsequently requested that federal marshals escort the children and this has been done. S.O.S. continues to be the major contact agency for the families of the white children running the boycott and is administering a special "hardship fund" consisting of a few hundred dollars contributed from throughout the nation to assist these beleagured white people. These funds are not available,

of course, for the operational expenses of S.O.S.

In all probability, were it not for ~~xxxx~~ the efforts of this organization there would be a complete white boycott of both schools today.

As the crisis continues the work of S.O.S. is increasingly critical. As of the present time the organization is almost without funds. They hope to secure funds in the neighborhood of $5,000 to support the S.O.S. program during 1961. The organization has operated without any salaried or paid help so far and plans to continue on ~~xxxx~~ this basis although its president, Mrs. Mary Sand (Mrs. Norbert Sand) gives full time to the work as do several other officers. All funds made available to ~~xxx~~ S.O.S. will be spent directly on program activities.

During 1961 S.O.S. hopes to continue its educational and intepretive efforts in New Orleans. The group also plans to mount a campaign throughout the state by state-wide mailings and by sending several representatives ~~xx~~ to communities around the state to organize support and to interpret the present danger to the schools of the state. Mrs. Sand believes that the present ~~xx~~ dilemna cannot be solved without more indication of concern and support from outside of New Orleans. ~~The~~ S.O.S. hopes to eventually become a state-wide organization after the pattern of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools and HOPE in Georgia.

This need has been emphasized by recent desegregation orders for St. Helena and E. Baton Rouge parishes.

If as much as $5,000 can be secured S.O.S. plans to spend approximately $2,000 on ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the development of materials, and on educational efforts in New Orleans, ~~and on lobbying activities if the legislature continues to meet in additional special sessions.~~

The remaining $3,000 would be directed at state-wide mailings, some advertising in rural papers, and to provide expenses for field representatives, volunteers, who would travel throughout Louisiana.

S.O.S. has raised approximately $5,000 on its own to date, within New Orleans, but fundraising comes harder as the ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ crisis becomes commonplace and the group sees little liklihood of finding major local funds this year. It is hoped that some activity out in the state will eventually result in financial support from several communities.

July 15, 1959

Dr. Tinsley L. Spraggins
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Dr. Spraggins:

I very much appreciate your thinking of me as a possible speaker at the annual session of the Negro History Association October 15-17. I believe that my qualifications to speak on the subject indicated may be open to considerable doubt but I am very interested and will be happy to participate in the meeting.

Congratulations on the heads up campaign which you operated in behalf of Tom Henderson. As I dictate this letter the election day is not yet over and I will be searching the headlines eagerly tomorrow. As I left Richmond I felt that his campaign was gaining momentum and that he had a very real chance of election. The bulletin on the election being circulated by the Public School Committee in Richmond will, I believe, help Tom"s chances. The results will be known by the time you receive this, but good luck.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

October 13, 1953

Mr Frederick B Routh
P O Box 505
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Fred:

Mike Ross tells me I am coming down to your territory November ten. Let's get together and buy us some devilled crab!

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA
P. O. Box 505

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS

October 9, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 12
Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you many times for the various notes I have received from you in the past few weeks. We have just gotten to the place in our class room work where it is possible to sit down for five minutes and think through a fairly logical answer.

Your secretary-treasurer, Katherine Stoney, asked for the address of the Young Georgian so you could send the subscription to the New South to my friends. You might address that to the

Young Georgian
135 East Cloverhurst Avenue
Athens, Georgia.

Would you please send us 25 copies of "Questions & Answers, the Schools and the Courts," at the special discount you offered of twelve cents per copy. Bill us for this and we will send you a check in return.

We certainly appreciated seeing you this summer and being a guest in your home. My best to your spouse and good luck in the work the council is doing. Let us hear from you regularly on all new projects, and if there is any way we can help, please let us know.

Your rebel friend,

Fred -

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Professor
Human Relations Dept.

FR/rg

Send 10/12/53

Filed 3.00
Po. 39

Pp New Secretary - Earnes corrections
7.

September 23, 1954
(Dictated September 21)

MEMORANDUM

TO: Staff
FROM: GSM

I have, today, asked Fred Routh to add to his duties the responsibility for final review of the procedural issues to the field. He will collate existing and fresh issues of such material; make some distinctive arrangement for field use of procedural material as, say, a manual or pinky-purple paper; be responsible for obtaining the initials, in advance, of all interested parties before the material is presented to me for signature; and make recommendations for procedural materials for gaps which he and others may perceive in our structure of field relations.

Katherine Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, retains the independent power to issue strictly financial material, but I would appreciate the opportunity to put my name on major out-going issues. And anything except quite minor financial procedural material should be initialed by Fred Routh for consistency with all other field issues.

This arrangement has been made in Miss Stoney's absence, and is subject to Miss Stoney's review and/or alteration.

HCF
FBR
GTH
KS
MET
AH
GSM

March 11, 1955

TO: FRED ROUTH

I nominate you for Executive responsible for the Young Adult Program for the SRC.

NAIRO BOARD MEETING
April 22-23, 1955

NAIRO Board Meeting in Washington took place on April 22-23 and FBR, as chairman of the Southern Division, attended. The plans for the annual meeting to be held in Milwaukee, November 30-December 1 and 2, were firmed up.

Considerable interest was expressed in that fact that our state directors were joining and that this gave more widespread representation from the South than NAIRO has had prior to this time.

I reported on the work of our state organizations and of the central office to the group and out of this came a request for an article on the changing South for the NAIRO REPORTER. This I shall proceed to do.

The overall effect of the meeting was good. There was a harmonious and democratic relationship among the members present and it is to the advantage of SRC to have representation on the Board and to have our state people as members.

Frederick B. Routh

FBR:rnf

FBR

June 8, 1955

Mr. John G. Feild, Sec.
N.A.I.R.O.
565 N. Erie Street
Toledo 2, Ohio

Dear John:

Thank you for thinking of me in regard to that opening as Executive Director of the mid-western municipal agency.

I must admit that the salary of $8,700 is a very enticing tidbit and the fact that there is a staff of two and an assistant director adds to the desirablilty of the job.

However, it would be impossible for me to consider leaving SRC at this time. I believe the work in the South as a result of the Supreme Court decision is the most important in the nation for here we are in the very crucible of democracy testing whether old customs and well established mores can give way to due process and new behavior patterns. The chief problem which faces any democratic society is the relationship of minority groups to the society itself and I believe my greatest contribution at this time can be made down here.

Another couple of years I might be interested in going up North to work but at the present time of great social transition here in the South I feel it is my duty to remain and to assist that transition in peaceful, constructive ways to a fully integrated democratic society.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR:rnf

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

6 Sept 55

To: GSM

Subj: Expedition of correspondence.

I believe it would greatly facilitate the job of correspondence if we had a dictaphone or some similar piece of equipment.

Letters could then be dictated even when a secretary is not available at the moment, thus saving some of the delays that now occur.

cc: RHA

FBR

F. B. Routh —

Program

of the

TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

of the

FLORIDA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

In Recognition of the

Founding Fathers of the Academy

Meeting in Joint Session

with

Florida Junior Academy of Science

FLORIDA ACADEMY of SCIENCES 1936

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA

DECEMBER 8-10, 1955

Pg. 9 paper #66

Norman Christensen
New South

OFFICERS OF THE FLORIDA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES FOR 1955

President, Joseph C. Moore, Everglades National Park.

President-elect, H. K. Wallace, University of Florida.

Secretary-Treasurer, R. A. Edwards, University of Florida.

Editor, J. C. Dickinson, University of Florida.

Chairman, Physical Sciences Section, Harry Robertson, University of Miami.

Chairman, Biological Sciences Section, Ralph N. Yerger, Florida State University.

Chairman, Social Sciences Section, Burke Vanderhill, Florida State University.

Chairman, Medical Sciences Section, Murray Sanders, University of Miami.

Council Members-at-large, Grace Madsen, Florida State University; J. P. Lesperance, University of Miami.

Chairman, Local Arrangements Committee, W. Henry Leigh, University of Miami.

REGISTRATION

The registration desk will be open in the corridor of the Wesley Foundation from 8:00 A. M. until 4:00 P. M., Friday, and from 8:00 A. M. until noon, Saturday.

MEETING PLACES

All General Sessions will be held in the Auditorium of the Wesley Foundation. The Thursday Evening Informal Social Meeting will also be held at the Wesley Foundation. The Physical Science Section meetings will be held in the Hillel Foundation and Lowe Gallery. Biological Science Section meetings will be held in the Lowe Gallery. Social Science Sections will be held in Wesley Foundation. Medical Science Sections will be held in the Hillel Foundation. Collegiate Division meetings will be held in the Hillel Foundation. The Junior Academy meetings wil be held in Beaumont Lecture Hall.

ACCOMMODATIONS

The following motels and hotels are those closest to the campus. Please make your own reservations as soon as possible and mention attendance at the Florida Academy Meetings when making reservations. Rates are given in dollars per room per day. Distance from campus in miles is given after the hotel name.

Jamaica Motel,, 4601 S. W. 8th St. (U.S. 41), 3 miles, single, $6.00-$8.00; double, twin beds, $8.00; double beds, 3 persons, $9.00; 4 persons, $10.00.

Trade Winds Motel, 4525 S. W. 8th St. (U.S. 41), 3 miles, single, $6.00-$8.00; double, twin beds, $6.00; double beds, 3 persons ,$7.00; 4 persons, $8.00.

Riviera Court Motel, 600 S. Dixie Hwy. (U.S. 1), 1 mile, single, $6.00-$9.00; double, twin beds, $8.00-$9.00; double beds, 3 persons, $9.00-$10.00; 4 persons, $10.00-$11.00.

University Court Motel, 1390 S. Dixie Hwy. (U.S. 1), 0.5 mile,

single, $7.50-$11.00; double, twin beds, $9.00-$11.00; double beds, 3 persons, $10.00-$12.00; 4 persons, $11.00-$13.00.

Antilla Hotel, Ponce de Leon Blvd., Coral Gables, 3 miles, single, $3.50 (without bath); double, twin beds, $8.00; double beds, 3 persons, $12.00.

Sevilla Hotel, Ponce de Leon Blvd., Coral Gables, 2.5 miles, single, $4.00; double, twin beds, $6.00; double beds, 3 persons, $7.00.

The following are some of the hotels in downtown Miami, 6-8 miles from the campus.

Lindsey Hopkins Hotel, 1410 N. E. 2nd Ave., single, $3.50; double, twin beds, $5.00.

Alcazar Hotel, 500 Biscayne Blvd., single, $4.00; double, $6.00; double, twin beds, $7.00-$9.00.

McAllister Hotel, 10 Biscayne Blvd., single, $5.00-$7.00; double, $8.00-$10.00; twin beds, $9.00-$12.00.

FOOD AND DRINK SERVICE

University Cafeteria, breakfast, 7:30–9:00; lunch, 10:00–2:00; dinner, 4:30–8:00.

University Soda Shop, 11:00 A. M.–10:00 P. M.

ANNUAL BANQUET

The Annual Banquet of the Florida Academy of Sciences will be held in the University Cafeteria at 8:00 P. M., Friday, December 9. The tickets are $2.25 each and should be purchased at the registration desk before noon Friday.

OVERALL MEETING SCHEDULE AND ROOM ASSIGNMENTS

Thursday, December 8

6:30 P.M. Dinner Meeting of the Council, University Cafeteria.

8:00 P.M. Informal Social Meeting, Refreshments, Wesley Foundation.

Friday, December 9

8:00 A.M. Registration, Wesley Foundation.

8:30 A.M. Physical Sciences Section, Hillel Foundation.

8:45 A.M. Biological Science Section, Lowe Gallery.

9:00 A.M. Social Sciences Section, Wesley Foundation Auditorium.

8:45 A.M. Medical Sciences Section, Hillel Foundation.

11:00 A.M. General Session, Wesley Foundation Auditorium.

1:00 P.M. Physical Science Section, Hillel Foundation.

1:00 P.M. Biological Sciences Section, Lowe Gallery.

1:00 P.M. Social Sciences Section A, Wesley Foundation Auditorium.

1:30 P.M. Social Sciences Section B, Wesley Foundation Drawing Room.

1:00 P.M. Medical Sciences Section, Hillel Foundation.

3:15 P.M. Annual Business Meeting, Auditorium, Wesley Foundation.

8:00 P.M. Banquet, University Cafeteria.

Saturday, December 10

8:30 A.M. Physical Sciences Section, Lowe Gallery.

8:30 A.M. Social Sciences Section, Wesley Foundation Auditorium.

10:30A.M. General Session, Wesley Foundation Auditorium.

2:00 P.M. Boat Trip to the Gulf Stream on Marine Laboratory Vessel.

2:00 P.M. Tour of Seaquarium on Virginia Key at special rate.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8

8:00 P.M. Informal Social Evening, with refreshments. Wesley Foundation Auditorium.

FRIDAY MORNING

8:00 A.M., Registration Wesley Foundation

Biological Sciences Section, Lowe Gallery

Presiding: Luis Rene Rivas, University of Miami

1. 8:45 A.M. Notes on Geographical Distribution of Rhamnaceae. Elmer C. Prichard, Stetson University.
2. 8:55 A.M. Puerto Rican Cyanophyta. Luis R. Almodovar, Florida State University.
3. 9:05 A.M. Notes on Subtropical, Calcareous Blue-Green Algae. Ronald C. Phillips, Florida State University.
4. 9:15 A.M. Subtropical Stigonemataceae. C. S. Nielsen, Florida State University.
5. 9:25 A.M. Removal of Mold Mycelium from the Surface of Solid Culture Media. Gordon D. Hartman, Southern Bio-Research Laboratory, Florida Southern College.
6. 9:35 A.M. A Study of the Effects of Salty Irrigation Water on Microbiological Nitrification in Mineral Soils. G. W. Thompson and S. N. Edson, University of Florida.
7. 9:45 A.M. The Effect of Hydrogenized Fish Oils on the Burrowing Nematode, *Radopholus similis* (Cobb) Thorne, and other Citrus Nematodes. Boris Sokoloff, Isidor Chamelin, William Lyle, Gordon Hartman, William Hendry, and Maxwell Simpson, Southern Bio-Research Laboratory and Florida Southern College.
8. 10:10 A.M. *Pectinatella magnifica* in Phosphate Pits and Lakes of Florida. R. S. Kiser and J. C. Ireland, Florida Southern College.
9. 10:00 A.M. Effects of *in Vitro* Administration of Triiodothyronine on Surviving Liver Slices. A. Kurt Weiss, University of Miami School of Medicine.

10. 10:25 A.M. Synthesis of Enzymes *in Vivo* and *in Vitro*. Earl Frieden and E. Younathan, Florida State University.

11. 10:40 A.M. Agglutination of Sperm by Fertilizing in the Starfish, *Asterias forbesii*. Charles B. Metz and John B. Morrill, Jr., Florida State University.

FRIDAY MORNING

Medical Sciences Section, Hillel Foundation
Presiding: Murray Sanders, University of Miami

12. 8:45 A.M. Differential Uptake of Radioactive Organic Compounds by Tumor and Non-Tumor Bearing Mice. Diagnostic Possibilities. F. E. Ray, University of Florida.

13. 9:00 A.M. The Pathogenesis of Atherosclerosis (Recent Concepts). Robert J. Boucek, Miami Heart Institute.

14. 9:15 A.M. Variability of Cellular Reaction to Virus. M. Sigel and Annie R. Beasley, University of Miami.

15. 9:30 A.M. Treatment of Salmonellosis Determined by the Strip Gradient Technique. I. Bacteriologic Technique. M. M. Streitfeld, National Children's Cardiac Hospital.

15a. 9:40 A.M. Treatment of Salmonellosis Determined by the Strip Gradient Technique. II. Clinical Correlations. M. S. Saslaw, National Children's Cardiac Hospital.

16. 9:50 A.M. Arteriovenous Shunts in the Pulmonary Circulation. Gordon C. Ring, University of Miami.

17. 10:00 A.M. Rabbit Antibody Response to Rat Gastric Mucosa. Angeline H. Elder, University of Florida.

18. 10:15 A.M. Serial Transplants of HS-1 (human sarcoma) in Fischer Rats. Veronica Armaghan, University of Miami.

19. 10:25 A.M. Studies of the Antigenicity of Soluble Proteins of Subtropic Pollens. Lillian Fly, University of Miami.

FRIDAY MORNING

Physical Sciences Section, Hillel Foundation Auditorium
Topic: Solid State Physics
Presiding: Harry S. Robertson, University of Miami

20. 8:30 A.M. The Cohesive Energy of Potassium. Sam Berman, Joseph Gallaway and Roger D. Woods, University of Miami.

21. 8:45 A.M. Relativistic Corrections to the Cohesive Energy of Potassium. V. Sirounian and J. Callaway, University of Miami.

22. 9:00 A.M. Conductivity of Metals at Low Temperatures. Axel Meyer, University of Florida.

23. 9:15 A.M. The Semi-Classical Magnetic Solid. Harry A. Brown, University of Miami.

24. 9:30 A.M. Symmetry Methods for Simplifying Complex Problems in Physics and Chemistry. M. A. Melvin, Florida State University.

25. 9:45 A.M. Energy Bands in Solids. Joseph Callaway, University of Miami.

26. 10:15 A.M. Ferro-, Ferri-, and Antiferro - magnetism. Harry A. Brown, University of Miami.

FRIDAY MORNING

Social Sciences Section, Wesley Foundation Auditorium
Symposium on Man and Land
Presiding: Burke Vanderhill, Florida State University

27. 9:00 A.M. The Social Climate of Rice Culture in Valencia and Seville, Spain. Raymond E. Crist, University of Florida.

28. 9:15 A.M. Farming in the Ten Thousand Islands in the 1880's. Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami.

29. 9:30 A.M. A Survey of Water Resource Use in the Tampa Bay Area: 1500-1955. James W. Covington, University of Tampa.

30. 9:45 A.M. Jacksonville and Miami: Urban Contrasts in Florida. Donald R. Dyer, University of Florida.

31. 10:00 A.M. The Coastal Climates of Lower Peninsular Florida. William H. Pierson, University of Florida.

32. 10:05 A.M. The Effect of Weather on Crime, Using the Tallahessee Area, for the Year 1954. Ernest P. LaRoche and G. Louis Tillery, Florida State University.

FRIDAY MORNING

General Session, Wesley Foundation Auditorium

Presiding: Joseph C. Moore, President, Florida Academy of Sciences, Everglades National Park

33. 11:00 A.M. Botanical Glimpses of Southern Africa. R. W. Godfrey, Florida State University.

34. 11:30 A.M. Coastal Morphology and Coastal Protection with Special Reference to Florida. Per Bruun, University of Florida.

35. 11:45 A.M. Research Flights into Hurricanes During the 1955 Season. Noel E. LaSeur and Werner A. Baum, Florida State University.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Biological Sciences Section, Lowe Gallery

Presiding: J. C. Dickinson, University of Florida

36. 1:00 P.M. The Effect of Genetic Structure Upon the Exploratory Behavior of Rats. Richard M. Carr and Carl D. Williams, University of Miami.

37. 1:15 P.M. Variability in Wild and Inbred Mammalian Populations. Robert S. Bader, University of Florida.

38. 1:30 P.M. Additional Records on the Geographical Distribution of the Various Varieties of *Paramecium caudatum*. Lauren C. Gilman, University of Miami.

39. 1:45 P.M. Method of Measuring and Counting in Billfishes (Istiophoridae, Xiphiidae). Luis Rene Rivas, University of Miami.

40. 1:55 P.M. Reproduction of the Florida Spotted Gar in South Florida. Burton P. Hunt, University of Miami.

41. 2:05 P.M. A Study of the Movements, Home Range, and Growth of the River-Swamp Frog, *Rana heckscheri* Wright. Keith L. Hansen, Stetson University.

42. 2:20 P.M. Extinct Passerine Birds from the Pleistocene of Reddick, Florida. Pierce Brodkorb, University of Florida.

43. 2:32 P.M. An Aberrant Color Phase of the Seminole Bat, *Lasiurus seminolus*. H. B. Sherman, University of Florida (Retired).

44. 2:42 P.M. A Problem of Communication in Biology. Wilfred T. Neill, Ross Allen Reptile Institute.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Medical Sciences Section, Hillel Foundation

Presiding: Murray Sanders, University of Miami

45. 1:00 P.M. The Effect of 2-Deoxy-Glucose and Related Compounds on Experimental Cancer. Boris Sokoloff, Judith Beach, I. Chamelin, Florida Southern College.

46. 1:15 P.M. Fascioliases Hepatica as an Epidemic Disease. Rogelio Arenas, University of Havana.

47. 1:25 P.M. Elimination of an Experimental Tumor by *in vivo* Chemotherapy. Doris McKenzie and Marion L. Stevens, University of Miami.

48. 1:35 P.M. Electron Microscopy of Biological Tissues. Martin P. Jaggi, University of Florida.

49. 1:45 P.M. An Unusual Virus Isolated from a Human Encephalomyelitis. Eloy Padron, University of Havana.

50. 1:55 P.M. Induction of Skin Tumors in the Mouse with Trace Amounts of Carcinogen. Michael Klein, University of Florida.

51. 2:05 P.M. The Effect of a High Nucleic Acid Diet on the Occurrence of Acetylamino-fluorene-induced Cancer in Rats. Wilhelmina F. Dunning and Mamie R. Curtis, University of Miami.

52. 2:15 P.M. An Anti-viral Activity of a Certain Factor Present in Citrus Fruit. Boris Sokoloff and I. Chamelin, Florida Southern College.

53. 2:25 P.M. Poliomyelitis: Progress? Murray Sanders, University of Miami.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Physical Sciences Section, Hillel Foundation Auditorium

Presiding: Harry S. Robertson, University of Miami

54. 1:00 P.M. The Oil of the Juniperus Virginiana. H. B. Huddle, University of Miami.

55. 1:15 P.M. Equilibrium and Reaction Rate Constants. J. E. Hawkins, University of Florida.

56. 1:30 P.M. The Chemical Reactions with Liquid Alkanes High Energy Hydrogen (H3) Produced by Nuclear Reaction. Richard Wolfgang, Florida State University and Brookhaven National Laboratory.

57. 1:45 P.M. The Hydrogen Atom as a Perturbed Harmonic Oscillator. M. A. Melvin and N. V. V. J. Swamy, Florida State University.

58. 2:00 P.M. Business Meeting and Election of Chairman.

59. 2:15 P.M. Conformal Relativity. M. A. Melvin and J. Boardman, Florida State University.

60. 2:30 P.M. The Method of Calculation of the Concentrations of the Various Species in Dilute Aqueous Solutions. Alfred P. Mills, University of Miami.

61. 2:45 P.M. The Calculation of the PH of 10^{-5} molal NH_4CN. Alfred P. Mills, University of Miami.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Social Sciences Section A. Wesley Foundation Reading Room

Symposium on Social Issues and Problems in Florida

Presiding: T. Stanton Dietrich, Florida State University

62. 1:00 P.M. The Health of the Aged in Florida. Irving L. Webber, University of Florida.

63. 1:15 P.M. Orientation to the Study of Social Adjustment Problems of Teen-agers. Mell H. Atchley, University of Florida.

64. 1:27 P.M. Migrant Families in Florida. Margaret C. Bristol, Florida State University and Florida Children's Commission.

65. 1:42 P.M. Offerings of the Social Sciences to ~~Federal~~ Future Policy Making in Florida Corrections. Vernon Fox, Florida State University.

66. 1:57 P.M. Changing Patterns in the South. Frederick B. Routh, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

67. 2:07 P.M. Ethnic Differences in Authoritarian Potentials. Charles U. Smith, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, and James W. Prothro, Florida State University.

68. 2:22 P.M. Social and Personal Implications of Marital and Family Behavior in Florida: A Transitional Problem. Bruce Thomason, University of Florida.

69. 2:37 P.M. A Study of the Relationships between Ideologies held by Undergraduates and their So-

cial Backgrounds. Carl D. Williams and Jack A. Kapchan, University of Miami.
Discussion Period.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Social Sciences Section B, Wesley Foundation Auditorium
Symposium on Resource Policy and Administration

Presiding: J. H. McMurry, Florida State University

70. 1:30 P.M. The Control of Florida's Water Resources. W. Turner Wallis, Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District.

71. 1:45 P.M. The Water Resources of Florida. A. P. Black, University of Florida.

72. 2:00 P.M. Administration of Wildlife and Fresh Water Fisheries Resources in Florida. O. E. Frye, Jr., Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission.

73. 2:15 P.M. Florida's Forestry Program. C. Huxley Coulter, Florida Forest Service.

74. 2:30 P.M. Some Problems of Administering Florida's Resources. J. H. McMurry and D. E. Christensen, Florida State University.
Discussion Period.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

General Session, Wesley Foundation Auditorium

Presiding: Joseph C. Moore, President, Florida Academy of Sciences, Everglades National Park

75. 3:00 P.M. Why is the Number of Science Students Not Increasing? J. E. Hawkins, University of Florida.

3:15 P.M. Annual Business Meeting.

FRIDAY EVENING

8:00 P.M. Banquet, University Cafeteria.
Address of Welcome, Dr. Jay F. W. Pearson, President, University of Miami.
Recognition of Founding Fathers.
Presidential Address, Dr. Joseph C. Moore.

SATURDAY MORNING

Physical Sciences Section, Lowe Gallery

Presiding: M. A. Melvin, Florida State University

76. 8:30 A.M. The Use and Expression of Small Units of Time. Howard D. Allen.

77. 8:45 A.M. Motion Study in the United States. J. P. Lesperance, University of Miami.

78. 9:00 A.M. Elimination of Electrolytic Noise from Acoustic Hydrophones. W. D. Ploughe, University of Florida.

79. 9:15 A.M. A Variational Procedure for Classical Scattering Theory. M. M. Gordon, University of Florida.

80. 9:30 A.M. Frictional Oscillations. Harry S. Robertson, University of Miami.

81. 9:45 A.M. An Electron Model of a High-Energy Accelerator. Donald L. Lafferty, University of Florida.

82. 10:00 A.M. Phase Contrast Studies of Flames. M. J. Saunders and A. G. Smith, University of Florida.

83. 10:15 A.M. Geometry and Inter-action Potentials. Richard C. Bourret, University of Miami.

SATURDAY MORNING

Social Sciences Section, Wesley Foundation Auditorium
Symposium on Latin America

Presiding: A. Curtis Wilgus, University of Florida

84. 8:30 A.M. An International Dispute Concerning the Florida Keys. Charles F. Arnade, University of Tampa.

85. 8:45 A.M. An Instant: Vuelta Abajo Region, Cuba. Luella N. Dambaugh, University of Miami.

86. 9:00 A.M. Yanqui Diplomats in Argentina. Calvin J. Billman, Florida State University.

87. 9:15 A.M. Providing a Climate for Foreign Investments in Latin America. Murray W. Shields, University of Florida.

88. 10:00 A.M. An Adventure in Geography. Ray Gildea, Jr., University of Florida.
Discussion Period.

SATURDAY MORNING

General Session, Wesley Foundation Auditorium

Presiding: Joseph C. Moore, President, Florida Academy of Sciences, Everglades National Park

89. 10:30 A.M. Facing Some of Man's Distant Relations. Samuel Rabkin, Winter Park, Florida.

90. 10:45 A.M. Methodological Implications of Campus Studies of Ideology, Social Background, and Impact of Higher Education. Jack A. Kapchan and Carl O. Williams, University of Miami.

91. 11:00 A.M. Forty-Mile Bend Oil Field, Dade County, Florida. J. E. Banks and W. L. Roberts, Coastal Petroleum Company.

92. 11:15 A.M. Amphibians and Reptiles of Florida (color slides) Lewis D. Ober, Lakeland High School.

93. 11:30 A.M. Movie in Sound and Color of University of Miami Marine Laboratory Activities.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

FIELD TRIPS

Sign up at the registration desk as soon as possible for one or the other of these two trips.

2:00 P.M. Trip to Gulf Stream on University of Miami Marine Laboratory Vessel "Gerda".

2:00 P.M. Trip to Seaquarium at Virginia Key at special rates of $.50 for collegiate members and $1.10 senior members. These rates are one-half the usual rate and are effective only if members enter as a group.

COLLEGIATE DIVISION

President, William S. Brewton, University of Miami.

Vice President, Maxwell S. Simpson, Florida Southern College.

Secretary, Charles B. Mutter, University of Miami.
Collegiate Division Sponsor, Dr. R. S. Kiser, Florida Southern College.

Local Chairman, Dr. Luella Dambaugh, University of Miami.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9

Collegiate Division Program, Hillel Foundation Meeting Room

Presiding: William S. Brewton, University of Miami

1. 8:45 A.M. Execution and Implementation of a Public Relations Program. Philip Adler, Jr., University of Miami.
2. 9:00 A.M. Crotalaria vs. Nematodes. William S. Brewton, University of Miami.
3. 9:15 A.M. Tissue Culture Techniques in Growing Molds. Maxwell S. Simpson, Fla. Southern College.
4. 9:30 A.M. Preserving Food by Means of Radiation. Sylvia Lee, University of Miami.
5. 9:45 A.M. Discussion of Vital Organs. George R. Baldwin, Florida Southern College.
6. 10:00 A.M. A Close-up Look in the World of Small Animals. Winifred B. Woodward, Florida Southern College.

10:15 A.M. Business Meeting.

11:00 A.M. Attend General Session in Wesley Foundation if desired.

7. 1:30 P.M. Title to be announced. Henry R. Weinstock, University of Tampa.
8. 1:45 P.M. Transmutation. Lucky Roscoe, University of Miami.
9. 2:00 P.M. Title to be announced. Thomas P. Bennett, Florida State University.
10. 2:15 P.M. The Butterfield Cannina Company: An Economic-geographical Survey. Dale Fidel. Paper read by Al Larson, University of Miami.

11. 2:30 P.M. Social Inheritance of Biological Regression. William S. Brewton, University of Miami.

3:00 P.M. Attend General Session in Wesley Foundation if desired.

FLORIDA JUNIOR ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

State Coordinator, Miss Louise Williams, Lakeland High School.

Local Chairman, Mrs. Lois Allsworth, Miami Beach High School.

President, Sam Westbrook, Tate High School, Gonzalez, Florida.

Vice President, Roderick Gerwe, Lakeland Senior High School, Lakeland, Florida.

Secretary-Treasurer, Bill Dean, Leon High School, Tallahassee, Florida.

FRIDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 9

1. **Register at Zoology Laboratory.**
2. **Set up exhibits in Botany, Zoology and Physics Laboratories.**
3. **Attend sessions of Senior Academy.**

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

1:00 P.M. Assemble for field trips to points of interest in the Greater Miami area.

7:00 P.M. Banquet (Informal) at Coral Gables High School.

8:30 - 11:00 Dance at Coral Gables High School.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10

8:30 A.M. General Assembly, Beaumont Lecture Hall, Memorial Classroom Building.
Papers and Demonstrations.

10:00 A.M. Recess. Delegate Assembly.

10:30 A.M. Papers and Demonstrations.

11:30 A.M. Miss Louise Williams, presiding. Awards, Installations of New Officers.

BRING THIS PROGRAM WITH YOU.

THE COUNCIL, THE SOUTH, AND THE FUTURE

December 12, 1955 Fred Routh

The decade now ending has been a period of accelerated change for the South; SRC has played an important role in assisting the region and its people to adjust to this change. Recently SRC has completed the first phase of a vastly expanded program in the South: the setting up of human relations agencies in the twelve states of the area. These agencies have needed considerable aid and assistance from the central office, not only financially, but organisationally and program-wise as well. Today and tomorrow these organizations face and will face the necessity of assisting communities in their respective states to meet the challenge of desegregation and integration. They, along with religious, educational, and business institutions and organized labor, have looked and will continue to look to SRC for guidance.

Thus, the first question to be answered by any organization which asks, "What of the future?" has received an affirmative reply. Is there a need for the continued services of the Southern Regional Council ? YES ! If the past decade can be referred to as the "decade of accelerated change" the coming decade may well be referred to as the "era of jet-propelled transition." And the needs of the state organizations, the region, and the people for constructive guidance will be multiplied not lessened. The South is well on its way back into the main stream of the nation's life. There are strong forces however, out of the past, which work to keep the South isolated.

The Council would be grossly negligent, indeed foolhardy if it fails to assist the forces of progress in the South in the coming decade. Its program must be expanded, not constricted nor terminated, if we are to work out constructive transition.

At the time the grant from the Fund For the Republic expires we may expect that desegregation in the schools will be well under way in some of the Southern states but it is almost beyond hope that much change will have taken place in Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, or Mississippi. There will be work still to be done by a regional office to assist the state organizations to help bring about compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

The trend of recent Supreme Court decisions is toward holding un-Constitutional the expenditure of public funds for segregated facilities or services. I.C.C. rulings demand non-segregation in inter-state transportation and in terminal and depot facilities. The President's Committee on Government Contracts is working to end discrimination and segregation in all plants which have contracts with the federal government. Organized labor is united as never before and this gigantic force is seeking an end to discrimination and segregation in its locals. As big business and industry move into the South new demands for conformity to the national pattern will be felt even more.

The demands for change on the part of the South are multiplying; they are many times what they were only months ago. To assist the South and its people through this period of transition there is a need for an integrated organization which has had experience in assisting social change and has earned the confidence of both white and colored people.

There is in the South today only one organization which meets all of these requirements; The Southern Regional Council. A joint planning committee composed of representatives of the Board, the central staff, the

state staffs, and competent social scientists should sit down together to examine the needs of the South in the continuing adjustment and to plan how the Council may help fill those needs. Its future must not rest on the continuation of funds from one source, no matter how generous. A well organized, far-seeing finance committee is a must. A professionally competent program planning committee is a must. An adequate professional consultant service is a must. A well trained professional staff is a must. A dedicated Board of Directors is a must.

If the Council really cares about the South of the future toward which it has worked, then it has work yet to do. Let it never be claimed that the leaders of SRC said, as did Louis XV,

"Apres moi le deluge."

January 20, 1956

FORCES OF PROGRESS

Frederick B. Routh

The South, sometimes called the well spring of democracy, is experiencing more than a trickle, less than a flood tide of that precious fluid; either in-spite of itself or because of itself the region is being channelled into the main stream of American life. There are obstacles to the progress which cannot be ignored but the buoys and markers of that progress are evident. The good pilot knows the tides and the channel markings.

THE CHURCHES speak for Integration. The three great Faiths of America, through their organizational institutions, have all advocated compliance with the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Every major Protestant de-nomination in the South has spoken out commending the decisions. The Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in June 1954, said in part: "We recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men." The North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church said, "We believe our people should face the practical phases of this de-cision with the courage, poise and maturity of law-abiding citizens." The Pres-byterian Church, US (Southern) proclaimed, "That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics..." The Church Women of the South are again play-ing the role of shock troops for Social Justice. How different is this from the period just prior to the Civil War when the clergy of the South, with some excep-tions, not only condoned but indeed commended the institution of slavery as "God-ordained."

The FEDERAL GOVERNMENT speaks for Integration. The arbiter of the law in the American system of government is the Supreme Court of the United States. In two historic decisions, May 17th, 1954, and May 31st, 1955 it declared segregation

in the public schools on the basis of race unconstitutional. The District and Circuit Courts have been instructed to carry out these decisions as cases in equity. It is helpful here to recall an important rule in equity proceedings, "That which you are prohibited from doing directly you may not do indirectly." The full weight of the judicial power of the federal government stands irrevocably on the side of integration.

The Executive branch of the Federal Government has been explicit in its demands for equality of citizenship of all its people. Executive orders have all but ended segregation in the Armed Forces of the nation. Efforts are being made to secure off-base recreation centers for the men on a nonsegregated basis. The President's Committee on Government Contracts is not without dentures. It seeks to end discrimination in hiring, firing, and up-grading personnel employed by firms who have contracts with the Federal Government. The President of the United States in his State of the Union Message of 1956 said in part, "It is disturbing that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures. I recommend that the substance of these charges be thoroughly examined..." The two avowed candidates for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency have spoken on this issue too. Mr. Stevenson said in a press interview, "The decisions of the Supreme Court are the law of the land and the matter of the desegregation of the schools has been removed from the political arena and disposed of by the judiciary." Mr. Kefauver has said, "The Supreme Court was unanimous in its opinion against forced segregation in public schools, It is a local problem that must be worked out with time and patience...it is the law of the land." The Vice President of the United States held a conference with leading industrialists to secure their cooperation in employment by merit.

The United States Department of State has recognized the international implications of the rulings. Numerous spokesmen for the Department have proclaimed

that the decisions are the best answer to Communist charges that the United States is only a white man's democracy.

Organized LABOR is on the side of integration. Both the CIO and the AF of L were on record as commending the Supreme Court decisions. The recent merger of organized labor has strengthened the hand of labor. The Atlanta Journal of Nov. 10 reported that George Meany had said that hundreds of thousands of persons are denied essential human rights because of their color; he termed it a matter of national shame. Segregation is incompatible with an industrial society; Emile Rieve, president of the Textile Workers of America said in Charlotte, N.C.on November 11th that the merger would have a strong effect in the sections of the country where organized labor is the weakest and cited the South and Southern textile industries as such an area. Segregation, though disappearing slowly, is disappearing from union locals in compliance with the charters of the Internationals to which they belong.

THE MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATIONS on the National level ~~is~~ are having a profound influence on the mind of the South. The national magazines have had a series of articles on the Supreme Court decisions, on the Negro in American Life, on school desegregation and on the practices of racism in the South. Life reported on integration in Hoxie, Arkansas which produced local problems but drew the nation's attention to the problem. Because this was a "national" problem increased interest was taken in seeing the case through. Collier's ran two articles by Allan Paton famed author of Cry the Beloved Country, on the Negro in the South and the North. The Saturday Evening Post carried an article by Hodding Carter, SRC Board member. Look recently featured an exposé on the infamous Till case. The national press, particularly the New York Times has kept news about developments in the South, both good and bad, before the American people. Even now a star-reporter task force from the New York Times is in the South to get the story. Note that no mention is made of the Hearst Press.

One of the newer media, television, has been playing a subtle role in conditioning the people of the South to the acceptance of Negroes in other than domestic roles. Mr. Talmadge, while Governor of this state, felt called upon to denounce the appearance of the "Mariners" on the Arthur Godfrey show. Other documentary shows such as "Medical Horizons" have presented Negroes, without comment, in status roles.

Motion pictures such as "Pinky", "Intruders In the Dust", "Lost Boundaries" and "Trial" have all played their subtle, and sometimes not so subtle part on the side of democracy.

For many years novels dealing with the racial problems of the Southern Region have been best sellers. More recently technical books, such as The Negro and the Schools, Schools in Transition, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, and others have appeared. The mind of America is being educated, the conscience of America is being sensitized.

THE STATES of the South may be placed on a continuum from desegregating, through waiting, to hard core; in rank order of progress toward desegregation they would read: Kentucky, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi. This does not include, you will note, those border and western states which have made twenty-league strides toward compliance: Arizona, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. Nor the District of Columbia, which has special significance as the Capitol of the nation. Three states of the Old South, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Texas have begun to desegregate their schools. The process of desegregation is in progress. In three states of the Old South the state Supreme Courts have declared that State Constitutional provisions and Legislative acts and statutes which provide for segregation of the races in the public schools are unconstitutional. These three are Florida, Tennessee, and Texas.

No sooner did the people of Virginia vote for the So-called "Gray ammendment" than the superintendent of schools in Arlington announced plans to desegregate next Fall. In North Carolina there is evidence that some school districts in the Western part of the state will revolt against the pressures of the State Board of Education to maintain segregation. Anderson County, Tenn. has been ordered by a Federal Court to integrate its schools next Fall; the Governor of Tennessee has refused to call a special session of the legislature at the request of the pro-segregationists.

In all but the hard core states of Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi there is evidence that the walls of segregation are not only showing signs of weakness but are beginning to crumble. Even in the hard core states one may catch glimpses of new vistas of freedom through the breached walls of segregation. In Alabama the University has been ordered to admit qualified Negro students to the graduate and professional schools; In Georgia the City of Atlanta, under court order, has admitted Negroes to the golf courses; in Louisiana the Arch-Bishop has declared his stand for integration, Parochial schools plan desegregating next fall, and the graduate schools of LSU have admitted Negro students. It must not be forgotten that Clarendon County is in South Carolina. Mississippi alone seems without a candle in the darkness, yet, even there the newly elected Governor, Mr. Coleman has denounced as foolhardy any attempts at nullification. Secession is not a part of the thinking of the governor of even the most hard core state.

DETERMINATION OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY: The Negro community of the South in 1956 is grimly determined, with dignity and firmness, to see this thing through. The NAACP has won the court battles, the Negro people do not intend to lose the war. In Orangeburg, S. C. when the whites brought economic reprisals against Negro citizens who had signed petitions to admit their children to the public schools on

a non-segregated basis, the Negro community organized an effective boycott of white firms involved. In Montgomery, Alabama the story of the bus-boycott is well known. In Mississippi a group of Negro leaders publicly repudiated the claim of then-governor Hugh White that Mississippi Negroes favored a continuation of Segregation. Contributions to the NAACP have greatly swelled in recent months in all southern states.

HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES are at work in the South. We have already mentioned the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People; in the best of American tradition it has gone to the courts to seek redress of grievances, and by so doing has won a victory for all citizens. It remains alert, militant, and determined. It is an asset whose value cannot be overestimated. The Southern Regional Council with its twelve state affiliated organizations is a movement of considerable force; modesty prevents us from further consideration at this time. The American Friends Service Committee has been working on an employment by merit project which has enjoyed considerable results in Texas and is spreading to other areas. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has made the Jewish community of the South aware of the need for action in race relations. The American Jewish Committee has two offices in the South, both active in this field. The National Conference of Christians and Jews has recognized a responsibility in this area and sponsored numerous workshops dealing with desegregation in the South this past summer. More are planned this coming summer. The Urban League with its southern branches has been active in assisting the Negro community in employment, housing, and civil rights.

Now the basic question which we must ask is: What does all this mean to us, to the South, to the Nation and to the future?

Sociologists who have worked in this field say that the determinants of progress are: 1) the degree of urbanization, industrialization, and unionization;

2) the percentage of Negro population in a given community; 3) the law and enforcement of the law; 4) the human relations resources of a community; and 5) the determination of the Negro community.

It would seem that the long range forces are working for integration; that, in some areas and only some areas of the South, the short range forces, which may for the moment seem almost overwhelming, are arrayed against progress. It should be remembered that time and tide wait for no man and that they are swept up in a tide which, though they battle mightily, will carry them along with it. That is the future though the shore may be distant in Mississippi.

It would seem then that the program of the Southern Regional Council must primarily be aligned with the long range forces; only secondarily engaged in fire fighting or local skirmishes. The battle-wise strategist does not seek to meet the enemy on their terms but rather on the terms most favorable to his own side. So it must be with us. In some areas we must fight a defensive action, a holding action, if you will; in other areas we must openly take the offensive. The hard core is not going to bow before the weight of persuasion until the people are faced with some hard choices between giving up segregation and the tragic alternatives. They face an agonizing reappraisal sometime in the future. In this area ours is a task of holding the line and of exposing with the light of the national press what the opposition is up to, and at the same time maintaining a bridgehead of integrated groups meeting together quietly in equal dignity to prepare for the day when actual desegregation of the schools can be worked upon.

In the so-called waiting states it should be the responsibility of our state groups to assist those communities which wish to move ahead of their state governments in the process of desegregation. We might help stiffen the backbones of some superintendents and community people to break the economic and political chains with which the state government has sought to bind them. We can help get community support for desegregation in much of the Mountain and Piedmont South.

In areas that are in the process of desegregation we can offer aid and assistance to school and community people involved in the process.

The program of the SRC must be sufficiently flexible to work in all three areas; and to work in a significant way. Our information program must be stepped up; our state organizations must be made more effective; our new professional consultant program must be fully utilized. We should feel no claim to fame but only seek to serve. Each of us here is dedicated to an integrated, democratic society; to help bring it about we must dedicate our very best thinking, our most serious effort, and the deep convictions of our hearts and souls.

RECEIVED MAY 28 1956

HOTEL Statler LOS ANGELES

25 May 56

Dear GSM, HCF et al —

There was some good news in San Francisco I forgot to share with you — see enclosed — and note that I use the term "share" loosely — The gal was pleased with the report on the South so gave me the check — it is in addition to the honorarium.

Also enclosed is a letter that was handed to me — obviously prepared (since its typed and no sound of a trusty Royal was heard) before the meeting. This is not the donor of the $25. CR

The Southern California trek has been much worth while too. Did a TV bit for our friends from the FFV film project — one minute in length.

(over)

Hilton and Statler Hotels located in Principal Cities around the World

There have been two major speeches for ACLU in San Bernardino and S Diego with one to go in Los Angeles. The NAACP leadership out here has been most cordial in their reception of what I have said.

I am more convinced than ever of the absolute necessity of getting the story out of the South for ideas here are distorted.

Best regards to all —

as ever

JEL

SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

ON

HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

JUNE 15–16, 1956

Sponsors

The University of Oklahoma
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1956

1:00-10:00 P.M. REGISTRATION
Main Lobby, Union

3:00- 5:00 P.M. SOCIAL HOUR
Dining Room C, Union

6:00- 7:30 P.M. LEADERSHIP DINNER
Dining Room 2, Union

8:00- 9:30 P.M. PROGRAM TO BE ANNOUNCED
Sponsored by the College of Education, The University of Oklahoma
Meacham Auditorium

FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1956

9:00- 9:15 A.M. REGISTRATION
Main Lobby, Union

9:15-10:30 A.M. GENERAL SESSION
Engineering Auditorium
Engineering Building

Chairman
ARTHUR W. HEILMAN
President, University of Oklahoma Chapter, AAUP

Invocation

Greetings
President's Office, University of Oklahoma
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Address
Human Relations—the Foremost Problem Confronting Public Education in America
LAURENCE F. KINNEY
Southwestern State College, Memphis, Tennessee

10:30-10:45 A.M. COFFEE BREAK

10:45-12:00 Noon DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS
Getting acquainted, planning agenda, exploratory discussions

12:00- 1:00 P.M. LUNCHEON
Dining Rooms 1, 2, 3, Union

1:00- 2:00 P.M. GENERAL SESSION
Dining Rooms 1, 2, 3, Union

Chairman
OLIVER HODGE
State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oklahoma

Analysis
Changing Patterns in the South
FREDERICK B. ROUTH
Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

2:00- 5:00 P.M. DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS
Topic: Integration

6:00- 7:00 P.M. LEADERSHIP DINNER
Dining Room 2, Union

7:30- 9:30 P.M. PROGRAM TO BE ANNOUNCED
Sponsored by the University of Oklahoma Chapter of the American Association of University Professors
Meacham Auditorium, Union

SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1956

9:00- 9:45 A.M. GENERAL SESSION
Meacham Auditorium, Union

Chairman
GUY H. WELLS
Executive Director, Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

Analysis
Religion and Public Education
CARSON MCGUIRE
University of Texas

9:45-10:00 A.M. COFFEE BREAK

10:00-12:00 Noon DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

Topic: Religion and Public Education

12:00- 1:00 P.M. LUNCHEON

Dining Rooms 1, 2, 3, Union

1:00-2:30 P.M. GENERAL SESSION

Dining Rooms 1, 2, 3

Chairman

OSCAR COHEN
National Program Director,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Clinic: Human Relations Problems in Public Education

Chairman

C. H. PARRISH
University of Louisville

Panel members will be chosen from the participants at the Conference

2:30- 3:00 P.M. SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

Dining Rooms 1, 2, 3, Union

GERTRUDE NOAR
National Education Director,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

DISCUSSION GROUPS

GROUP I Room*

Leader: LAURENCE D. HASKEW, *Dean, College of Education, University of Texas*

GROUP II Room*

Leader: PRESTON VALIEN, *Professor of Sociology, Fisk University*

GROUP III Room*

Leader: EVERETT E. JARBOE, *Associate Professor of Education, North Texas State College*

GROUP IV Room*

Leader: GEORGE CONNOR, *Executive Director, Adult Education Council of Chattanooga*

GROUP V Room*

Leader: DEAN G. EPLEY, *Chairman, Department of Human Relations Education, Miami University*

* Room assignments for discussion groups to be announced at General Sessions.

RESOURCE PERSONS

A. Lee Coleman, *University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky*

E. R. Edmonds, *Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma*

Paul B. Foreman, *University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Alabama*

Irene Osborne, *American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

C. H. Parrish, *University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky*

Millard Scherich, *Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma*

J. Chester Swanson, *Superintendent of Schools, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma*

Wayne H. White, *Superintendent of Schools, Fayetteville, Arkansas*

Cooperating Regional Offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Florida Regional Office, Miami ---------- Nathan Perlmutter, *Director*

New Orleans Regional Office, New Orleans -- Morton Feigenbaum, *Director*

North Carolina-Virginia Regional Office, Richmond ---------- Murray Friedman, *Director*

Ohio-Kentucky Regional Office, Columbus ---- Seymour Gorchoff, *Director*

Southeastern Regional Office, Atlanta ---------- Arthur J. Levin, *Director*

Southwestern Regional Office, Houston ------ Theodore Freedman, *Director*

PLANNING COMMITTEE

Myron Lieberman, *Chairman*

Henry Angelino

Donald J. Berthrong

William E. Bittle

Herman Case

Oscar Cohen

Oscar W. Davison

Theodore Freedman

Gilbert Geis

Lee Hayden

Arthur W. Heilman

Lloyd P. Jorgenson

Gertrude Noar

Glenn R. Snider

Thurman White

Bruce Staff

August 24, 1956

Father John E. Coogan, S. H., Chairman
Commission on Community Relations
1106 Water Board Building
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Father Coogan:

Thanks very much for considering me for the position of Director of the Detroit Commission on Community Relations. I would have to wrestle mightily with my conscience, however, to leave the South at this time of social change, and to leave the Southern Regional Council at this time of uncertainty. As things now stand, my conscience would win out and I would find it all but impossible to bring myself to leave this area.

Certainly the position you offer carries a challenging opportunity to build better human relations in one of the nation's great industrial centers, and yet I feel there are others who are equally qualified, or better qualified, to carry that responsibility. The amount of leadership in the field of human relations in the South is not great and I feel a deep sense of responsibility both personally and professionally to assist my native region into more democratic paths.

I have been responsible for our twelve state organizations, and it would be difficult to break in a new person to this responsibility without a considerable amount of time.

I recognize that probably it will be a long time before I again have a chance at such a salary as your organization offers, but opportunity knocks in other than a financial way. The opportunity we face in the South is the challenge to make a living reality of our democratic philosophy. I believe that we will prove here that either a democratic government is capable of granting full citizenship to all of its people, or is unworthy of governing any of them.

Thanks once more for your kind consideration. I am honored that I was recommended to you, but I trust you will understand my position.

Respectfully,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

10-8-56

FBR -

Are you getting from Bill Williams the documented background of his appearance before the legislative committee?

H.

HCF

Yes
FBR
10-9-56

Speech given by F. B. Routh at

NAIRO meeting in November, 1956

FILE COPY

SOUTHERN RESISTANCE FORCES

By Frederick B. Routh and Paul Anthony*

There is a powerful, well oiled engine in the South seeking to pull the states of the region back into the past. The terminus of the line is labeled "States Rights"but it might better be identified for what it is: anarchy, the ending of the Federal Government's interest in the Constitutional rights of American citizens.

During the little more than two years since the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court, declaring segregation in the public schools on the basis of race unconstitutional, there has sprung up in the Southern region massive resistance forces. This paper, drawing its information from a Southern Regional Council field study, is an attempt to analyze the resistance movement - - which by conservative estimates has grown to a membership of 325,000 and a combined treasury of some $2,000,000 and which for the moment possesses influential, competent leadership.

Two months after the great Decision of May 17, 1954, a group of 14 prominent citizens met in Senator Jim Eastland's home county of Mayflower, Mississippi, to consider ways of avoiding the decision. One of the more ardent members of the group, Robert B. Patterson of Holly Ridge, suggested organizing White Citizens' Councils and he now has the dubious distinction of being recognized as their founder.

The basic concept of the WCC is simple; they believe that the "basic law" is hammered out on the anvil of public opinion and that this law is stronger than federal court decision or national statute. They appealed to the white South to preserve "Our Southern Way of Life" and attracted to their ranks the demagogue and the political opportunist as well as many alarmed Southerners who had known only a master-servant relationship with Negroes.

The largest, most influential, and most widely known of the resistance groups is the White Citizens' Councils. It is significant, as an index to their striving for respectability, that this group has recently dropped the "White" from their name and are known now simply as Citizens' Councils - - usually with a geographical prefix, e.g., Alabama Citizens' Council.

METHODS OF OPERATION -

First it should be noted that the great majority of the resistance movements have sought to maintain a facade of respectability and have constantly stated they will use only "legal" methods to oppose the decision; further, they have denounced violence and Ku-Kluxism.

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* Frederick B. Routh is assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.
Paul Anthony is special field-researcher for SRC.

There are four chief "planks" in their platform of methodology. 1) Political activity; 2) Large grass roots membership; 3) Mobilization of public opinion; and 4) Use of social and economic pressure. These need spelling out.

1) Political Activity: A serious attempt has been made, and rather successfully, to create a favorable political climate and to enlist the aid and support of state governments, commissions, and political leaders. They have sought and received valuable assistance from major elected officials in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. Lesser officials have been helpful in Alabama and Louisiana where state senators lead the movements. Several of the states have established "watch dog" committees to guard and promote segregation; among them: South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana. Four states, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas and (to a lesser degree) Florida, through legislation or court action, have curtailed or expelled the NAACP. Six states have passed interposition resolutions - - Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia. In Georgia the major elected officials provide much of the public pro-segregation leadership - - which reaches beyond state boundaries into the rest of the region. Further, we should not forget the two Southern Manifestos signed by more than 100 U. S. Representatives and U. S. Senators from Southern states.

2) Building a Large Grass Roots Membership. The resistance groups have sought with considerable success to build a solid base of power through a mass membership which would be emotionally stirred to the point that they would not seriously question the activities of the leaders. Thus we find the major resistance leaders and paid workers using a substantial amount of their time and effort in recruiting members and indoctrinating them through speakers and publications which stress and repeat the subversive nature of pro-integrationists, the need for racial purity, the righteous cause of States' Rights and the Southern Way of Life, and the horrors to be found in an integrated society. In no other way do the resistance groups so clearly indicate their dependence on a blind faith.

3) The Mobilization of Public Opinion. First, attempts were made to reach the Southern mind and to so influence public opinion that the solid South would stand up as a man to stand off this "encroachment" by the Federal Government. Editorials and columnists by the score helped to "brainwash" some of the Southern whites. More recently the ideology of the resistance groups has moved onto the national scene. Articles have appeared in Harpers, in U. S. News and World Report; the nation has been told we must go slow by such eminent writers as Dorothy Thompson, Walter Lippman and David Lawrence; TV programs have carried Herman Talmadge - - and so it goes. Mississippi has recently invited a group of New England newspaper editors to the state to see, free of charge, and first hand "what the situation really is." This trip, partially successful at best, was quite expensive but money is not the first consideration of the resistance movement.

4) Social and Economic Pressure. Quite a good deal has been said in the national press about the use of economic pressure on those Negroes and whites who indicate they are for integration. Negroes who sign petitions to admit their children to non-segregated schools often find themselves out of a job and with little opportunity for other employment. Further, their credit might well have been withdrawn and if they had an over-due note, they probably faced foreclosure. The white who advocated compliance may face all of the above plus social ostracization. "Phone committees" of resistance groups often call a non-conformist to the segregation orthodoxy at all hours of the night and day. Usually these are not pleasant tete-a-tetes.

Actual threats of physical violence usually come from a fringe group and not from an official resistance source. However, Clinton, Tennessee, the Nat King Cole attack and the like should give the nation grave cause for concern over the lengths to which some Citizens' Councils may go.

RESISTANCE LITERATURE -

The publications of resistance groups vary from the slick Madison Avenue approach to out and out hate literature - - in between falls the vast majority of it. Though Catholics, Jews, and "one worlders" have come in for a share of attention, most has been given to the Negro. A number of different and often contradictory lines of "reasoning" are used to justify segregation. They may be summed up as follows:

1. The Negro is equal, however, the separate-but-equal policy is the only course to follow for "biological" and "police" reasons.

2. The Negro is inferior and must not be allowed to associate on an equal basis with whites.

3. In regard to learning capacity, the Negro is inferior due to either natural or conditioned mental retardation.

4. The Negro has excessive sexual desires, especially toward white Southern women who need protection.

5. The Southern ("our") Negro is opposed to integration - - only outside agitators and communists want integration.

6. All Negroes are basically alike - no credit can be allowed for individual accomplishment or, outstanding Negroes are different from "our" Negroes.

Here follow some typical excerpts from the literature of the resistance groups which illustrate their line of "reasoning."

Individual ministers have contributed significantly to the resistance movement. Typical is the thoroughly publicized sermon of Dr. Charles L. Allen of Grace Methodist Church in Atlanta. Dr. Allen, one of the most influential ministers of that city, described in a sermon his conversation with a Negro who wished to join the Grace church. Said Allen, "Joining our church won't accomplish anything. There are 200 Negro churches in Atlanta that need you. You in your church, we in ours, will be worshipping the same God. You will be better off and so will we... If that's unChristian, that's still the way I feel."

This concern for the Negro, so long as he remains separate, is also shown in the White Citizens' Councils. For instance, the Citizens' Councils of Jackson, Mississippi, passed the following resolution:

"Now therefore, be it resolved that Jackson Citizens' Council again declares its good will for and its interest in the well-being of the Negroes in Jackson and elsewhere, that it asserts its wholehearted support of the continued improvement in the economic, educational and cultural welfare of the Negroes, within the doctrine of separate facilities, and that it does not encourage or condone any illegal acts against the Negro or against any other citizen."

Not only does the segregationist adopt the role of protector in this approach, he points with pride to the accomplishments of Negroes. This has several implications, including the white man's good will and the workability of the separate system as illustrated by accomplishment. Take for instance the following from the monthly column of Tom Ethridge in the February 1956 Citizens' Council.

"...The Negro's progress as a race during the past century is one of the most inspiring chapters of American history. It not only reflects tremendous credit to our hard-working colored people but also is a tribute to the patience and friendship of Southern whites.... Freely conceding that his social and economic status can be improved, the Southern Negro has much to be thankful for as a result of friendship and cooperation by his white friends."

This approach of separate-but-equal is far from universal, however, and basically to make the appeal an emotional one of substantial strength the resistance literature must fall back, either subtly or directly, to the position that the Negro is inferior. Dr. W. C. George of the medical faculty of the University of North Carolina and chairman of The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., has been of considerable help in this regard and his writings on the inferiority of the Negro receive wide distribution. George's pamphlet "The Race Problem from the Standpoint of One Who is Concerned About the Evils of Miscegenation," has the following comment:

"The historical inferiority of the Negro, so far as civilization and cultural attainments are concerned, is worth recalling

although it is well known. It is true that the 'race-levellers' explain this away on the grounds of unfavorable environment or isolation or lack of opportunity, just as they attempt to explain away all other evidence that does not support their thesis; but one cannot brush aside the fact that never throughout their history in Africa did the Negroes anywhere, so far as I have been able to learn, develop any state of culture approaching a civilization; nor has the Liberian experiment shown much capacity for autonomous civilization; and nowhere throughout the world where there is a high concentration of Negro population, neither in the rural South, nor in the cities of the North, nor in South American countries, nor in the West Indies, nor in the islands of the Pacific, have they as racial groups developed beyond a low state of civilization or shown any capacity or zeal for culture and civilization. It is more than unintelligent; it is hazardous for us to brush aside all this evidence and yield to the advice of those who would promote policies that would lead to racial amalgamation. There is enough stupidity, indolence, slovenliness and criminality already in the white race without the absorption of 13,000,000 Negroes in whom those qualities appear to be present in still higher degree."

In their resistance work few Southern states have failed to find a Negro to support the segregation view, thus upholding the belief that Southern Negroes do not want integration. In South Carolina a Negro minister's speech against integration has been distributed by the White Citizens' Councils. Following the Autherine Lucy incident at the University of Alabama, Miss Lucy's parents were widely quoted as saying they didn't know what had happened; "Autherine hadn't been brought up to act that way."

An especially refined example of this type of material is in the much-reprinted letter to the Editor of the Orlando (Florida) Sentinel, written by Zora Neale Hurston, a well-known Negro writer of Florida. A portion of this letter reads:

"Now a great clamor will arise in certain quarters that I deny the Negro children of the South their rights, and therefore I am one of those 'handkerchief-head niggers' who bow low before the Whiteman and sell out my own people out of cowardice. However, an analytical glance will show that is not the case. If there are not adequate Negro schools in Florida, and there is some residual, some inherent and unchangeable quality in white schools, impossible to duplicate anywhere else, then I am the first to insist that Negro children of Florida be allowed to share this boon. But if there are adequate Negro schools and prepared instructors and instructions, then there is nothing different except the presence of white people. For this reason, I regard the ruling of the United States Supreme Court as insulting rather than honoring my race...."

Those methods which have been illustrated, to this point, limit themselves to the argument of segregation concerning the Negro as an individual and as a race. The "State Rights" argument is the legal approach theoretically concerned not with segregation but with proper government. Thus, while segregation is the issue, it is not the principle.

Quite naturally the Supreme Court is the major object of attack in this approach. The argument is frequently made that the court used questionable "sociological and psychological" authorities to reach its decision, not the law and precedent as is the "legal" approach. Following close behind is the argument that the decision of the court was a political decision. Either approach is designed to show that the court assumed an authority which it does not rightfully possess. Typical of the attacks which are currently taking place against the Supreme Court is that of The Augusta (Ga.) Courier of August 15, 1955, in which the lead article of that paper begins as follows:

"The members of the Supreme Court of the United States ought to be impeached. The people of this state ought not to vote for any member of Congress next year unless they will agree to vote for the impeachment of the members of the Supreme Court. Then, if the members of the Congress will not agree to prefer charges of impeachment, the legislators of each state ought by resolution to file charges with the Congress against the Supreme Court and demand that articles of impeachment be voted and that they be tried before the Senate."

And finally, teachers, ministers, and "liberals" are special targets for the resistance movement since they hold the possibility of considerable influence in the South. Whenever a teacher or minister makes a statement against segregation one can expect wrathful reaction immediately, since these are regarded as professions which must not be allowed out of line. A favorite approach in this regard is to link the rebellious individual or group with Communism. Either there is a possible communist background - usually guilt by association, real or imaginary - - or the individual concerned has been "soft on communism." Typical of this is the attack on Episcopal Bishop John E. Hines of Texas which appeared in the Southern Conservative, reprinted in The Citizens' Council of March 1956: This article was headlined, "Church Leader Raps Councils, Silent on Reds."

"...With ominous mein and in solemn tones, the good Bishop warned his communicants not to have anything to do with those big, bad old Citizens' Councils which are springing up like mushrooms all over East Texas.

"...By the 'law of the land' the good man was referring to the 'law' providing for the mixing of little white and black children in public schools which was 'enacted' by the kangaroo Supreme Court one day when its nine judicial boy scouts were feeling their oats and decided that there wasn't anything Congress could do that they couldn't do better by heck'.

"...It was noted that Bishop Hines did not include Communist Fronts in his warning to his flock against affiliation with groups whose avowed purpose is 'defying the law of the land'."

STATE BY STATE BREAKDOWN OF THE RESISTANCE GROUPS -

ALABAMA "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama"

A very strong Citizens' Council movement headed by State Senator Sam

Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, Alabama. Headquarters are in Montgomery. The group claims some 80,000 members and the claim is probably accurate. A second group, the North Alabama Citizens' Council is largely discredited though its leader, Asa Carter, remains active throughout the South.

ARKANSAS "The Citizens' Councils of Arkansas"

Originally a weak movement, this group has shown considerable growth during past year. Councils of the state are led by James D. Johnson of Crossett with considerable help of Curt Copeland of Hot Springs. Membership claims run high though 20,000 is probably the maximum realistic figure. Group is not all-powerful in state but is very capable of doing considerable damage in localities where integration might be considered.

GEORGIA "The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc."

This group has offices in downtown Atlanta with William T. Bodenhamer as executive director. Bodenhamer is a Baptist Minister, a State Legislator and formerly school principal and superintendent and president of a Junior College. Has support of the Governor and Senator-elect Herman Talmadge. Is strongly backed by one of its founders, Roy V. Harris of Augusta. No membership claims have been made and estimates are difficult. However, efforts at membership drives have not been conspicuously successful and the group probably has a very small official membership.

LOUISIANA "The Association of Citizens' Councils of La."

President is State Senator William Rainach of Summerfield. Headquarters are in Homer. Group claims to prefer the "quiet and legal approach." Membership is difficult to determine. The New Orleans Citizens' Councils claim a membership in excess of 50,000 though that figure is probably a maximum for the state. A second group, "The Southern Gentlemen" of Baton Rouge is active though of small membership and little influence.

MISSISSIPPI "Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi"

Administrative offices of this group are in Jackson. Executive secretary is R. B. Patterson, the man given credit for forming the first Citizens' Council in the South. Current membership is approximately 80,000. This is the fountainhead of the Council movement in the South and it is significant that the temporary office of the "Citizens' Councils of America" are located in the Jackson Mississippi Council office. The group has a thorough hold on the state and will be of considerable influence for years to come.

NORTH CAROLINA "The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

Headed by Dr. W. C. George, professor at the University of North Carolina Medical School. Group has some strength and a membership estimated at 20,000, though it has significant opposition in the state.

It may be significant that during the past 12 months the state legislature and the general atmosphere of the state have been very much akin to the mood which the Patriots have sought to create.

SOUTH CAROLINA "The Association of Citizens' Councils of S. C."

A moderately strong group with headquarters in Charleston. S. Emery Rogers of Summerton is executive secretary and an active leader. Current membership is probably in excess of 30,000. The group is powerful but not accepted by many people in the state, partially as a result of disagreement with the methods of the group and partially because the movement is thoroughly involved in politics. The group is best known for economic reprisals against any opposition.

TENNESSEE

There are several active resistance groups in Tennessee. The Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation is located in Chattanooga and receives support from several local citizens of wealth and influence. The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government is headed by Donald Davidson, well known writer and professor at Vanderbilt University, Nashville. The Citizens' Councils of Tennessee have their headquarters in Memphis and draw their greatest strength from that area. None of these groups have a large membership but all have been active and influential in such areas as Clinton.

TEXAS

Texas too has several resistance groups of which the Citizens' Councils is the strongest. Dr. D. E. Masters is chairman of the Association. The group was especially active in supporting the pro-segregation referendum of the election of July 28th, in the state Democratic party primary. Membership claims run around 20,000.

VIRGINIA

Virginia has a number of small, and largely ineffective, resistance groups of which The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty, headed by W. E. Maxey Jr., of Richmond is probably the strongest. This group claims some 15,000 members in 37 chapters. The Ace Carter faction of the Citizens' Councils have been organized under John Kasper of Washington, D.C., as a unit of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Council." Group has little membership but has been outspoken and gotten considerable publicity.

CONCLUSION

This then, in rather abbreviated form, is the story of the first two years of the Southern resistance groups. In that two year period the White Citizens' Councils and their affiliates have done much to retard the social progress which the rest of the nation and the rest of the world are demanding of the South. These groups, with their ideological roots nurtured in the provincialism of the past, fail to recognize that we no longer live in isolation but that we act on a

world stage. They are less interested in the prestige -- indeed the survival of the nation than in protecting a vested interest in the anachronism of segregation.

The great tragedy is that even they recognize their program to be delaying tactic at best and yet they persist in making more difficult a period of social transition frought with difficulties.

These groups do not speak for all the people of the Southern Region. They do not speak for Negro Southerners nor do they speak for the 20th century-minded whites. As southerners of goodwill assume responsibility, as the moderate masses regain their senses, as the business community awakens to the threat to economic prosperity and progress, the power of these resistance groups will wane.

Finally it should be noted that, though on the local level they seem overpowering, it must be remembered that a limb is never greater than a tree; a part is never greater than a whole; and a region is never greater than a Nation. The South is a part of the Nation.

* * *

11/19/56

FBR-e

January 7, 1957

Mr. Daniel J. Ryan, Chairman
Personnel Subcommittee
City of Detroit, Commission on Community Relations
Department of Public Welfare
735 Randolph Street
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mr. Ryan:

I am sincerely flattered that I have been considered qualified for the position of Director-Secretary of the Detroit Commission on Community Relations. I have been unofficially approached about that job before, but had to say no with considerable reluctance.

These are trying times in the South, but they are challenging times too. You see, it is my belief that we will prove here in the South that a democratic society is capable of granting first class citizenship to all of its people or that it is unworthy of the support of any. If there is a contribution which I can make in the field of human relations, I sincerely feel that contribution can best be made here in the South.

Thank you very much for your interest, but I am certain that you will understand my position.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

February 1, 1957

RHA:

The Executive Committee passed the following resolution, and HGF asked me to pass it on to you for the final follow-through:

RESOLVED that Frederick B. Routh, being Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, is hereby authorized to be a co-signer of checks drawn on the account of the Southern Regional Council.

EAB

FBR — 2

March 15, 1957

Rabbi Philip Shnairson
Temple Israel
Cathcart at Ridgewood
Orlando, Florida

Dear Phil:

I want to thank you and the other good people in Orlando for the many courtesies extended me while I was there. More important to me, of course, than the courtesies was the obviously sincere friendship that was also extended.

I hope you feel that my trip down there was worth the expense and that in some way we contributed to the understanding of the clergy in that committee. I personally believe that the trip was worth while, for the response of the two audiences demonstrated the thoughtfulness of the participants.

With a team like Father Dickman, John Fuller, and you, I look for great things to happen in Orlando. I got a paper the morning after the speech and thought that Pat Pinkerton had done a pretty good job. Certainly the young lady is favorably inclined to our position.

Thanks once more for all that you did for me down there and for your interest in the field of human relations.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

P.S. If the newspaper makes any editorial comment on the story, would you please send it to us, or if any letters-to-the-editor, either pro or con, are written, would you please clip them and send them to us?

FBR

March 27, 1957

Mr. Ed Williams
Center for Human Relations Studies
Press Annex 21
School of Education
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Ed:

I have received the announcement about the annual meeting of the Friends of the Center. I note that you are to honor Miriam Hayden at this time for "her warm and selfless devotion to the Center...and to all of us who have been associated with her." Certainly all honor and love to Miriam, and I only wish I could be there to express these feelings personally. Unfortunately, I shall be in the process of Saving the South by attending a Conference of Community Leadership in Jacksonville, Florida, on the 6th of April.

However, let me say just a few words about Miriam. To a rather bewildered student who came to the Big City from the South, she was a gentle spirit, a fount of wisdom, and a good friend. Miriam, in her contacts with other people, not only practices but lives good human relations. I cherish our friendship and only regret that there are 800 miles between us.

Please give her my warmest regards and best wishes as the Friends of the Center make a small down-payment of recognition on what is her just due.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

FBR to Ritchie

May 31, 1957

Dr. M. A. F. Ritchie
President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

It was certainly good to hear from you again after lo, these many months. I have also received the A.D.L. volume, REGIONAL PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION. I was much impressed with several of the articles in it. Among the ones which impressed me were those by Willard Goslin, Dan Dodson, Bill Van Til, and Miller Ritchie.

I am glad that you now have a home of your own and that the Board did not insist on keeping you in the President's Mansion. I would say that the purchase of a home indicates intentions of long tenure, which would indicate, I hope, that wee Betsy has adapted to the climate.

I will send you under separate cover some material in which I think you may be interested. There are many things happening in the South which we cannot put into public print but which I think would be helpful to people like you. I doubt that I shall be up that way this summer for I am Toronto bound; however, if by some good stroke of fortune I should be in your vicinity, I'll take you up on that invitation.

Warm regards to Jo and the family.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

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Oneonta, New York

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Warm regards to Jo and the family.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

HARTWICK COLLEGE

ONEONTA, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dictated: May 22, 1957
Transcbd: May 23, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I have read with great interest your piece in the little volume REGIONAL PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION put out by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I just got my copy yesterday.

The whole thing is most enlightening and helpful. I am glad they pulled together the papers from the various regions and published them in one volume. This gives a very fine overview of some of the thinking throughout the country. I enjoyed the conference at Penn State and was very happy indeed to have a small part in it.

I follow your work in the New South regularly and am sure that you are making a great contribution.

If you come through this section this year we hope you will drop in to see us. We have a very comfortable and delightful place on the edge of town now where one can put on an old shirt and be himself. We finally got the Board to give us a suitable living allowance and to let us buy our own place.

Let us hear from you when you can, for we are always interested in your work and especially the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. F. Ritchie

MAFR:b

~~FBR~~ ?

Butler Univ.

June 10, 1957

Dean O. L. Shelton
School of Religion
Butler University
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Dean Shelton:

Thank you for your letter of June 6th and I shall turn up at your workshop some time prior to 2:00 P.M., June 19th. The check for the honorarium should be made out to "The Southern Regional Council, Inc."

Thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

With all good wishes,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

FBR

June 11, 1957

Mr. Shepherd L. Witman, Director
Residential Seminars on World Affairs
420 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Witman:

Thank you for your invitation of June 4th to attend the Residential Seminar on World Affairs. As a former president of the Greater Miami Chapter of the AAUW, I would like very much to come. Unfortunately, our heavy work load here at the Southern Regional Council makes this impossible.

I have asked several friends who would be qualified to attend if they would be interested. All of them were but again, unfortunately, all of them were previously committed to other activities.

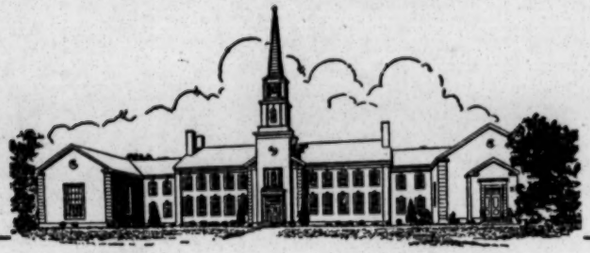
Every good wish for the success of the Seminar.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

FBR
Personal file



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A Graduate Theological Seminary

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DEAN

B. A. NORRIS
ASSISTANT DEAN

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Speech and Drama
Radio and Television
A. R. Edyvean

Church Music
James Carley

June 20, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I am happy that I had the opportunity to meet you for a brief moment yesterday, and I regret that I was tied up with visitors so that I could not have the opportunity to meet you more fully or to share in the luncheon meeting.

However, I want to express my very deep appreciation for your courtesy in coming and for the contribution you made and to tell you that the $50.00 honorarium made out to the Southern Regional Council will be on the way as soon as it can clear through the Bursar.

Again, let me thank you for coming.

Cordially yours,

O. L. Shelton, Dean

OLS:ep

Memo

Staff

FROM THE DESK OF FRED ROUTH

Monday Eve
24 July 57

Dear Harold et. al.

I've arrived in THE Dominion and things here are more-or-less in order.

The Butler University stint proved interesting for Sam Williams and Morton King (Ug Miss, not Montgomery) were there. Obviously we were not in complete agreement as to how one views the South or parts thereof.

The Same evening I spoke to the Disciples College Religious Workers out at a Seminar held at Lewis Door's. It went o.k. & L. D. was pleased.

Several of them were from Southern Campi - Texas, Oklahoma etc.

The UAW-CIO speech went vorra well and I stayed for the banquet which followed. Also got invited back next year for a progress report on the South.

I SHALL RETURN as planned on July 7th. If you need to get in touch with me prior to that — FEEL FREE

Regards to all —
Fred

c/o Mrs. Tina Kivell
1768 Main St. West
Hamilton, Ont. Canada.
Jackson 2 - 5135

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
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$ S E

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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

SEPTEMBER 4, 1957

TOM ROUTH
c/o WEAVERS STORE FOR MEN
BIDDLE AT ELM
WYANDOTTE, MICHIGAN

ARRIVING WILLOW RUN 11:07 P. M. TOMORROW·SEPTEMBER 5th

E.A.L. - FLT. 746. PLEASE MEET ME.

FRED ROUTH

11 September '57

Dr. Miller A.F. Ritchie, President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, N.Y.

Dear Miller:

Haven't heard from you in ages; how are things in Yankeeland ? As you probably have read, we are in the midst of a great social upheaval down here. We have been attacked by a variety of scoundrels because our voting study was used by Paul Douglas in the civil rights debate in the US Senate.

SRC was widely quoted at the time of the great debate in a number of national publications, most notably in Time, July 29 on page 12 and in Life's editorial in the same week's issue. We also get full coverage in the N.Y.Times and AP did a feature on our voting figures. This inflamed some of the local firebrands.

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter from Paul Douglas. During the debate SRC was attacked by Olin Johnston of South Carolina and Douglas immediately refuted the charges. When we get copies of the exchange in the Congressional Record, I will send you one.

We are trying to help out as best we can in Little Rock and Nashville but the forces engaged in combat are mighty. No private agency can compete with the power of the state or federal governments. We have helped the press with background material on both cities and also the three cities in N.C. Our "locals" have been working to rally right-thinking people to support law and order. Once order is re-established the orderly process of court action may continue.

Best regards to Josephine and the youngsters.

as ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s

FBR
Ritchie

September 23, 1957

Dr. Miller A. F. Ritchie
Hartwick College,
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

Thanks for your good letter telling us of the healthy growth of Hartwick College. Indeed it must be heartening to a college President to find that the budget is balanced and a surplus is at hand. I am interested in the course in intergroup education which you are offering. Who teaches it and what is the content?

We have been in close touch with the situation in Little Rock, Nashville, and the three cities in North Carolina. Faubus is a frightened man and his use of the troops was a desperate effort to bolster his sense of security. Certainly the political aspects figured heavily in the decision too, but when I talked with him some two years ago I found him to be wishy washy and insecure. Many people in Arkansas told me he was a true liberal and the new hope for the state. I found this difficult to accept.

I am happy to learn you have been back in Dixie for I believe that enlightened spokesmen are a pre-requisite of progress. Sincere congratulations on the honorary degree from Roanoke College. You are, I am sure, one of its most illustrious alumni.

I am sorry that Betsy continues in poor health in that climate. I know you are torn between a sense of responsibility to your family and to the college. As a would be expert in human relations may I advise that the family come first.

Best personal regards to Josephine and the children.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

HARTWICK COLLEGE

ONEONTA, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dictated: September 16, 1957
Transcbd: September 18, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I have your letter of September 11 which we appreciate very much indeed.

Things are in a very interesting shape here at Hartwick College, with a new dormitory going up and a rapidly increasing student body to make things hum.

As you would gather from my previous letters we have been very successful on the financial side this year, balancing the budget with a nice surplus. We have a very excellent course in intergroup education under way and we have a very fine Department of Sociology building up. When I first came here there was practically nothing in sociology.

I have been a faithful reader of SRC publications during these years. Actually, I depend upon SRC and the Southern School News Reporting Service for my best information on what ticks in the South. I am very much interested in the letter from Paul Douglass, whom I admire very greatly.

Currently there is much discussion amongst some of our faculty group about Little Rock, Arkansas, since Gerry Reese is from Arkansas. He is, of course, aghast and somewhat ashamed of the "distinguished" Governor of that state. This is particularly so inasmuch as he felt that the people of the state are reasonably far along.

I am glad to see that Tennessee is coming along as fast as it has. Last year I spoke to three sections of the State Bankers Association in Tennessee and had a great time. I was delighted to see the material progress of the state and to sample to some extent the fairly mature point of view of the business leaders.

You will not believe this, but I actually got in some golf this summer. The two older children are good little golfers. They have been taking lessons. Now we have a big yard and a wonderful place to stretch out and relax. After about two years on this strenuous job I began to feel the need of some way to relax. Living in the middle of the city did not provide that. Our Board was most cooperative in giving us a living allowance and letting us buy our own place. Now, of

To: Mr. Frederick B. Routh

Dic. September 16, 1957
Trs. September 18, 1957

course, we have two houses and two mortgages. The one in Florida however, has been an excellent investment and now we can probably get at least twice what we paid for it.

Professionally we have been very happy indeed here, but of course we have the problem of Betsy's health - the heart lesion has not closed yet and may never close. Although the doctors will not advise us to do so at the present time, it is likely we will have to move to a mild climate before too long. Certainly this will be probable before she comes to adolescent years. Professionally this leaves some regrets for one never knows whether he can get just the right kind of job in the right kind of climate. Here we have been looked after very well by the Board of Trustees - indeed, they have just voted in the Finance Committee a very substantial salary raise for me.

I have continued my activities in human relations. I served as a consultant at Penn State again this year, except that I could spare only two days for it this year as against six weeks last year. This past week I delivered the keynote address at the Connecticut Conference on Human Relations at the University of Connecticut. Your old friend Gertrude Noar was there and apparently is still going strong. In fact, she inquired if I would be willing to go to Florida to keynote a conference on human relations to be held at the University of Miami, provided the details could be worked out. I told her I would be glad to consider the possibilities of doing it, providing my doing so would be at the invitation of both the University and the Anti-Defamation League. It would be a ticklish job to fashion a keynote address that would provide some stimulation, would be honest and forthright, and at the same time would not destroy any of the positive values which sometimes are destroyed by the wrong approach.

We had hoped that you would be in this section sometime during the summer and come by to see us, but apparently you will not be this way very soon. If you do get to New York be sure to let us hear from you. I know that you must be doing an outstanding job. I see the SRC quoted frequently in the New York Times, as you have indicated. We get our Times on Sundays and read it religiously. It has given excellent coverage to subjects concerning desegregation and integration.

In June we visited Virginia but we have not been to Florida this year at all. I made the Commencement Address at Roanoke College in Salem, Virginia, and had the great pleasure of having the Doctor of Laws Degree conferred upon me. I felt very good about this not only for personal reasons, but also because I know the views on race relations of some of the members of the Board of Trustees of Roanoke College. Some of them rose above their prejudices to vote the degree, I am quite sure. For this I am grateful.

Josephine and the children join me in warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Miller

MAFR:b

FBR - Personal

October 7, 1957

Dr. Forrest LaViolette
Department of Sociology
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Forrest:

This note constitutes a vote of thanks for your quick response to our enquiry about the New Orleans Item. This was helpful to us in answering an enquiry from Time magazine. Please pass my thanks on to your colleagues who participated in your report.

Next time through New Orleans I shall surely stop by for a chat.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Staff - FBR - ✓

October 25, 1957

Mrs. Roy A. Fiske
5239 Kingsbury Avenue
Jacksonville 5
Florida

Dear Marge:

How pleasant it was to receive your letter and know that all goes well with you. I am happy to see that you are carrying on the good work by leading the W.S.C.S. Mission Study Course, "Christ, The Church, and Race." I am glad that you have gotten to know Crawford Solomon and Bob McCloskey.

Things go well here at the Council. We are kept very busy and I am spending, as usual, too much time on the road. My current secretary, and I hope permanent one, is a splendid young English lady who formerly worked for the BBC. She eases the burden of the work both with her proficiency and her pleasant personality. At the moment she is embarrassed by my saying this, but it can't be helped.

The next time I get down to Jacksonville I will give you and Roy a buzz.

Best regards to you both and to the children.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:FCL

MEMORANDUM Staff Memos cr. ref Texas

November 4, 1957

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Fred Routh FR

Re: Dallas

On October 11 and 12, C.H. Parrish and I went to Austin, Texas to talk with professional staff members of a variety of agencies.

Out of this meeting came agreement that Ed Kloppe should serve as the "secretariat" of an interagency effort in Dallas, Texas, which faces desegregation at mid-term, February 3rd.

Participating in the Lone Star State interagency cooperative effort will be the Texas ADL, Texas AFSC, Texas AJC, Texas Council AFL-CIO, Texas Council of Churches, Texas NAACP, and the Texas Council on Human Relations.

Tentative plans include a census of the Dallas constituency of the various agencies to determine members of the power structure. A quiet, off the record approach to these people with the following objectives in mind:

1) Get them to know each other and open lines of communication among them.

2) Involve them in working toward orderly compliance with the court decision by: a) group discussions so they understand the problem; b) joint visitation to the mayor and chief of police stressing "we don't want a Little Rock"; c) visit to the Governor "approving" of his statement re. use of troops to maintain order and not block desegregation.

I will be in Dallas, during our Confederate Conference on Desegregation, furthering these plans. Kloppe will spend several days a week in Dallas doing leg-work between now and February 3rd.

Staff: FBR.

November 4, 1957.

Frederick B. Routh's itinerary during week ending November 9, 1957:

Dallas, Texas:	c/o AJC - Gus Falk. Tuesday, November 5th.
	Returning to office early afternoon of Wednesday, November 6th.
Columbia, South Carolina:	c/o SC Council on Human Relations. Thursday, November 7th.

In office all day Friday, November 8th (and all next week).

December 13, 1957

Dear Fred,

Since I got your letter the other day, I have read for the third time Herbert Blumer's article in the March 1956 ANNALS(pp. 137-143). It presents an adequate theoretical basis for our operation; I would suggest that it be suggested, if not required, reading for all central and state staff persons. The following excerpts seem to be directed specifically to SRC:

"The carrying through as well as the blocking of deliberate desegregation depends on mobilizing and focusing influence and power on central functionaries. . . . .The vehicle of procedure is strategical maneuvering, designed to marshal and utilize the potentials of power and prestige available in the given situation.

. . . (T)he advantage in the long run is in the hands of the side which is able to capitalize on the prestige and strength of the transcending group. Agencies seeking to achieve racial desegregation have a particularly strong strategic weapon (it is not always seen or used) in focusing on the validity of applying the transcending legal or moral standard. This makes it unnecessary to challenge or impugn the feelings and attitudes of the functionary toward the subordinate racial group, or to try to change such feelings and attitudes. . . . . .(This approach to the functionary in terms of the validity and need of applying the standard) provides the opportunity of shifting the contest from a question of a struggle between the racial groups to a question of obedience to the transcending legal or moral standards."

With respect to most of the specific questions raised in your letter, I have already expressed my views from time to time. The joint decisions on particular matters which seem to be called for now cannot be reached on the basis of individually submitted recommendations. Such decisions require discussion in which a given recommendation may be challenged on the spot and in context. Consequently, my remarks in answer to your questions are given without elaboration in the hope that they may provoke discussion at some later time when detailed arguments may be presented.

Question # 1 - - -

In deciding where to concentrate our efforts select ---the large city in preference to the small town; the regionally strategic city in preference to the merely locally significant; the community under court order in preference to one which is not; the community in a complying or waiting state in preference to one in the hard core group. Offhand, for one of these reasons or another, Dallas, Houston, Memphis, Norfolk, Miami, New Orleans come to mind. What should be done would depend upon the community under consideration. In general, the resources of the community should be known and the sympathetic agencies should be coordinated in order that an effective program could be developed.

The consultant service program should be more flexible so as to permit, in addition to the community workshop, consultation with school superintendants and other community leaders. If an invitation is lacking, the state or local human relations agency might invite the consultants to meet with their own board members with special guests from the community leadership; the meeting would be held, of course, in the community under study.

Inter-agency cooperation need not involve a joint effort but may involve a division of labor with each agency doing a specific job within its area of competence but tied together by an overall strategy.

Question #2 - - - (Program suggestions for the "hard core")

A reappraisal of the concept, "Hard Core State", and its implications for SRC is needed. It is likely that we have "gone overboard" in our emphasis upon the official position of the state government as the determining factor in program-planning. There are influential "hard core" elements in nearly all of the states, including several states in which some desegregation has occurred. Even in the states where there is no desegregation considerable variance in the popular support of the official position is discernible.

State programs should be regionally oriented and whatever is done should be evaluated in terms of the regional strategy. Staff people in all of the states have the obligation of looking for cracks in the wall of resistance and of devising ways and means of exploiting them. The concentration of attention upon particular communities within the state is preferable to a futile statewide program. If the desegregation of schools is too hot to handle, there are always other areas to which attention may be given. Turning to Blumer again: "When given programs of racial desegregation (in any area) succeed, they weaken the support of other established forms of segregation."

Question #3 - - - (Communication)

I am not sure what is meant here by "communication". We have tended to stress the dissemination of factual information mainly for the purpose of conteracting pro-segregation propaganda. Through occasional newsletters and bulletins we have attempted to bolster the morale of our own people and to give them some notion of the overall situation. What seems to be needed is more interpretation, more communication of goals and objectives, more frequent declarations of intention, more "spelling out" of the meaning of events in terms of a clearly defined regional strategy. This goes far beyond the communication of facts; it suggests the need for developing a context, or perhaps several compatible contexts, within which the odds and ends of factual data can be arranged. At the risk of triteness, I offer three possible contexts: The Brotherhood of Man; The Democratic Society; Economic Progress.

Once we have agreed upon what is to be communicated, the problem of how to communicate it is somewhat simplified. I think we should recognize the fact that the difficulties in communication between SRC and its former affiliates arise out of the necessary priority given to fund-raising. They cannot hear what we have to say about program as long as their very existence is jeopardized by lack of funds. I do not know how to deal with this problem but I think its importance in communication should not be underestimated. The only concrete suggestion I have on the matter of getting over SRC's point of view to the state groups is by means of a quarterly review and analysis of each state operation. These evaluations would be prepared by the SRC central staff and sent to each state group to be distributed and discussed at the next state board meeting. *

aimed at leading to be sent with covering letter to heads of other orgs. & asking them to do likewise

To other organizations (inter-agency--church--labor) and to key people I would send the "best of Harold Fleming" in the form of a twice-a-year appraisal of happenings in the region, somewhat on the order of the six months' report distributed to our own board members. It would be helpful if an articulate as well as knowledgeable spokesman for each of the other cooperating agencies could be persuaded to do the same thing and thus set up an interchange of summary reviews. Other agencies might help, too, in preparing a comprehensive list of key and status persons both within and outside the region. *

I am not sure but what communication with universities and youth groups should be mediated through existing youth organizations like the YWCA. If it has not already been done, editors of college papers might be put on our mailing list.

Question #4

The internship training program should include:

(1) Training in good observation and objective reporting (from HF, JC and PA).
(2) Training in workshop organization and leadership (fromFBR and JH).
(3) Training in community organization (perhaps from GTH).
(4) Knowledge of the difference between a public and private agency.
(5) Training in the techniques of fund-raising.
(6) Training in the techniques of salesmanship.
(7) Need for a sound theoretical approach to the problems of inter-group relations.

Question #5

Each member of our Board of Directors might be asked to name key and status persons in their areas or over the region and to indicate the kind of involvement possible in each case.

Since we will have a chance to talk about these matters shortly, I have completed this memorandum hastily. I hope it suffices for our present purpose.

Cordially

C. H. Parrish

Copy to John Hope

Note: compiled by FBR on 9th January 1958 with Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority St. Louis meeting in mind.

VITA SHEET

Frederick B. Routh

Born: May 29, 1923 **Reared:** Coral Gables, Florida

Education:

Elementary and High School, Coral Gables, Florida
AB and MA, University of Miami (Florida)
Doctoral work completed, New York University's Center for Human Relations Studies

Employment in Education:

University of Miami, 3 years, Department of Human Relations, Assistant Professor
University of Heidelberg, The Sorbonne, University of London; 1 summer
University of Michigan Human Relations Workshop; 1 summer
New York University Human Relations Workshop; 1 summer
Instructor, Miami Police Academy; two academic years

Current Employment:

Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, 1954-

Community Experience:

Board of Dade County (Florida) Council on Community Relations
Board of Greater Miami Foundation on Civic Education
Board of Coral Gables YMCA
Board of Cooke Cancer Research Foundation
President (past) Greater Miami U.N. Association, AAUW
Candidate for U.S. Congress, May 1954, 4th District, Florida

Honoraries and Professional Memberships:

Vice President NAIRO
American Association of University Professors
Florida Academy of Sciences
South Florida Historical Association
Southern Historical Association
Omicron Delta Kappa
Alpha Phi Omega
Phi Delta Kappa
Pi Kappa Delta
Sigma Tau Delta

Armed Forces:

Naval Air Intelligence Officer, World War II

January 28, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Fred Routh
Emory Via

From: Faith Lawson

Re: Leave

Having accepted an invitation to drive into Kentucky your devoted secretary will be unable to render you any services on the afternoon of Friday, 31st January or Monday, 3rd February. The required record of leave form has been presented to the appropriate official.

OK
FBR

January 30, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold C. Fleming
cc: Paul Anthony
Anne-Lise Rivers
Faith C. Lawson

Re: FBR's immediate movements

On Saturday and Sunday, February 1st and 2nd, I will be in St. Louis, Missouri speaking to the annual meeting of Alpha Kappa Alpha. I will be staying at the Chase Hotel and probably can best be contacted through Mrs. James Clarke of the NCCJ office in St. Louis.

On Sunday evening I shall fly to Philadelphia for Governor Leader's and Dave McDonald's conference, which is to be held at the Bellevue Stratford on Monday, February 3rd.

I am returning to Atlanta on the night flight, February 3rd.

FBR

March 11, 1958

Confidential

MEMORANDUM

To: Senior Professional Staff

From: Fred Routh

Re: College Conference Planning Session

I spent the better part of Saturday, March 8th, at Atlanta University attending a college conference planning session under the sponsorship of the YMCA and the U.S. National Student Association.

Among the adult leaders present were: Ray Farabee, President of NSA; Paul Rilling, Southern Regional office YMCA; Rev. Charlie Jones, Chapel Hill; Art Levin, ADL, Atlanta; Rev. Robert Mills, Episcopal Chaplain at Georgia Tech.; and Max Heirlich, AFSC, High Point, North Carolina office.

Student leadership from North Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Georgia, and Texas was also present.

We discussed a proposed conference for Southern college student leadership on the problems of desegregation. The following decisions were made:

Title -- "The College Student in the Changing South" -- a consideration of problems of racial tensions confronting the college campus.

Time -- Thanksgiving Weekend, 1958.

Where -- Nashville, Tennessee.

Size -- 150-200 student participants from all Southern states.

Goals -- 1. Develop a full understanding of the problem.
2. Methods of approaching tension problems.
3. Student responsibility in times of transition.

Format -- A. Several major speakers representing a wide range of opinion. Possible speakers: M.L. King, Jr., Tom Waring, Brooks Hayes.
B. Six interest-area workshops -- student leaders and participants, adult resource persons:
1. What can we do to better relations on a segregated campus?
2. What can we do to better relations on a desegregating campus?
3. What can we do to better relations between campus and community? (Prevent a second Miss Lucy affair.)
4. What can we do to better relations between colleges? (emphasis on communication between Negro and white schools.)

5. What can we do to better secure civil liberties on the campus? (freedom of speech and association.)
6. How can we deal effectively with the emotional dynamics of individual and group reaction to change?

This was a good planning session and SRC played a functional role in it. We will continue to serve in an advisory capacity through Paul Rilling of the YMCA and Ray Farabee of the NSA.

March 12, 1958

Dr. Miller A. F. Ritchie
President
Hartwick College
Oneonta, New York

Dear Miller:

I am enclosing a copy of a memo we recently received. The information contained therein is obviously confidential but is exceedingly good news and I thought you would be interested in it. I must say that I am somewhat amazed at the next to the last paragraph, but hope it is true and that it indicates progress on the part of our friend.

As you might guess I am not sure we are supposed to have a copy of this memo so trust you will treat it accordingly.

All warm regards to you and the family.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl
Enclosure.

March 13, 1958

Mr. and Mrs. Donald Weaver
315 Julie Drive
Gallop, New Mexico

Dear Peggy and Don:

I have not heard from you in ages, but occasionally hear about you from Don's father. Things go well here at the Council and we are kept busy beating down the 19th century forces which week to engulf the South. It doesn't seem possible but I have been with SRC for 3½ years.

I am sending you, separately, a copy of our annual report so that you will have some knowledge of our current activities. These activities have not gone on without the active opposition of White Citizens Councils and several of the state governments in the deep South. As a matter of fact, if the opposition were not vocal about our activities we would think we were falling short of the mark. It has been wisely said you can tell more about a man by who his enemies are than by knowing his friends. This I would assume is equally true of organisations and by this definition it makes us a saintly crew.

Galen tells me that you now have an increased family, and I am delighted to hear that there will be more Weavers to carry on the name and the happy personalities that are yours. He also tells me that your stint with the Indians will draw to a close this summer. What are your plans following the conclusion of this work?

Warm regards, as ever

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

March 14, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Re: Five Point Program

1. Gainesville, Florida. Trip with Paul Rilling and Guy Wells to participate in community workshop, co-sponsored by University of Florida School of Education and Florida Council on Human Relations' local affiliate. Last year attended by 150 people.

2. Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee. Field trip being planned to talk with leadership groups in both areas. In Nashville, to talk about "next steps" with our contacts who participate in the Nashville Conference. In Knoxville, to talk with our contacts about "first steps".

3. Miami, Florida. Trip (Easter holiday -- my expense) to talk with Joe Hall, Superintendent of Education. Relate him to Bill Williams and Seymour Samet. Also to give him some helpful materials and reestablish communication with him.

4. Arlington, Charlottesville, Hampton Roods, Norfolk, and Richmond, Virginia. Hopefully with Emory Via to ascertain a) what is being done to prepare communities for fall desegregation and b) what supporting role SRC can play.

5. New Orleans, Louisiana. Trip to get strategy committee off the ground and headed toward renewed staffed activity in the New Orleans area. This community is under court order to desegregate -- appeals all but run out.

6. Dallas, Texas. Continue and strengthen liaison with Ed Kloppe and Gus Falk. If they agree, trip to hold off-the-record talks with power structure. Follow up on Valien's visit.

7. Interracial Facilities. Second memo to those agencies not yet heard from. Follow up with letter to facilities asking for size of accommodations, price, policies, etc.

8. Youth Conference. Continue relationship with NSA and YMCA through Ray Farabee and Paul Rilling in planning for Thanksgiving conference on "The College Student in the Changing South" -- a consideration of problems of racial tensions confronting the college campus.

9. Internship. More directed supervision of intern. Planning with intern for field visits to other agency offices to gain perspective of human relations field. Planning with intern for field trips to state organization Board or annual meetings.

10. CCD's Interreligious sub-committee. Continued work with Will Campbell on exploring feasibility of large Southern Interreligious Conference on Human Relations. This is now being considered by several Protestant denominational national offices for financial underwriting.

Despatched 23/3/58

Faith,

Please send copies of SRC's Annual Report to the following:

① Mr & Mrs. Earl Routh
1225 Placetas Ave
Coral Gables 34, Florida

Mrs Routh
#149

② Mrs. I. J. Kohler
7217 36th Ave S.W.
Seattle 6, Wash

③ Mrs. John Phillips
1768 Main St. West.
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada —
(same postage as U.S.)

Thanks
Fred

Hof op. 61
Lynchburg Va
- Victor 5-8995

. . . from the remarks by Fred Routh, March 29th, 1958, Gainesville, Florida.

DESEGREGATION IS INEVITABLE

1. There is no solid South. The Southern states have reacted in varying ways to the Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955. Originally there were seventeen states and the District of Columbia which practised segregation in their public schools. Today there are only seven states left whose official posture insists upon the maintenance of segregation in the public schools. Of the remainder two — Florida and Virginia -- belong outside the hard core of defiant states.

Southern people, both Negro and white, have reacted in varying ways to the Supreme Court decisions. The vast majority of Negroes believe that segregation is wrong, that the Court was right, and that they have an opportunity now to fight for full citizenship. Some white Southerners are entirely in accord with the Court decision; others have had their consciences disturbed by the pronouncements of their churches that the Supreme Court decision was just and Christian; others are not yet prepared to accord equal citizenship to all their fellow human beings.

2. Socio-economic changes in the South point toward an ending of segregation. Segregation was a product of a rural and agrarian society; it is basically incompatible with a modern urbanised and industrial society. In 1890 two-thirds of all people who worked in the South labored in agriculture. In 1950 slightly more than two-thirds of all the people who worked in the South worked at pursuits other than agriculture. As recently as 1920 some two-thirds of all the people of the South lived in rural areas; in 1955 census estimates indicate that nearly 60% of all Southerners live in urban areas.

3. Legal changes indicate segregation is on its way out. The three branches of the Federal Government have all actedm in varying degrees, to end discrimination and/or segregation.

a) The executive branch has ended segregation in the armed forces and has created a President's Committee on Government Contracts, and a President's Committee on Government Employment Practices.

b) The judicial branch, through a series of court decisions culminating in the public schools decision, has overturned the flimsy legal foundations of Plessy v. Ferguson and has decreed the policy that where public funds are spent it must be on a non-discriminatory basis.

c) The legislative branch demonstrated its intent by passing the first civil rights bill in eighty years in 1957.

4. The findings of modern science do not support segregation. The former pseudo-scientific beliefs that there was a racial differential has been refuted by anthropologists, biologists, psychologists, and

sociologists. No social scientist, in good standing in his own profession, today will uphold the belief of inherent difference based on race.

5. The religious sanctions for segregation have been removed through the official pronouncements of all religious bodies. Official spokesmen for all Protestant denominations, for the Roman Catholic church, and for the three branches of Judaism, have stated that segregation is either un-American, immoral, or un-Christian. This is in sharp contrast to the period just prior to the Civil War when official church bodies found Biblical sanction for slavery.

6. Psychological changes among Southerners themselves further militate against segretation. Among whites this is seen in the development of a self-image that is much more close to the national self-image than at any other time in our history. We tend to be Americans first and Southerners second. Among Negroes there is a new self-image. No longer is the self-image that of the servant and the special pleaders, but of manhood symbolized, perhaps best, by Martin Luther King, Jr. of Montgomery, Alabama. Among the opposition to desegregation there is a distinct feeling of defeatism. This is a psychological factor that cannot be ignored.

7. National and international interests demand an end to segregation. While it is tru that two-thirds of the world's population is non-white, a more important factor is that 90% of the uncommitted peoples of the world are non-white. In seeking to judge whether to follow the United States and its allies into the paths of democracy or the Soviet Union and its satellites into the paths of Communism the uncommitted judge our sincerity on the treatment received by Negro Americans in the South. Enlightened self-interest, if not national survival itself, demands an end to discrimination based on race.

FBR:fcl
April 7, 1958

WESLEYAN COLLEGE
CHARTERED 1836
MACON, GEORGIA

April 9, 1958

Mr. Fred Rauth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Rauth:

If you have received my letter of April 8 I imagine you are still suffering from the shock of speaking of Socialism! Please forgive my error- I have since found out that it is the Christian approach to social issues.

Repentantly yours,

Mary Cooper

Mary Cooper

WESLEYAN COLLEGE
CHARTERED 1836
MACON, GEORGIA

April 8, 1958

Mr. Fred Rauth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rauth:

We are looking forward to having you on campus with us Tuesday, April 15. I think you and Dr. Hinson have decided that you will discuss the Christian approach to socialism. This discussion will begin at 10:00 that morning. You will probably want to arrive around 9:45, coming to Dr. Hinson's office on the first floor of the Administration Building, where someone will meet you and show you to the meeting place.

If there are any questions or instructions please contact me. I shall be glad to get anything you might need, or to arrange for a display of pertinent material which you might suggest or send.

We're so glad you can come.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Cooper

Mary Cooper
Chairman, Seminars

Box A9

Fred Routh

Sol Rabkin

Nathan Perlmutter

April 16, 1958

Yesterday City Attorney Bill Pallet, of our Regional Advisory Board, formally recommended to the Miami City Commission that they not appeal the Circuit Court of Appeals decision in favor of integrated bus seating.

The City Commission by a 3 to 2 vote accepted Pallet's recommendation. Unless some untoward development occurs non-segregated bus seating prevails in Miami, both in fact and in law.

I understand that Bill's most convincing point was that if the Commission was coming to him in the role of a private client, requesting him to appeal this case, he would have to turn it aside because it would be a waste of their money.

NP/lw
cc: Arnold Forster
Alex Miller
Oscar Cohen
Southern Offices Art Levin

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

Mr. B. W. Durham
70 Auburn Ave NE.
Columbus 5, Ohio —

Faith —
Please send this to
the above named gentleman.
Thanks
Fred

FBR Vita Sheet
sent Oct. 18, 1958

FBR-Personal

April 18, 1958

Mr. Lee Jay Price
P.O. Box 1724
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Jack:

I was delighted to hear from you after so long a silence. I have caused to be sent to you as you requested fifty copies of the Wall Street Journal's "Segregation Costs", the New York Times Magazine's "The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox", and also five copies of the March 1958 issue of New South.

I am interested that Senator Pepper is seriously considering opposing Spessard Holland. If it materializes that should a most interesting race. Both of them are symbols: one a symbol of liberalism, the other a symbol of conservatism. I shall watch with interest the race as it develops.

I am delighted to hear that Jack has decided to seek public office again. I know his family and law firm must feel that it is unfair to him, and yet people like Jack are so rare in public life that we must take advantage of them. I had forgotten that the primaries had been moved to September. This will mean, I assume, a slower start in the campaign and a longer build-up to the primary. I agree with you that this seems better than the early primary.

The last I heard from you you were about to leave Florida -- or at least thought you were. Hence the few times I have been down to my home bailiwick I have not gotten in touch with you on the assumption you were no longer there. Next time down I will give you a call.

All good wishes,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

P. O. Box 1724
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida
April 17, 1958

Dear Fred,

I will be most grateful if you can send me [illegible]) copies of the reprints "Segregation Costs" from WALL STREET JOURN[illegible] [illegible]e Southern Negro: Change and Paradox" from NYTIMES magazine. I would a[illegible] [illegible]ive (5) copies of the current (March 1958) issue of NEW SOUTH magazine.

It is now pretty definite that Sen. Pepper [illegible] [illegible]se Spessard Holland for the U.S. Senate and I am busy with that effort. [illegible]al announcement yet but it is a sure thing. After a long period of inde[illegible] [illegible]ompted by vigorous opposition from his family and considerati ons of his [illegible] [illegible]ce) Jack Orr has decided to run again for the Legislature. I think yo[illegible] [illegible]t for the first time the primaries will be held in September rather than in M[illegible] as w[illegible] done for more than 50 yrs. I think it is better.

Say, Mr. Routh, don't you ever get down to your h[illegible] bailiwick? If so, wish you would be in touch.

Best wishes,

Jack

LEE JAY PRICE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
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MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WALNUT 4-0701

April 28, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Routh:

I am writing to you because I believe you share my deep concern about our failure to attack more effectively racial discrimination in many areas, which acts to nullify the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in education. Residential segregation remains the last and most difficult barrier to full equality.

Therefore I have been encouraging a national effort to stimulate private housing without discrimination - Modern Community Developers. A business venture with a social goal, it will accelerate the trend toward an open housing market by making available to building groups the practical experience of successful developers of integrated housing. It will also provide additional investment in areas where projects are sound. This is an exciting and creative idea.

MCD is headed by my good friend Morris Milgram, who organized Concord Park and Greenbelt Knoll, successful integrated developments in the Philadelphia area, which, when I visited them, moved me deeply. Concord Park, a community of 139 families, a majority white, has inspired similar developments nationally, including Princeton, N. J., where more than two-thirds of the families are white.

Modern Community Developers will be launched at a dinner on Tuesday, May 27th, at the Savoy Plaza Hotel in New York. There will be no stock solicitation. Charles Abrams, author of "Forbidden Neighbors," will speak.

Kivie Kaplan and Jackie Robinson, who work together as co-chairmen of NAACP's life membership committee, will be honored with major awards on this occasion. Both are giving inspired leadership in the cause of equal housing opportunity. Scrolls of honor will be presented to four pioneers in housing integration: Algernon D. Black, David H. Scull, Marietta Tree and Robert C. Weaver.

As chairman of the national committee of sponsors of this founding dinner, I urge that you support this effort by becoming a sponsor. I assure you that this involves no obligation other than your belief.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

May 7, 1958

Mrs. Frances Cousens
18019 Roselawn
Detroit 21, Michigan

Dear Fran,

Have just returned to the office from a NAIRO Board meeting in New York and found your note awaiting me. Also found a package on my desk containing "Ballads for Sectarians." If it does'nt sound too pontifical, may I say "Bless your ole cotton pickin' heart."

I am indebted, too, for the most pleasant evening spent in your home. There is something about pleasant surroundings, good Scotch, and better company that makes it all worthwhile. Of course, receiving fan mail (or should I say Fran- mail?) also helps.

Don't know how it came about but I am an active member of CCD's Inter-religious Sub-Committee. We met Monday in New York so I stayed over for it, thus giving me a weekend in the Big City - which was not wasted.

Please give my regards to all my friends in Detroit.

Illegitimus non Carborundum !

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/bcc

May 9, 1958

Mr. Barbee W. Durham
70 Auburn Avenue
Columbus 5, Ohio

Dear Mr. Durham:

At long last, here is news from the horse's mouth. Sorry, but I have been in the field for an extended round-up and trust that your hearing from two sources other than me at this end of the line hasn't confused things too much.

I arrive in Columbus, Ohio at 9:28 p.m. Saturday, May 17th, on Delta-American flight #542 from Lexington, Kentucky. I would appreciate it if you would make hotel reservations for me for the night of May 17th and notify my office of which hotel. I am off now for Knoxville, Tennessee for a workshop on desegregation.

I only have one picture - sorry - its enclosed. I look forward to being with you on the 18th.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/bcc
Enclosure:

The Executive Secretary
70 Auburn Avenue
Columbus 5, Ohio

May 12th

1 9 5 8

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I was very glad to hear from you today and to learn that you will be in on Saturday evening. Reservations have been made for you at the Deshler-Hilton Hotel.

I was unable to clear the subject for your speech and hope that I am not too far off base. I tried to think of something that would cover most of what you might say. I don't particularly like the idea of announcing you at a 'white' southerner but I feel that circumstances justify this. We want as many persons to hear you as possible and we want as much press and radio coverage as possible. I am inviting two stations to tape your address for possible re-broadcast to our entire community.

We are urging our campaign Workers to come to the meeting because we feel certain that you will say something to challenge and inspire that to go out and do a real job.

I plan to meet your plane and am looking foward to your visit.

Yours very truly,

Barbee William Durham
Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. Routh
c/o The Knoxville NAACP

CHARLES LIVERMORE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
270 BROADWAY 7, N. Y.

May 13, 1958

Mr. Frederick Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

This is to remind you that we each have $1.00 deposit with John Lassoe for the following bet: You bet that Stassen would beat Leader for the gubernatorial nomination in Pennsylvania. You also bet that the Republican ticket for 1960 would consist of Nixor and McClellan, or Stassen and McClellan.

I am not sure under what condition one of us gets paid off, but at least we ought to figure it out before Lassoe spends the money.

Yours,

Chas.

Charles Livermore
Executive Secretary

CL/or

June 11, 1958

Mrs. Julia F. Jackson, Director
Great Issues Course
Morris Brown College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

In response to a mimeographed form invitation to speak on Race Relations in the United States the night of November 10, 1958, in the Great Issues series, I regret I must decline.

The Southern Regional Council holds its annual meeting two days later and I shall be swamped in the preparation for that meeting.

Sould you care to set another date, I would be happy to consider it.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Morris Brown College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

June 10, 1958

DIVISION OF LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND ART

Dr. Fred B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

We are now in the midst of securing lecturers for the second year of the Great Issues Course. Comments from students who participated in the course during its initial year lead us to believe that the course fills a great need for seniors of Morris Brown College. Most of the lecturers expressed interest in the informal atmosphere and the questions of the students as they sought help in preparing to meet the great issues of today. It is our hope that the experiences of the second year, 1958-59, will prove of even greater value for the participants.

This comes to ask if you will serve as one of the lecturers for the coming year. The suggested topic is

"Race Relations in The United States"

and the lecture is scheduled for November 10, 1958. The class meets on Monday nights at 7:00 p.m., in the college chapel, for one hour. A short period at the end of the lecture is reserved for questions from the students.

It is hoped that each lecturer will suggest materials that the students may consult beforehand for background information. It is suggested that an outline or a typescript of the lecture be submitted to become part of the permanent files kept for the course. Each topic is to be treated as an "issue" and the probable effects of the issue upon the public and private lives of individuals.

We sincerely hope that you will consent to come to us. An early reply will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Julia F. Jackson (h)

(Mrs.) Julia F. Jackson, Director
GREAT ISSUES COURSE

JFJ
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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Staff copy

OCTOBER 13, 1958

MR. FREDERICK B. ROUTH
c/o MRS. EMMA PHILLIPS
1768 MAIN STREET, W.
HAMILTON, ONTARIO
CANADA

TO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY WE EXTEND OUR DEEPEST

SYMPATHIES DURING THIS TIME OF BEREAVEMENT.

SRC STAFF

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

4 Dec 58

TO: HCF
RHA

FROM: FBR

SUBJ.: Vacation

All things being equal and anticipating no strong objection from either of you, I intend to go home for Christmas. This will involve being absent from the office the week of Dec 22-26 inclusive. I reckon this at three working days since it includes the 25th when we'll be shut down and the 26th when the heat in the building will be shut off.

Actually I intend to drive home Sat the 20th and back Sat and Sun the 27-28; I'll be back at my desk Monday, Dec 29th.

FBR.

HCF, MA, PA, RHA

January 8, 1959

Fred will be in Nashville, Tennessee, January 9-10. On January 9 he may be reached through Dr. Herman Long at Fisk University. He will spend the night at the Hotel James Robertson, Nashville.

January 10 will be spent at Fisk University with John Hope and C. H. Parrish.

February 18, 1959

Dr. and Mrs. Joe Hall
500 Hardee Road
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Ella Faye and Joe:

This letter serves two purposes: First, a belated note of thanks for the use of your station wagon while I was down home late in January. I very much appreciate your thoughtfulness and generosity in this matter. The use of the car facilitated my getting about.

Secondly, a note of congratulations on the decision of the Board of Education to desegregate the Orchard Villa school come next fall. I know that your courageous leadership, Joe, had much to do with this decision.

I am enclosing a copy of an article describing my speech - taken from the Miami News. I understand since then that the local scandal sheet, Miami Life, has sought to discredit SRC and the meeting of the Dade County Council. One learns to expect such things but it is always sad to have it happen. Fortunately, with very few exceptions, the respectable daily press has never done such a thing.

I am also enclosing for your information a copy of an editorial from the Richmond (Virginia) Times-Dispatch. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Times-Dispatch, was one of the prime movers in the formation of the Council, so he should know full well its origins. You will note that even though he no longer loves us, he lays to rest the canard of Jim Jackson "founding" SRC.

Best regards to Mrs. Price and all the little Halls.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

2 June 59

Dear Harold

Just a note to say things go well and though I'm not yet on the job I'm busily at it already. I am meeting the Gov. this afternoon and an off Wed. for a NAACP Bd meeting in N.Y. followed by the State Commissions Against Discrimination meeting in N.J. on June 8-9-10 and the the Governors' Interim Committee meeting on June 11th in N.J. too. So will actually get on the job at the office June 15th!

Just got your note and clipping re Harry Walker — Good God! I'll write Mrs Walker — suggest you do too.

Enclosed is a clipping re my appointment here. I'm sending two — one for the files — one to circulate to the staff.

Miss you, the gang and SRC — the new job looks in twenty though.

Best regards and in view of Harry Walker's death — take it easy —

As ever
Fred

Keep in touch.

P.35 Detroit Mich Times

Files

New Chief Appointed for FEPC

From Our Lansing Bureau

LANSING, May 29.—A 36-year-old native of Michigan who has been helping solve racial problems in the South will become executive director of the State Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) on June 8.

DR. FREDERICK B. ROUTH

He is Dr. Frederick B. Routh, who prefers not to use the title "Dr.," and wants to be known as "Fred."

"Dr. Routh is one of the best trained men available in this new field of intergroup relations," said Harry J. Kelley, of Grand Rapids, commission chairman.

BORN IN WYANDOTTE

"Under his leadership and with the continued dedication of our professional staff, we are confident we shall continue to merit the support of Michigan."

Routh will succeed John G. Field, who resigned in January to become Senator Hart's legislative assistant in Washington. Field had been director since the Michigan FEPC was created 3½ years ago.

Born in Wyandotte, Routh went to Florida in 1924.

To take the job here, Routh resigned as assistant director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, Ga., where for five years he had worked with white and Negro leaders to bring about an orderly transition to an integrated society in the South.

TO LIVE IN DETROIT

A graduate of the University of Miami, Routh studied also at New York University. He has taught at Miami, the University of Michigan, human relations workshop, and in universities at Heidelberg, London and Paris.

During World War II, he was naval air intelligence officer.

Routh was in East Lansing this week as a consultant to the Michigan State University institute on police-community relations.

He is unmarried and will live in Detroit.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Rauter, Fred

RECEIVED JUN 8 1959

Friday June 5/59
New York City

Harry n' all that—

Just a note to say hello and that I am at the NAIRO Bd Meeting in New York. What is of particular interest to SRC was the discussion the Bd had about the disposition of the 125 shares of Gulf Oil stock held by NAIRO. Praise St. Stephen from whom the blessings flow!

Ted Leches discussed this question with a Maurice Kliner of Hirsch and Co of NY— (Spelling of either or both doubtful) who advised that NAIRO turn the stock over to him for disposal at the most advantageous time. He felt that the stock would regain some or all of its value-at-receipt by the end of the year.

AJC has had an ironclad rule of disposing of gift securities at market value at time of notification of receipt. NAIRO's Bd today adopted the same policy for any future gifts this organization might receive.

Best regards to all the staff— I miss ya' all and SRC.

As ever

Fred

July 14, 1959

Mr. Fred Routh
P. O. Box 2292
Detroit 31, Mich.

Dear Fred:

Later this month I will be journeying to Houston to meet with James Noland and others there to discuss program for next year and to plan a workshop. A recent letter from Noland raises again the question of financial aid from the Southern Regional Council to the Houston group. Harold wrote pending my arrival that it still remained a matter to be cleared with the Texas State Council group. Before going to Houston I am anxious that I be properly briefed on where these negotiations stand. I note that in a letter to Benita Valien prior to her trip to Houston you suggested that she might look into this matter. It is not, however, mentioned in her report.

I would appreciate any light that you can shed on this murky subject so that I can make like a well-informed authority on the whole deal. Time is of the essence.

I am enjoying your house and all goes well here. Write when you get a chance.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

January 15, 1962

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Post Office Box 2292
Detroit 31, Michigan

Dear Fred:

Many thanks for your note of January 5 and the copy of Commissioner Kelley's speech which I read with interest.

Next time you come to Atlanta let's plan to see more of each other.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

RESERVATIONS CLERK
WILLARD HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PLEASE RESERVE TWIN WITH SHOWER SATURDAY NIGHT, JULY 19, FOR JOHN HOPE AND FRED ROUTH. WIRE CONFIRMATION COLLECT.

Fred Routh
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MRS. EMMETT S. JOHNSON
WESLEYAN COLLEGE, BOX 510
MACON, GEORGIA

Saturday - April 12 -

Dear Jack:

All of us continue to be so grateful to you for the magnificent thing you meant to us last Tuesday - We shall be living on it for a long, long time. In fact, you put insights and concepts into our minds that will be ours - for always - What an exciting thought, as I attempt to imagine what

you are meaning to
our whole South.

Our new catalogue is
just out - and I am due
to teach Race Relations
(called American Minorities)
next fall. We offer this
every other year. I am
wondering what the climate
will be by then.

Thank you again
for what you meant to us.
Sincerely, Mary Vaughan Johnson

Staff - FBR

Frederick B. Routh: biographical note.

Frederick B. Routh was reared in south Florida, received his A.B. and M.A. degress at the University of Miami, and did his doctoral work at the Center for Human Relations Studies at New York University. During World War II he served as an officer in Naval Air Intelligence. He was Co-Director New York University European Workshop, 1951. He taught at the University of Miami in the Department of Human Relations for three years, and in 1954 stood as candidate for the United States Congress for South Florida. For the past three years he has been with the Southern Regional Council as Assistant Director.

Copies of this given to John Hope II 15th Oct 1954

I. There has been a significant movement of people and political power since the end of World War II. Political power moves with people but at a slower rate. The following trends are significant:

(a) Westward movement of great numbers of people.

(b) The flight from the farm to urban areas.

(c) Megalopolis -- a continuous urban strip with fuzzy lines of demarkation between rural and urban areas.

(d) Negro migration from rural to urban South; out of the South to the North and West.

(e) White migration from rural to urban South; out of South to the North and West.

(f) Movement of Jewish population from "inner-city" to suburbs.

(g) Movement of Catholic "workers" from "inner-city" to suburbs.

II. These trends are causing changes in voting patterns throughout the nation; and causing shifts of political power. The more significant meanings of these trends are the following:

(a) The ending of the immigrant vote.

(b) The growing importance of the Negro vote; in part replacing the immigrant vote. (There are 4 Negroes in Congress in '58, we may expect from 10 to 12 in the next decade.)

(c) The farm vote has continued to lose its power -- this will be accelerated, the loss that is.

(d) Serious decline of power of Southern States in national politics. First really noted at Democratic convention of '36.

(e) As these groups have lost power others have gained; among them:

1. Negro voters in urban North.

2. Catholic voters (divided among Italian, Irish, and Canadian.)

3. Voters in urban industrial areas; and influential groups within these areas.

III. How do these trends show themselves? Basically, American politics is a measuring device of numbers of like-minded people, hance political power. Three bench marks of changing or shifting political power to be noted:

(a) Position of minority-group office holders -- appointed or elected. Minority-group members usually start at aldermanic level proceed through state house, US Congress, state-wide office. Watch who gets nominated and elected; also who gets appointed.

(b) The thinking process of those nominated and elected; who lines-up with whom; who "counts," etc.

(c) Minority groups usually do not vote as movable or sellable blocks. They tend to vote for those whom they feel represent their interests. "A brown skin won't of itself, capture the Negro vote."

IV. We are beginning to "nationalize" American politics. We tend more and more to see things on a national rather than a local or state level. This is one of the most important trends of the future; not widely or fully felt yet. It will tend to lessen the influence of minority group voters; lessen the influence of states and regions.

V. State influence is losing. Rural areas hanging on to excessive power through malproportionment force mayors and other city officials to turn to the federal government for assistance. The state government's inability and unwillingness to deal with problems faced by larger metropolitan areas is weakening the whole structure of state power.

FBR.

Mr. Das Kelly Barnett
Associate Professor of Christian Ethics
Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest
Austin, Texas

Mrs. J. A. Burt
1815 Enterprise
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Merrimon Cunninggim
Perkins School of Theology
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Mr. N. J. Demereth, Director
Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dr. A. W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Father Albert Foley
Department of Social Science
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

Dr. Lewis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

The Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D.
Archbishop of San Antonio
230 Dwyer Avenue
San Antonio, Texas

Dr. Charles H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dr. Rupert Picott
Virginia Teachers Association
316 E. Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Lucius Pitts
Georgia Teachers and Education Association
201 Ashby Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Mrs. Candler Tatum
2422 Fifteenth Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama

Dean Chester Travelstead
School of Education
University of New Mexico
Albequerque, New Mexico

Father L. J. Twomey, S.J.
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Mrs. Bonita Valien
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Mr. John Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
116 Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox
2205 Old Knoxville Highway
Marysville, Tennessee

Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson, Sr.
Route 3
Laurens, South Carolina

Mr. Thomas Young
Editor and Publisher
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

State Superintendents:

Dr. Oliver Hodge
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Department of Education
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dr. Robert Martin
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Department of Education
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dr. W. W. Trent
Superintendent of Schools
Department of Education
Charleston, West Virginia

Dr. Hubert Wheeler
Commissioner
Board of Education
Jefferson City, Missouri

FBR. April 14, 1958.
For Senator Douglas' office

Staff: FBR.

Frederick B. Routh: schedule for week of October 28-31:

Monday and Tuesday	Detroit Michigan FEPC
Wednesday	New York City NY - Housing Commission

Return Thursday morning - in office early Thursday afternoon.

FBR w/

FBR's Schedule:

June 19th - Butler University, Indianapolis

June 21st - UAW-FDR Camp; Port Huron, Michigan

(June 20th through 23, can be reached through Tom Routh,
c/o Weaver's Store for Men
Biddle at Elm
Wyandotte, Michigan.)

June 24 - July 5th, c/o Mrs. J. Phillips
Box 26, RRI
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

Phone: Ed Guest
Ancaster Road
Hamilton, Ontario

Staff Memos - General

MEMORANDUM

TO: Harold C. Fleming
FROM: Frederick B. Routh

1. I am scheduling my vacation, if convenient to all concerned, Monday, June 24th through Friday, July 5. I, of course, will not be in town either on the week-end preceeding or the week-end following that vacation period.

2. On June 21 I am scheduled to sepak to the UAW-CIO in Port Heron, Michigan, hence I shall leave Atlanta the afternoon of Thursday, June 20.

3. This involves a considerable saving to me, since my way is being paid to Port Heron, and this is close by the Canadian border.

cc: Mrs. Ruth Alexander

January 21, 1959

Miss Charlis Clarke
Y. W. C. A. Regional Office
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Clarke:

It was good to talk with you the other day about the Florida Neighborhood Meeting planned for April 29-30. I am glad that this was of some help to you.

Thank you for the minutes of the planning session (November 11-12, 1958) which arrived this morning. After the program is firmed up I would appreciate receiving a copy of it.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Memorandum

Date 1/20/59

To Mr. Fred Routh Dept.

From Miss Charlis Clarke Dept.
YWCA Regional Office

Future Style
Congrats

T1 6-58

The Florida Neighborhood Planning Committee Meeting
November 11 - 12, 1958
Lake Byrd Lodge - Avon Park, Florida

Mrs. John Welborn, Jr., National Board, Southern Region, presided and opened the meeting with a meditation. Next, she gave the plan and purpose of the Neighborhood Meeting.

Those in attendance were introduced:

Name	Address	Association Responsibility
Nan Myers	226 King Street, Cocoa	Director East Florida MCD-USO-YWCA
Mrs. Henrietta T. Lindsey	368 N. W. 16th Terrace, Miami	
Mrs. L. F. Sheerwood	324 N. Lakeside Court, West Palm Beach	Board Member
Mrs. A. Louise B'Taylor	2626 N.W. 49th Street, Miami	Branch Executive Director
Mrs. Stanley Biedron	513 Majorca Avenue, Coral Gables	1st Vice-President - Board
Gladys M. Panton	7140 S.W. 19th Terrace, Miami	Executive Director
Mrs. George Cappleman	1220 Ridge Avenue, Clearwater	Member
Margaret Fincher	1416 Nelson, Clearwater	Executive Director
Mrs. T. Scott Kennedy	417 Prescott, Clearwater	Treasurer - Board
Mrs. Della R. Worley	616 Okeechobee Road, W.Palm Beach	Secretary - Board
Mrs. R. J. Burnup	928 Hollywood Place, W.Palm Beach	President
Helen Edmiston	344 S. Beach, Daytona Beach	Executive Director
Mrs. John Welborn, Jr.	Greenville, South Carolina	National Board Member
Mrs. Dorothy Tillman	562 South Street, Daytona Beach	Committee on Administration
Mrs. John C. Killian	224 Williams Avenue, Daytona Beach,	Secretary

Planning:

In the discussion of the content for the Florida Neighborhood Meeting it was decided that we would begin the planning by considering what was happening under four different headings:

Communities in Florida	YWCAs in Florida	Convention Action 1958	What Ought To Be Considered In A Neighborhood Meeting in Florida
Increasing population and Shifting population.	Generally, YWCA program is not fully meeting the needs of the community, although each YWCA is doing the best that it can.	Basic Standards	1. Understanding of the community and impact of increasing population.
Overcrowding		Effective cooperation	
Inadequate Community Services		Cooperation with the YMCA	
Problems in Housing and Transportation		Inclusiveness	2. Understanding the forces at work in the community
Uncontrolled real estate developments, sometimes with attendant rackets		Leadership	
		Membership	3. The need for being able to make decisions and being able to stand by them.
Teen-age delinquency		Peace Statement	

Communities in Florida	YWCAs in Florida	Convention Action 1958	What Ought To Be Considered In A Neighborhood Meeting in Florida
Interracial and inter-group pressures and tensions.		Coed and Family Program Public Affairs	4. The responsibility that a YWCA has for taking the lead in a controversial area.
Push for legalized gambling.		National Support	5. How to handle controversial problems.
Political and Interracial pressures in churches and YWCAs.		Camping Outer Space Reaffirmation of the Interracial Charter	6. How to have the kind of courage that is needed to stand up under the impact of today's world.

This discussion brought out the necessity for help in learning facts, gaining understanding, learning techniques, improving education and knowing the factors in decision-making.

After considerable discussion on topics under these four headings, it was decided that the general idea for the Neighborhood Meeting would be built around the topic, "Our Christian Faith and Responsibility in Decision Making" with special emphasis on how to handle controversial matters.

It was agreed that Mrs. John Welborn, Jr., National Board Member and Mrs. Stanley Biedron, Vice-President, Miami would serve as Co-Chairmen.

Plan for Meeting: General presentation followed by work sessions. Those attending would be divided into three groups depending on number registered. Each group would deal with the same questions. The plan is that the two chairmen, Mrs. Welborn and Mrs. Biedron would compose a letter to go out to the local Associations asking each Association to submit questions which it would like to have discussed in the general areas of Public Affairs, World Fellowship, Religious Emphasis and Membership. These questions then would be revised and placed on a list for all three of the work sessions to discuss.

Date for the Neighborhood Meeting: April 29 and 30, 1959

Place: The Presbyterian Conference Center, near Lake Placid, Florida
Delegates to select own roommates.

Registration fee: $1.75, including insurance.

Meals and Lodging: $6.50 for overnight and 3 meals, including linens.

Responsibilities:

Hostess and presiding at Registration Table
to take care of name tags, etc. -------- Clearwater Association
Recording ---------- West Palm Beach Association
Worship ---------- Daytona Beach Association
Promotion ---------- Mrs. Biedron and Mrs. Welborn

1. A general letter to Associations, December 1, 1958
2. A bulletin, February 1, 1959
3. Reminder and registration sheets, March 15, 1959

Securing of Discussion Leaders ---------- Charlis Clarke
Those suggested were: Worley, Banks, Alsop, Palmer, Austin, Lee. Associations will be asked to suggest others. It was thought that the leaders of the three discussion groups should be volunteers with one staff member in each discussion group responsible as a resource person.

Because of the distance, Associations must travel it was decided to begin at noon on one day and close at noon on the second day.

Schedule:

April 29, 1959

12:00 - 1:30	Registration and get settled in rooms. No luncheon to be served the first day without specific reservations
2:00 - 4:00	First session, Prayers: General assembly with all delegates together.
4:00 - 4:30	Stretch - with fruit juice - get acquainted
4:30 - 5:30	Work groups
6:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 - 9:00	Work groups
9:00 - 9:30	Evensong and prayers
9:30 -10:00	Fellowship and to bed

April 30, 1959

Morning watch or personal prayers by the lake. Daytona Association to be ready for singing if it seems desirable.

8:00 a.m.	Breakfast
9:00 -10:30	Work groups
10:30 -11:00	Break
11:00 -12:00	General Assembly and Summary
12:00	Closing prayers and a time of quiet
12:30	Lunch
1:30	Adjournment

It was agreed that Mrs. Welborn would write to the Associations not present for the Planning Meeting which include Jacksonville, St. Petersburg and Tampa. It was suggested that one registration sheet for the Branch and one for Central be sent to each Association and that all names be placed on a single sheet, rather than having individual registration sheets.

Separate Events

There was general agreement among those present that there was great need for a program workshop in Florida, but all felt that it should not be done at the time of the Neighborhood Meeting. For one reason, the Neighborhood Meeting has been placed late in the year because of other conflicting dates. It was thought that the program workshop ought to be held as early as possible and the date February 17 and 18 was proposed with the idea that it might possibly be held preceding or following the Advisers' Workshop which is to be held the end of January or early in February.

cs,
12/17/58

What's happening

Wed. 5-30
after Dinner

Wed - Skit or NW R.
YWCA Resp. in Time of Transition

Thursday - 12.00 noon -
Controv. question
Tech. of hospitality

Future spk engagements

YWCA Conf. - Lake Placid - 29-30 April

30 to 75 at Conf. -

3 to 4 discussion groups -

What's happening in Fla -
How it fits in the South.

Mrs John Welbourn -
Nat'l Bd. member from S.C. is convenor -

Map by Y people -
State of the State -
Break
Discussion groups
Dinner
"Responsibility of Y"
Questions

Am. Girl Country
Discussion groups Christ Country -

1) Understanding Community —
impact of pop growth

2) forces at work in Community —
power structure - ag'l interests

3) need to be able to make decisions
and stand by them.

4.) Y-Responsibility to take lead in
controversial area.

5.) Techniques in handling
controversial problem

6.) How to develop courage to
stand up in todays world.

"Our Christian faith and Responsibility
in Decision Making"

Future speaking

April 20, 1959

Mrs. Lucile Dillon Johnson
National Public Affairs
Young Women's Christian Association
of the United States of America
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of April 8, confirming our telephone conversation in which you asked me to serve as Consultant to the National Board of the YWCA at their meeting in Washington, D. C., May 6. I am happy to see that my good friend George Culberson will also be present.

I look forward to being with you at that time. I am enclosing a biographical statement for your use in introducing me.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America
National Board
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y. PLAZA 3-4700 CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

Mrs. Robert E. Speer
Honorary President

Miss Lilace Reid Barnes
President

Mrs. Paul McClellan Jones
Vice President

Mrs. Earl Cranston
Vice President at Large

Mrs. Archie D. Marvel
Vice President, Chairman, Central Region

Mrs. Edwin E. Aubrey
Vice President, Chairman, Eastern Region

Mrs. Paul E. Pfuetze
Vice President, Chairman, Southern Region

Mrs. Everett S. Calhoun
Vice President, Chairman, Western Region

Mrs. Howard Stone Anderson
Secretary

Mrs. Wandell M. Mooney
Treasurer

Mrs. Arthur Lord Nash
Assistant Treasurer

Miss Mildred H. Esgar
General Secretary (ad interim)

April 8, 1959

Air Mail

Dr. Frederick B. Routh,
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Altanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

Those of us at the National Board who have heard of your work are very excited over and grateful to you for consenting to speak to us at our Washington Seminar in Public Affairs in Washington, D. C., on May 6, 9 A.M. to 12 noon. I have written to Mr. George W. Culberson to tell him that you are coming.

Since we shall have the opportunity of hearing you and Mr. Culberson, who are eminent in your fields, we have decided not to ask anyone else to appear on the program for that period. We feel that our members need to know what you are doing and that they will appreciate having time for discussion. I hope that this will meet with your approval.

As I told you over the telephone, we shall have YWCA members from Associations located in various parts of the country, and we feel it is important that North and South understand each other. We think our members will also be interested in hearing about the economic factors and the part that they play in influencing other aspects of the changing South. We hope, too, that you will give some practical help in indicating how to move in communities where schools have not yet been integrated or where there is only a start toward desegregation of school systems.

Our Seminars in Public Affairs are designed to provide for the participants both a knowledgeable grasp of the primary issues of the day and a sense of responsible participation in democratic government. Usually we have from 70-100 members of the YWCA attending. They have come from all parts of the United States - from as far away as Washington, California and Texas. They are both staff and volunteers in their YWCAs and many are outstanding members of their communities - presidents and executives of YWCAs as well as chairmen of local Public Affairs Committees.

April 8, 1959

Dr. Frederick B. Routh, - 2 -

I cannot thank you enough for consenting to speak to us in Washington. As I told you over the telephone, the Seminar is self-supporting and we regret that for that reason, at this moment, we can only offer to pay one-half of your expenses. We are particularly grateful to you for coming to us under these circumstances.

Will you kindly send me a biographical statement that can be used in introducing you.

I enclose a copy of our tentative program for the Seminar, our National Public Affairs Program and the YWCA peace statement, "Toward Peace...Today."

Sincerely yours,

Lucile Dillon Johnson

Lucile Dillon Johnson
National Public Affairs

LDJ:gp
Enc.

PROGRAM

WASHINGTON SEMINAR IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

May 3 - 7, 1959

Washington, D.C.

Theme: TOWARD PEACE ... TODAY

(All quotations are from "The Peace Statement" of the YWCA of the U.S.A.)

SUNDAY, May 3

3:00 - 5:00 p.m. Registration ..... YWCA - 17th & K Streets, N.W.

6:00 - 6:30 p.m. Broadcast ..... "Meet the Press," NBC, 4001 Nebraska Ave.

6:45 p.m. Buffet Supper ..... Sheraton-Park Hotel

"How Can U.S. Foreign Policy Meet the Challenge of the Space Age?"
Speaker: Senator Gale McGee, Junior Senator from Wyoming

"We will support our Government in every effort to formulate a fearless and flexible foreign policy that is constructive, confident, and creative...."

MONDAY, May 4

9:15 - 11:30 a.m. Briefing..... Department of State

1. "U.S. Policy Toward Africa" .... Staff, Bureau of African Affairs
2. "The German Problem" .... Eleanor Dulles

12:00 - 2:30 p.m. Luncheon ..... American Association of University Women Building, 1634 Eye Street, N.W.

"Knowing Our Neighbors"
Speaker: Mrs. Ralph D. Booth, Member of the National Board of the YWCA
Panel

3:00 - 4:30 p.m. Briefing ..... Pan-American Union

1. "Economic Development Problems of Latin America"
2. "Pan-Americanism - Myth or Reality?"

"In our individual as well as in our national conduct, we must discipline ourselves to listen as well as to lead, for we have much to learn from other peoples."

TUESDAY, May 5

9:00 - 10:15 a.m. Briefing ..... Coolidge Auditorium

"The Legislative Process"
Speaker: Dr. George Galloway, senior specialist on government and public administration in the Library of Congress

10:30 - 12:00 noon Attendance at hearings of Committees of Congress or calls on your individiaul Senators and Representatives

12:00 noon - on Attendance at sessions of Senate or House of Representatives

6:00 p.m. Dinner ..... YWCA, 17th and K Streets, N.W.

"A Cartoonist Comments"
Speaker: Herbert Block (Herblock), Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist, author-commentator

"We must be equal to the challenge of an age which offers new promise of an aburndant life for millions who have not known it before but an age which also holds grave hazards...."

WEDNESDAY, May 6

9:00 - 12:00 a.m. Civil Rights - The Challenge of Our Time - Session at YWCA

Dr. Frederick B. Routh; Mr. George W. Culberson

~~9:00 - 10:00 a.m. Progress of integration of schools, state laws relating to minority groups and civil rights bills in Congress~~

~~10:00 - 12:30 p.m. Panel: Community leaders who have worked with school desegregation. Discussion of principles and techniques for reducing community tensions~~

"We recognize that lack of freedom is also a threat to peace, and at home we must defend our civil rights and liberties and combat discrimination of whatever form."

2:00 - 4:00 p.m. How-To-Do Public Affairs - Session at YWCA
Workshop on Public Affairs at the local level

6:00 p.m. Dinner ..... YWCA, 17th and K Streets, N.W.
"Our Domestic Policies"
Speaker: Senator Clifford P. Case from New Jersey

"We commit ourselves to work on these concerns in every part of our Association life...."

THURSDAY, May 7

9:15 - 12:00 noon Briefing ..... Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Speaker: Bertha Adkins, Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, will discuss juvenile delinquency, programs for the aged and Social Security provisions for seasonal and farm workers
Panel - led by Dr. Helen McIntosh - "What Kind of Education for America: A Comparison of U.S. and Russian Education Systems."

1:00 p.m. Luncheon ..... YWCA, 17th and K Streets, N.W.
"The Role of Women in Shaping the Future"
Speaker: Emily Taft Douglas

"Our belief in One God, the father of all, impels us to strive for such political, economic, and social conditions in the world as will enable all people to enjoy the blessings of peace with justice and freedom."

March 31, 1959

Your speakers for the Washington Seminar in Public Affairs (May 3-7, 1959) are:

1. SENATOR GALE McGEE, Democrat of Wyoming, is a magnetic speaker and has already won national notice as a result of his proposals on foreign policy.

2. ELEANOR DULLES, who has lived and worked in Germany, and is a specialist on the problems of Germany. She is the sister of John Foster Dulles.

3. MRS. RALPH D. BOOTH is a member of the National Board of the YWCA and represented the YWCA on the Inter-American Seminar which made a good-will tour of Latin America during the fall of 1958.

4. DR. GEORGE GALLOWAY is senior specialist in the Library of Congress on American Government and public administration.

5. HERBERT BLOCK is better known as Herblock, Pulitzer Prize winner, cartoonist and author-commentator on the contemporary political scene. Mr. Block will give his views in answer to questions on current issues from Seminar participants. His most recent book is Herblock's Special for Today.

6. SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE, Republican of New Jersey, was a member of the House of Representatives 1945-1953 and has been in the Senate 1955 to date. He will answer questions from the Seminar.

7. BERTHA ADKINS, Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is known throughout the country as the former assistant chairman and head of the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee.

8. EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS is the daughter of the famous sculptor, Lorado Taft. She is an outstanding speaker and a former member of Congress. She is also the wife of Senator Paul H. Douglas.

NATIONAL BOARD, YWCA
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

C pa wa-373
3/59

May 14, 1959

Mr. Stanley E. Ballinger, Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations
Indiana University
School of Education
Box E
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Ballinger:

Thanks for your letter of May 12, offering to pay me $95.00 for all travel expenses I may incur in participating in the Workshop in Intergroup Relations. Yes indeed, this figure is satisfactory to me, and I will be pleased to get the check before leaving Bloomington. I note that you say, "No accounting of expenses actually incurred need be presented..." This is fine, and I am glad to settle for the $95.00.

I have already received my reservation card for the night of July 20 at the Campus Club. Thank you for your promptness in handling this for me.

I look forward to being with the members of the workshop on July 20. I would appreciate a copy of the printed program when it is available - or perhaps I should say, if you are going to have one.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
School of Education - Box E
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

May 12, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Roth:

In checking through our correspondence relative to your participation in the Workshop in Intergroup Relations this summer on July 20, I discovered that we had not agreed upon a figure for your expenses. On the basis of air travel, the Workshop could pay a figure computed in the following way:

Air travel, including tax	$73.37
Meals	8.00
Room	5.50
	$86.87

Rounded off to include incidentals of travel expense $95.00

Would this figure be satisfactory to you? If so, a check to this amount will be given to you before you leave Bloomington. No accounting of expenses actually incurred need be presented to us, once the figure is agreed upon. You may travel from whatever point you wish and by whatever means you wish.

I have sent in a request for a single room with bath at the Indiana University Union Building, and you should be receiving confirmation of this soon.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley E. Ballinger

Stanley E. Ballinger, Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations

SEB:om

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

6/6/51

TO: Norma Huff:

I have told Harold Fleming that if he has use for the occasional or part time services of Emory Via we will employ Emory on a per diem basis under a temporary arrangement until such time as a full time person is available to us. I have discussed this with Emory Via, who is agreeable to working from time to time at $8.00 a day or $4.00 a half day. He would be mainly under Harold's direction.

6/15/51

Emory Via began employment with SRC Tuesday, June 12, 1951. During this 1st week, worked part time, and thereafter full time with a salary of $50.00 per week. One half of his salary is to come out of Home Town Self-Survey Funds, and one-half out of the general budget. Emory is to keep track of his own time, and notify the Secretary-Treasurer when he has not worked the full week. His employment will terminate sometime in August 1951, or sooner if trained personnel is found for research and the self-survey program.

day - $10.00
hr - $1.40

Personal

October 8, 1956

Mr. Emory F. Via
c/o AFL-CIO
1026 Hurt Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I am not sure whether you are still in Atlanta or back in Chicago. I have not heard how Mrs. Via fared. I do hope that she is on her way toward recovery.

I am still unclear as to who has the questionnaires and whether you are completing them, or whether someone else is. I am anxious to get in the material as quickly as possible. If you can give me any information that would help, I would appreciate it.

Best personal wishes.

Cordially,

Emanuel Muravchik

EM:gs
oeiu-153
cc: Harold Fleming

EFV

Personal

January 21, 1957

Vanderbilt University
Race Relations Law Reporter
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find my personal check for a one year subscription to Race Relations Law Reporter. Please send me the December, 1956, issue, Volume 1, Number 6, and begin my subscription as of the date of that issue. Also, please forward one copy of Volume 1, Number 3. The enclosed check is in the amount of $3.50, covering the one year subscription plus the one additional copy of the Race Relations Law Reporter.

Thank you for your attention to this subscription.

Yours sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosure

Feb. 25, 1957.

Dear Emory,

Thanks so much for your Christmas card and letter. We were really shocked to hear of Margaret's illness and pray that she may recover completely as rapidly as possible. However, we know that God will guide you and strengthen you to meet whatever may result and that with His power you will grow mightily in spirit through this experience. We were delighted that our board has made the Salk vaccine available to our children who have had two shots with the third coming this spring.

Throughout last year we were blessed with health, happiness and a small measure of success in our evangelistic work and well as a good share of material gifts. Though we often complain about our unheated classrooms where the temperature hovers around 40° in mid-winter, the crowded conditions of trains during rush hour where life & limb are endangered by pushing - and most of all about this miserable language which we have studied almost five years with little result. Nevertheless, we are happier than we have ever been and feel that God is really using us in spite of our shortcomings and weaknesses. We can not help but think though, if He can do this much with us as we are how much more could He do if we were more perfect vessels. So we ask you to remember us in your prayers.

There is a tremendous opportunity for labor evangelism in this country. It is a rather new field as most of our work in the past has been upper-middle class level and educational work. But the working people of this country need some guidance in their demands for living wages and safe working conditions - and more than that, they need someone to lead them to God and an aim in life higher than just to "escape from poverty" as one boy puts it. I am working in a small way with the bus men in our areas but I am definitely limited by being a woman. Have you

We expect to return to the States next summer and will probably be in Chicago with Ramsey studying at the U. and me at Garrett. Whenever we are, though, we hope to see and Margaret and David - together. Let us hear from you now and then - and about Margaret's progress.

Sincerely,

Jean McClain Jones

ここにも通信文を記載することができます This space is also for correspondence.

R. L. JONES

3, Kansei Gakuin,

Nishinomiya, Japan.

RECEIVED MAR 1 1957

Mr. Emory

Via Southern Regional Office

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta

Georgia

USA

PAR AVION 航空

この郵便物には何物も封入又は添附できません

Nothing may be contained in or attached to this letter.

折込線

折込線

considered service outside the U.S.?

I'm not sure if I remember exactly what the Southern Regional Council is; but if they or anyone else that you know of, publishes some facts on progress made in race relations in the south I'd like some. It's a burning problem here and a stumbling blocks for many. If so-called Christians can be like many of the south's whites, these freedom seeking people want no part of it. The newspapers give only bad reports - never any facts of progress.

ここにも通信文を記載することができます This space is also for correspondence.

EFV

Personal

April 23, 1957

Labor Education Association
Room 411
1321 Arch Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Friends:

I would like to remain on your mailing list and am sending you a change of address.

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia.

Enclosed is a copy of our own monthly publication. Best wishes to all of you in Philadelphia.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosure

April 25, 1957

Mr. Robert Pickus
4522 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

I am greatly embarrassed to find a misleading error in my masters thesis, South vs. Peters: A Case Study of a Political Question. My knowledge of the situation reported on page 121 was correct, but my recording of it was inaccurate. I had occasion the other day to recite the facts to someone, so pulled down the thesis so I could add weight to my position, only to find the thesis itself was in error. I have gone to the trouble to check the sources used at the time that I was collecting the material for the thesis, just to make certain that my own information is correct.

If you could talk to Pritchett about the possibility of correcting the two copies at the University I would greatly appreciate it; one copy is in the Political Science Department and the other is in the library. Beginning with line 8, on page 121, the text should read:

"...system was constitutional and to Representative James I. Wood if the system was unconstitutional. Gosnell, a losing plaintiff in the Turman case, assumed the position that the unit system was constitutional because the Supreme Court had said as much."

You will note that in my original handling of this section I exactly reversed the assumed position of the two men involved in this case.

Believe me, I have no idea how this error could have occurred. It does make one believe in gremlins. I think it far better to risk possible embarrassment to see that it is corrected than to

let such an error continue in existence. Since there are only three copies to be corrected, this should be no great task. Whoever could have nerve enough to publish anything.

It was good to have talked with you last night. Thanks for your information. I do hope you will make use of your lovely secretary and get a letter off to me soon.

Love to you both,

Emory

EFV:mm

Dictated April 24

EFV-2

Attorney Impressed MIA Assn. 9

Low Personal

May 10, 1957

Mr. E. D. Nixon
647 Clinton Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Nixon:

It was good to get a chance to talk with you the other day when I was in Montgomery. I appreciate very much your taking the time to discuss with me some of the matters in which I am particularly interested.

I am sending, under separate cover, our summary of segregation legislation and a pamphlet which we published called, "Next Steps in the South." As yet, the voting study whihh I talked with you about has not been put into final form. When this is ready, I will try to see that you get a copy.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 28, 1957

Mr. Robert Pickus
4522 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

Another burdensome favor needed and in a hurry. We have a potential buyer for one of Margaret's paintings. It looks very much like the enclosed slide. This is no coincidence but a trick of that branch of modern science called photography. The blamed thing needs to be crated, carefully packed, and shipped to Washington, D. C. It should go C.O.D. to:

Hy and Joyce Kornbluh
3506 - 35th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Railway Express is the best method.

There is a crate and some crating in the Holsen's attic which may be just about right if you wish to crate it yourself. Otherwise, find out which local shipping, cartage, or trucking firm does crating. If Edith Smith is in town, she will have a recommendation; if not, you might call Roland Ginzel for a suggestion.

If you do the packing, the crate should be completely boarded up, even though this does make it heavy. Wrap the picture so that even the other packing does not scratch the painted surface. See that the painting is firmly placed so that it will resist even a heavy knocking around.

It would be a service if you could see that the frame is at least clean. If you feel daring, you might try a soft, damp cloth lightly on the surface of the picture itself to get dust off of it.

Frankly, I'm writing to you direct because I fear that Edith has already left town.

This is worth only $125.00 to us, so you judge how soon and well you wish to give performance - you know, of course, that I would make

such a request involving such an amount even in the midst of prelim week.

Love to all and thanks once again.

Emory

EFY

Personal

June 28, 1957

Mrs. Joyce Kornbluh
3506 - 35th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joyce:

I have asked that Atlanta Workmen be sent to you C.O.D. as soon as possible. 'Tis a good piece. We've always liked it.

Certainly time payments can be worked out. We've done it before on other purchases. I wouldn't object to receiving Fulbright money from you, but if you would rather wait until your return to start payments, that is O.K. You write your own contract for the monthly or quarterly payments that you would like to make and make a down-payment equivalent to one of these payments.

I realize that nothing is finalized yet, and I hope you enjoy the painting whether it's just for a few weeks preview or permanently. We can arrange later what to do with the painting if you decide not to take it; I do not think this will be a great problem and it could probably just be left at your place until I make some further arrangement.

I facetiously said in my last letter that I would send you a "Biography of the Artist." I'm enclosing something similar to this for your general information.

You have our warm wishes in your preparations to depart for England; it sounds just wonderful and we had once hoped for such a deal, including an overseas baby. Trust you have more fun than exasperation in preparing to leave.

Best wishes to Hy.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

December 27, 1957

Mr. Ralph Rose
1402 Pinecastle Road
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Ralph:

It was so good to have a note from you and to know that your plans to work with David Scull have gone through okay.

Would you please send us eight (8) of the memorandum calendars and bill us accordingly.

Some day soon you will receive the Via's Christmas card. In the meantime, best wishes to all of the Roses.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

January 3, 1958

Mrs. Emmett S. Johnson
Box 510
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mrs. "J":

No sooner had I written asking you to be in touch with Merrimon Cuninggim than we heard from him that he was happy to accept our invitation to membership of the Council's Board.

So cancel the original request. However, if you feel so inclined a letter indicating that you have heard through me that he has accepted Board membership would be nice.

Sorry to have missed you on your quick run in at home the other day, but glad that Mr, Emmett got to see our place. Beginning school again will probably seem like a lark after the schedule you have been on.

Love,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

January 2, 1958

Mrs. Emmett S. Johnson
Box 510
Wesleyan College
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mrs. "J":

An item of business to indicate how you could be helpful to the Council. Would you find time to write a note to ~~Dr.~~ Merrimon Cuninggim indicating that I told you he was being invited to SRC Board membership and that you know him and us and feel we would go well together. The rest I leave to your imagination and inspiration, but we think him a really good egg and want him to be on the Board if he can. We thought that such a personal note along with our official invitation (which has already gone) would be in order.

Thanks so much for all that you did at Christmas time. It was wonderful.

With love,
~~Sincerely,~~

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

January 10, 1958

Mr. Robert Pickus
4522 S. Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

You would be interested in the New York Times magazine section for December 29, 1957 which contains an article by Abel Plenn entitled "Report on Montgomery a Year After".

Have you seen C. Wright Mills' Nation article, "A Program for Peace", in the December 7, 1957 issue?

Also, a paper, "Non-violence and the law: the law needs help", by Harris Wofford, Jr., was delivered at the 41st annual convention of the Howard University School of Religion. This might be of interest to you. Wofford is with the firm in which Dean Acheson is a partner, travelled India with Chester Bowles, and is a fairly polished, educated and reasonably well-to-do American of our generation who goes about talking about Gandhian ideas. At some time contact with him could conceivably be useful to you. I suggest that you write for a mimeographed copy of this speech (delivered on November 7th, 1957) at 701 Union Trust Building, Washington, D.C. You might mention my name and affiliation as the person suggesting that you secure a copy of the paper.

Let me hear how you and Sara are doing.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

January 20, 1958

Mr. Robert Pickus
4522 S. Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

On the off-chance that you missed the enclosed clip from the Christian Science Monitor I am sending it on to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

Copy - original written by EFV in longhand.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

January 27, 1958

Osgood:

This is my only copy, so you will understand my interest in its care and return. It is not down the line of your present problem, but perhaps it will be suggestive. In any case you are welcome to make such use as fits your purposes.

Sincerely,

Emory.

P.S. The "preface" plus "table of contents" should give a fair indication of what's inside and whether you should look further into ti.

(Note sent with bound copy of "South v. Peters: a case study of a political question", being M.A. dissertation presented by EFV to the University of Chicago, March 1956.)

January 30, 1958

Dear Bob:

Here is an annual report on my activities at SRC. Somewhat in context. This was done as a report to Ben for such uses as he wished to put it to.

Read it if you like. Criticize or comment. However, I would appreciate its early return since at this point it has not been duplicated in quantity.

The last portion of the report detailing those groups with which I have worked is, for a number of reasons, confidential.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

RB252 AA466 (02)..

1958 JAN 31 PM 5 29

A RNA112 PD=RN ATLANTA GA 31 500PME=

EMORY F VIA=

CARE ROANOKE HOTEL ROANOKE VIR=

PLEASE CALL OTTO PRAGAN, ICWU, AT AKRON UNIVERSITY

4-2124 OR TEMPLE 6-4536 AS SOON AS POSSIBLE=

RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

February 10, 1958

Rev. W. Landiss
Assistant Pastor
Glenn Memorial Methodist Church
1976 North Decatur Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

A note of apology. It is a cardinal principle with me in talking with a group such as the older youth class to have adequate opportunity for discussion. I was more than a little surprised to find that time had run out and greatly chagrined to find later that my watch was slow by a fall fifteen minutes. It has been dismissed from serviceas unsuited for further watching.

It was real good to be with you and the group.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

FBR

April 16, 1958

Rev. Warner Crumb
Wesley Memorial Methodist Church
Emmett Street at Thomson Road
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Warner:

I plan to be in Charlottesville on Tuesday, April 22nd. My stay will be short and busy, but I hope I will get to have some time with you. I have written Gianniny that I am coming.

Best personal regards to you and Martha.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

FBR

April 16, 1958

Mr. Allan Gianniny
106 Parklane
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Allan:

I plan to be in Charlottesville on Tuesday, April 22nd. I will be working on short time but hope to get to see you and Jean for at least a quick visit.

I have often had occasion to think how remiss I have been in not thanking you for both information and hospitality on my last visit to Charlottesville. I can only plead the circumstances of the continuing situation -- or whatever: chiefly, human procrastination.

In the meantime, my love to you and Jean and the family.

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

FBR

April 16, 1958

Dr. and Mrs. Bernard S. Via, Sr.
1600 Westwood Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

Dearest Folks:

I will be in Virginia April 21 through 24. On the 23rd I will be in Richmond on a rushed business schedule. I am sorry that this opportunity to get into town has to be such a quick one.

Fred Routh, our Assistant Director, will be with me. Although we expect to have a meeting on the evening of the 23rd we would like to come out to the Hermitage and spend the night with you. I will call you when I get into town so you will know what my schedule will be.

Everything at home is going well.

Love,

EFV:fcl

April 21, 1958

Miss Ellen Mitchell
William and Mary College
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Ellen:

This clip was long ago meant to be sent to you. I am sure you have seen it. But here.

Margaret and I would be delighted to have you visit with us if you find that you are coming to Atlanta this summer. Feel free to make us either headquarters or a place for a casual stop.

Our home address is: 116 Ponce De Leon Court, Decatur, Ga. Telephone -- DRake 3-3208.

We trust that all has gone well with you this year, and it would be nice to have a first-hand account of some of the things you have been doing.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

(Dictated by Mr. Via, but signed in his absence)

Enclosure.
EFV:fcl

April 30, 1958

Mr. Lewis E. Durham
P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Durham:

Thanks for your letter of April 25 confirming my appearance at the Methodist Youth Convocation at Lake Junaluska, July 21-25. I am looking forward to being with you and to working with the adult workers on the topic of "Helping Youth Face the Economic Problems of the South."

I would appreciate receiving copies of the proposed program and other materials related to the Convocation when they are ready.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mf

Materials sent separately: Negro Voter in the South
SRC Annual Report, 1957
South of Promise
Two issues of New South
(February and March/1958)
Next Steps in the South
Congressional Record Reprint
Publications Listing - SRC

May 2, 1958

Mrs. Linnea Anderson
5658 S. Blackstone Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Linnea:

How very nice it was to see you in Atlanta. We are sorry the visit was so short but very happy to have had a chance to catch up on Hyde Park and the Andersons.

Under separate cover I am sending you the long promised materials on the work of the Council. Let me know if any of our other materials would be of interest to you. I would guess that you and Doug would be especially interested in the use that Paul Douglas made of some of our materials. We still have occasion to be in touch with Frank McCulloch.

Margaret and I are wishing wistfully for a trip to Chicago before summer is out. It will take great luck to get us there.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

Materials sent separately: Negro Voter in the South
SRC Annual Report, 1957
South of Promise
Two issues of New South
(February and March/1958)
Next Steps in the South
Congressional Record Reprint
Publications Listing - SRC

May 2, 1958

Mr. Lyne Few
Chief of Leader Branch
State Annex No. 2
1910 "K" Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lyne:

It was very good to talk with you even briefly by phone in Washington the other day. I'm sorry that my schedule prevented our getting together. Margaret and I are still hoping for a few days in Washington when business is not in the forefront.

Under separate cover I am sending you some materials about the Council and a few of our publications. If there is anything more or different which you feel would be helpful for you to have, just ask.

We have a good bit of contact with Ernst Linde of the Governmental Affairs Institute since he frequently channels folk our way.

Best wishes to Ellen and family, and trust that a get-together is not too far away.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

June 10, 1958

Miss Anna Holden
2010 Meharry Boulevard
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Anna:

Thanks for your letter of May 31. It is with real regret that I report I know of no job openings at this time. You have my every good wish in getting satisfactorily located.

Thanks so much for the long loan of the thesis. I trust that it has already reached you by this time.

Best regards from Margaret and me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

Non-
Letter is
[illegible]

Atlanta, Georgia
July 15, 1958

Mr. Robert Pickus
4522 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

I wondered if you have picked up any leads regarding my call to you the other day. The sub-committee did not meet on July 1 as indicated, but is now scheduled to meet on July 29. We have no indication as to what they really intend to do and thus far only know of the one person who has been subpoenaed by them.

I think that our concern for civil liberties is undiminished in spite of certain complications of public relations. I know that for my own part it is easier to carve out a consistent position as an individual than it is organizationally. This letter is suffering from too many interruptions to explore this line in detail. I am reasonably content that I know where I stand and why - I think it is a defensible position. The end result of course is that we do not end up rushing to the defense of all who claim that they need defending. Enough of this mishmash.

Anything further you find out about Felman, about Brad's evaluation of him, especially if Brad has now been challenged, and anything else relevant to these matters would be of interest to me.

Margaret, David, and I hope to get to Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, next week for a vacation. This will be followed by a trip into Virginia - mainly work for me.

Love to Sara. Take care.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:ls

August 11, 1958

Mr. Robert W. Ozanne, Director
School for Workers
University Extension Division
The University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter of August 4th. As of now, unless some emergency arises, I will plan to be in Madison on August 18th and for a part of the 19th.

My situation is too complicated to allow for easy answers or simple decisions. However, I think it is advisable for me to discuss the opening at the School for Workers with you. I look forward to seeing you and staff next week.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

August 21, 1958

Mr. Robert W. Osanne, Director
School for Workers
University Extension Division
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bob:

This is a quick note before I leave town again so that you will have my expenses in time. They are as follows: for travel and expenses from Atlanta, Georgia to Madison, Wisconsin, $123.10.

It was indeed good to have met with you and staff. Your program is solid and impressive. You will have another letter from me shortly.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

(Dictated by Mr. Via;
signed in his absence)

EFV:ls

August 25, 1958

Mr. Robert Ozanne, Director
School for Workers
University Extension Division
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bob:

Pardon the delay in getting an answer to you, but I was faced with further trips out of town so that Margaret and I have had little opportunity to discuss Madison and the School for Workers.

As things now stand we would like to be "propositioned". You indicated some of the wheels that would have to turn before a firm offer could be made. Of course, I realize that you will probably need to secure a good bit more data on me, my professional background, and academic training. Just let me know what you will need.

I do not feel pressed for an immediate answer; in fact, you will recall that I indicated I felt my interests and responsibilities could best be met through some delay.

Let me again express my appreciation for the opportunity to get to know the School for Workers on more intimate terms.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

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Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

10/16/58

MR. JOHN McGRATH
PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE
MADISON, WISCONSIN

PROCEED WITH ARRANGEMENTS FOR HOUSE. SOUNDS EXCELLENT. WE ARE MOST GRATEFUL.

EMORY F. VIA

December 10, 1958

Mr. Jim Pierce
Field Representative
IUE, AFL-CIO
315 S. Broadway
Tyler, Texas

Dear Brother Pierce:

I am writing you at the request of Ben Segal. He and I have worked together a great deal on problems relating to civil rights and race relations in the South. Ben felt that I might be able to pass on a few useful suggestions regarding the set-up and functioning of a civil rights committee in the Texas State AFL-CIO.

Though I do not envision any easy task for such a committee, Texas, unlike many other Southern states, is one in which almost any of the problems of civil rights can get some airing and action through the state labor body. The general problem, of course, is how to do this effectively and acceptably. I would start by not defining the duties of the committee too narrowly; however, at the same time it will be important to make some of the tasks of the committee so definite and specific that you can be sure of performance. For example, your task may be as general as helping educate the Texas labor movement in a broad way about race relations and prejudice, or it may be defined as specifically as seeking out, investigating, and referring to proper authorities any violation of civil rights of any member of organized labor.

I think that the minimum a civil rights committee should do is:

a) report annually on the state of human relations within the state labor body; b) promote educational programs that will better mutual understanding between all groups; c) keep the officers of the state labor body informed regarding trouble spots within the labor movement, pertinent

community tensions, violations of civil rights within the labor movement and without where they are of concern to organized labor, and human relations developments in other states of the South and other sections of the country; d) to act as a safety valve in preventing tensions within organized labor from damaging in any serious way union organizations. However, this should never mean sweeping the problems under some convenient rug, but serving as a safety factor in about the same way that a grievance procedure works, by providing a recognized channel through which people can voice their complaints and from which they can expect effective action.

Of course a committee could do much more than these minimum requirements would indicate. It could be actively concerned about all violations of individual rights regarding political rights such as voting, regarding the rights of individuals as infringed by threats, intimidation, and violence by any denial of equality in treatment in any public service, and of course because of any illegal job discriminations. This latter raises a basic question. When will the committee be concerned with just what is illegal and when will it be concerned with those things that are unfair, undemocratic, or not in keeping with the highest standard of the American labor movement? At the outset it might well be that you would start in some areas by being concerned only with legalities; however, even at the beginning of the committee's work I am sure you will find that in a number of areas it will not be limited by what is lawful, and that you can expand freely into the area of what is fair and decent.

A civil rights committee actually can help secure good public relations. To make this the purpose of such a committee would be disasterous, however. This has already happened in some northern situations; the end result is that the committee joins others in seeking credit for things that should be done but which largely go unacted upon. Sufficiently good public relations can be had from an honest interpretation of a committee such as we described in the preceding paragraphs and through its responsible and forthright reporting and action. In just explaining why such a committee may be needed and why it is fair and right for the state AFL-CIO to undertake establishing such a committee one has already begun to align himself with the forces of decency and democracy. Such an alignment will not go unnoticed either by the Negro community or by any person who has a basic committment to the democratic way. I think that you will also find that new channels of cooperation with other groups and agencies will be opened by the work of such a committee. This is especially true for a number of church groups - not just denominations but in many cases specialized agencies working within the denominations. Of course, there are the action and educational agencies in the field of human rights. The Southern Regional Council itself would be most interested in the activities of such a committee, and would be willing to offer it such program support and aid as seemed wise to both parties.

There is one aspect of setting up a new committee which we have not discussed. Along with being conscious of setting forth fairly clear purposes

and channels of action, a good bit of attention will need to be given to the personnel of the committee itself. I am not unfamiliar with the kinds of "political" considerations that need to be given in establishing any major committee. I cannot and would not speak to those problems in your situation. However, this committee more than most, will need to be make up of solid citizens who as a minimum have a committment to honesty and hopefully, have a dedication to good democratic practice. You will need persons who can work together responsibly to hear out complaints even when there is imposing opposition, to determine facts, and to report their findings fairly. Obviously, such a committee needs to represent the major minority groups as well as the majority group. In most of the South this requirement is met merely by having both Negro and white members; however, in Texas I am sure you would want to include Spanish speaking American representation and perhaps others. In no case should your minority representatives be just "yes men" to the majority group; although "Uncle Tom" is not completely dead, the labor movement endangers its legitimate ends any time it even unwittingly helps perpetuate "Uncle Tomism." Hopefully, both minority and majority members would be intelligent, candid, and sensitive to each other and the problems which various groups face. Such sensititity should not hinder objective facing of the facts and necessary action, but it may well help determine the character of the action and the manner in which it is undertaken. The members of such a committee should have sufficient status with their own groups and hopefully with the labor movement of the state at large.

I will add a few general suggestions as to the kinds of interests or activities a civil rights or fair practices committee might have. Certainly such a committee should be especially conscious of getting to know other individuals and organizations working on human relations problems. Let them know your own position and limitations, and call on their people for help when needed and when you feel they are persons of real responsibility. Such a committee can help the labor movement to find new ways in which to take stands for basic rights. In some sections of your state this might well be an outright statement for public school integration and in other sections you may wish to put the emphasis merely on saving the public school system; although this problem by an large is not so important to Texas as to other sections of the South. Certainly, stands should be taken against specific acts of violence and intimidation. Stands should be taken for the elementary protection of all individual rights. Frequently this might mean defending the rights of someone unpopular even within union circles. Just keep clearly in mind that it is the right which is being protected - usually some form of due process - and that this is a protection of democracy itself. Certainly the labor movement can always afford to stand for a peaceful community. And it should be able to support constructive community or private efforts which are aimed specifically at aiding some minority group. Then, of course, such a committee should aid the labor movement in coming to a wise position whenever a specific issue comes up. One of its task would be to make sure that the labor movement does not take a backward step.

You will need to decide for yourself whether or not "civil rights committee" is the best title to give the committee which you envision. It may well be. However, I would give at least brief consideration to whether another title might be more acceptable or even more applicable if you plan a committee performing a broad range of functions, as suggested in this letter. I trust that these rambling suggestions will be of some use to you. Please feel free to be in touch with SRC if there are any materials, information, or special resources which we can provide. Recently I have been in touch with H. S. Brown, the state body's Education Director, and he has sample copies of a number of the materials which we have used with union groups in the last two years.

Best wishes to you in this undertaking; I think you and the other leaders in Texas should know that much of the rest of the South's labor movement is keeping its eyes on what you are able to do there as they try to determine the kinds of constructive measures they can employ in their community relations and in meeting the problems of fair practices and civil rights. Good luck.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
cc Ben Segal

file - Univ. of Miss
Emory Via

via air mail

August 7, 1962

Mr. Emory F. Via
5710 Anchorage Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Files returned to Abram on schedule.

Hammer's address: Hammer & Co. Associates, 1518 "K" Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Good to see you. Sorry it was so short or otherwise so filled with other business. Especially sorry to have missed Margaret. Again, my best to her and The Boy.

Think very carefully about the call of Dixie Destiny. Destiny doesn't call every day, and this one is loud and clear.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj

August 17, 1962

Mr. Emory Via
University of Wisconsin
School for Workers
Madison, Misconsin

Dear Emory:

Where is your expense account?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A

November 2, 1962

Mr. Emory Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

The eventuality which we discussed last Summer has come about and Rilling will be leaving, as he learned only yesterday, to take the Human Relations job in the D.C. city government. He has to be there early in December.

Have you given any more thought to the possibility of returning? I don't expect you to give me on short notice any definitive or final word. I would greatly appreciate, however, if before our annual meeting on November 19 I might hear from you. The reason is that I intend to talk with Executive Committee members informally to seek some guidance in filling the spot. Needless to say, if I knew that you might be interested, my conversation with them would have a very different flavor. Call me up collect if you want to.

Best to Margaret and David.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

SRC Staff
Via

file

Conway
MOTOR HOTEL

11/15/62

Dear Sez:

Pardon delay and haste of this note. I have been on the go most of the time since receiving your letter re my interests in South. This will give you some sort of answer prior to the 19th. I'll admit to having real difficulty in coming to grips with the problem of decision; the conflicting tugs and necessities are very great. I won't belabor them here.

So my response goes something like this.

1) I cannot envision being available prior to September 1st 1963.

2) I am not certain that a move on my part would be wise — and this is the real stickler.

3) It would be nearly impossible to make a

final decision without a fairly clear cut offer — This is not to be coy; I would need to substantially equal my present economic position in order to really consider the change.

4) Given the above I do not think SRC should dawdle in its selection of a new staff person, especially because of me. However, if you start seeking staff or as my situation changes, you wished to give me further consideration, I would (a) be happy to receive a proposition or (b) if I can make up my own mind, to ask to be considered along with whomever else you may then have in mind.

I realize this is not so clear cut as you might like; it is the best I can do since I am unable to say "yes" as of now. I trust I have been candid in our dealings along this line. Don't let me gum up the works, and I understand no one is keeping a seat warm for me. All good regards to staff and council. I may come to Atlanta closer to Christmas.

Best personal wishes,

Frank

November 27, 1962

Professor Emory Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

I don't know why I needed a long Thanksgiving week end to think of something which should have occurred to me earlier.

As you know, we have had a leadership project directed by Ben Muse. Ben still has the title, but for the next year or so will be out of the field and devoting himself fulltime to the writing of our book. Just as Ben pretty largely was the field program of the project, his withdrawal from active work means that we have to do different kinds of things, a couple of which we have already in the works and a couple we have in hopes. I think the direction we will go in is toward developing the program as we can directed to certain professional groups and interests. Thus one thing we have now underway is a program aimed at rural ministers and another aimed at black belt opinion makers. One thing we have under consideration is an effort directed at southern lawyers and we do, as you remember, have hopes for rekindling the labor movement. J. J. Brewbaker, who has worked for three years with public school superintendents and boards, will probably be leaving us, for family reasons, next Spring and we may want to try to replace him in this field or to do something different.

At any rate, I want to ask you whether another matter we might think about would be the possibility of your taking leave of absence to direct the leadership project to its conclusion. The financing of the project ends May 31, 1964. There is enough unexpended and uncommitted money in the project, however, so that if you could take a one year leave at the end of this academic year, or in September, 1963, we could carry you through the full twelve months. I think, if I remember

your present salary correctly, we could match it under this program more easily than we could for the field director job.

Think about it. If you do get down next month, I hope you will want to talk about it.

Best to Margaret.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

SRC Staff
file
Via. Emary

September 8, 1965

Mr. Owen Tapper
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Owen:

Under separate cover, I am sending you the following: The marginals for all six decks of the leader survey, the marginals for all three decks of the membership survey, the Gaylord paper ("The City Central Body," a case study), the Valente paper ("The Political Impact of Organized Labor in Three Fox Valley Cities"), two articles by Form ("Organized Labor's Place in the Community Power Structure," and, "Organized Labor's Image of Community Power Structure"), and a copy of the "Response Rate Report," from SRL.

The survey materials are yours to keep and use. The other materials, articles, and papers should be returned to me as soon as possible. Perhaps you can note the source of the two Form pieces if you need to use them over an extended period.

I will send the registration and voting information to you later when it has been uncovered, if you still want it. However, please do not send out anything based on it until I have had a chance to see it. The general rule should be not to publish or distribute anything without my seeing and approving it, and to let me have copies of anything you write for use at the University. This won't be as sticky as it sounds.

Let me know if there is anything else that you need. Please don't hesitate to bounce ideas my way if you think

I can be of help. Good luck for a successful year -- you get to define the terms.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:js

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

October 25, 1965

Wisconsin State Teachers
Retirement System
212 North Bassett Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is my check for $47.33 to be deposited to my Variable Annuity Fund account.

This is the second such deposit. The first was sent on September 22, 1965. It would greatly aid bookkeeping here, where I am employed while on leave from the University of Wisconsin, if you would mark the enclosed extra copy of this letter to indicate that these deposits are being received. If for some reason this is not a workable system, would you please let me know how you can indicate the receipt of my deposits?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFA/js

Enclosures - 2.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1206 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Ben Segal
c/o Rev. Charles Jones
Community Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Home address -- 116 Ponce De Leon Court, Decatur, Georgia.

Phone DRAKE 3-3208. I will check your flight.

Emory.

RECORD OF LEAVE

Date submitted Aug-7

For (1 days (Include working days only) Beginning ½ day Aug 8

(~~Returning to work~~ ½ Aug 9

(____ hours on the day of _____

Type of leave: Vacation ☐ Without pay ☑

Sick ☐ Other ☐

Signature Emory Via.

Emory Via file

Stencil order list from: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., #432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PR Mr. Jarvis Baughman
B International Wood Workers of America
1529 Madison Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Nick Bonanno
Special Assistant
Southwestern Regional Office
ILGWU
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Atlanta, Georgia

PR Mr. Thomas W. Culpepper
President, Atlanta Division
B Sleeping Car Porters
942 Parsons St., S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Edmund Dumas
Director, District #9
United Packinghouse Workers of America
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Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. George Gill
Director
District 3, Comminications Workers of America
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SRC. BOARD Mr. E. T. Kehrer
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ILGWU
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USA
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Mr. Charles Mathias
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Mr. J. C. McFarlin
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Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
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Mr. John McCurley, Manager
Georgia Labor News Digest
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Georgia State AFL-CIO
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PR Mr. Loren H. Nelles
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Regional Director
AFSCME, AFL-CIO
Forsyth Building
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95 Merritts Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

PR Mr. George Werner
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40 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Cooper, Mitch and Black
Law Firm
Birmingham, Alabama

Black is Hugo, Jr.

PR = Paul Billing to be aware of

Stencil order list from: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., #432
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Mr. Wayne Stoner
Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers
Glover Building
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Executive Secretary
Arkansas State Labor Council
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A Mr. Patrick E. Gorman
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Flowood Post Office
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Hotel & Restaurant Workers Employees Union
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Mill and High St.
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Mr. Otto Pragan
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Stencil order list from: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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~~Mr. Harold Nixon~~

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Stencil order list from: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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HERBIE WILLIAMS
PR TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
EXCHANGE BUILDING
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

PR WILBUR HOBBY
FISH DAM ROAD
DURHAM, North Carolina

To: RHA
BCC
PA

EFV's Whereabouts

Westtown, Pennsylvania

(Attending a race relations conference sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee)

Any mail to EFV should be sent to:

c/o Friends Conference on Race Relations
Westtown School
Westtown, Pennsylvania

Will be at Westtown through noon Monday, September 1st or possibly Tuesday, September 2nd.

NOTE: EMORY INDICATED THAT IF HE SHOULD BE NEEDED BACK AT THE OFFICE OR OTHERWISE IN A HURRY, PLEASE CONTACT HIM AND HE WILL RETURN BY THE FASTEST MODE OF TRANSPORTATION.

(By the way, he motored, if that helps to make the las t note clearer.)

Should EFV need to be contacted by telephone call the Westtown School and ask for Mr. Victor Paschkis who will, in turn, contact EFV.

October 10, 1937

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, INC.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I. MEMBERS

Section I. Members. The term of membership in the corporation shall be for a period of two years and members shall be eligible for reelection as often as may be desired. The terms of the members elected at this (1936) meeting shall be determined by arranging their names in alphabetical order and dividing them into consecutive groups of two each; the term of the first member of each group shall be for one year and of the second member, for two years. The rights of any member in said corporation shall not be assignable or transferable and his rights shall cease with his death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 2. Annual Meetings. The corporation shall hold annually a meeting of its members for the election of directors and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock A.M. on the third Wednesday in March each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place in Atlanta and such other time as may be designated by the Executive Committee provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour, and place, shall be given each member of the Commission in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business.

Section 3. Special Meetings. At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings of the members may be called by the President, Vice President, or any five (5) directors or any ten (10) members.

Section 4. Notice of Meetings. Written or printed notice of every annual or special meeting of the members shall be given to each member of record on the date for the determination of members entitled to notice of such meeting, by leaving the same with him or at his residence or usual place of business, or by mailing it, postage prepaid, and addressed to him at this address, as it appears upon the books of the corporation, at least ten (10) days before such meeting. Notice of every special meeting shall state the place, day, and hour of such meeting and in general terms the business proposed to be transacted thereat. Failure to give notice of any annual meeting, or any irregularity in such notice, shall not affect the validity of any annual meeting, or of any proceedings at any such meeting. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of members that notice thereof shall have been given to any member who attends in person or by proxy, or if absent waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of an adjourned meeting of members need be given.

Section 5. Quorum. At all meetings of members the presence, in person or by proxy, of members entitled to cast a majority in number of votes, shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but in the absence of a quorum the members present in person or by proxy at the time and place fixed by Section 2 of this Article I for an annual meeting, or fixed by the notice of a special meeting, or at the time and place of any adjournment thereof, by majority vote may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over sixty days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall be present; any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 6. Voting. Each member shall have one vote and except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure.

Section 7. Proxies. Any member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the Secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

ARTICLE II. BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Section 1. Election and Powers. The business and property of the corporation, except as otherwise provided by statute, by the charter or by these by-laws, shall be conducted and managed by its Board of Directors, and shall be subject to revision and alteration at the next meeting of the members, provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. The members of the Board of Directors shall be elected by the members at their annual meeting and each director shall hold office until the annual meting held next after his election, and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified, or until he shall have resigned, or shall have been removed in the manner provided in Section 9 or this Article II. The number of the first Board of Directors shall be nine (9) but the number of directors may be increased at the first meeting of the Board or at any subsequent time by the vote of a majority of the entire Board of Directors as then constituted to not exceeding twenty-four (24), and the vacancies thus created shall be filled by the Board of Directors in the manner provided in Section 8 of this Article II. The Board of Directors shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions.

Section 2. Regular Meetings. After each meeting of members at which a Board of Directors shall have been elected, the Board of Directors so elected shall meet as soon as practicable for the transaction of business, at such time and place as may be signified by the members at such meeting. No notice of such first meeting shall be necessary if held as hereinbefore provided.

Section 3. Additional Regular Meetings. In addition to the first regular meeting, regular meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held on such dates as may be fixed, from time to time, by the Board of Directors.

Section 4. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held whenever called by the President or as may be provided by the Board of Directors.

Section 5. Place of Meetings. Subject to the provisions of Section 2 of this Article II, the Board of Directors may hold its regular and special meetings at such place or places within or without the State of Georgia as it may, from time to time, determine. In the absence of any such determination, such regular and special meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held at the main office of the corporation in Atlanta.

Section 6. Notice of Meetings. Notice of the place, day and hour of every regular and special meeting shall be given to each director at least two days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or by sending the same to him

by telegraph or telephone or by leaving the same at his residence or usual place of business, or, in the alternative, upon three days' notice, by mail, postage prepaid, addressed to him at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Board of Directors that notice thereof shall have been given to any Director who is present thereat, or if absent waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding there of. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Board of Directors need be given.

Section 7. Quorum. Seven members of the Board of Directors shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the Board of Directors; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy in the Board of Directors, through death, resignation, or any cause other than removal by the members, the remaining directors may elect a successor to hold office for the unexpired portion of the term of the director whose place shall be vacant and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified. The Board of Directors may fill any vacancy created by an increase in the number of directors.

Section 9. Removal. At any meeting of the members called for the purpose, any director may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from office, with or without cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed, to serve for the remainder of his term.

ARTICLE III. BOARD OF TRUST AND COMMITTEES.

Section I. Boards of Trust. The Board of Directors may, if by them deemed advisable, elect and establish a Board of Trustees, who need not be members of the corporation, with such powers and consisting of such number of members as the Board of Directors may determine, for the purpose of holding as trustee for the corporation the legal title to property or money donated to or otherwise acquired by the corporation, as an endowment fund, and of investing, re-investing and otherwise managing same and turning over the income thereof to the corporation, and of otherwise meeting the requirements and conditions attached to such donations that have been approved and accepted by the Board of Directors. Separate Boards of Trustees may be so established for separate endowments, so that there may be a number of such boards if necessary or proper. Vacancies on such Boards shall be filled by the Board of Directors or as provided in the trust where such provisions are included therein.

Section 2. Executive Committee. The Board of Directors, by resolution adopted by a majority of the whole Board of Directors, may provide for an Executive Committee of such number of members, selected from the membership of the Board, as the Board may determine. If provision be made for an Executive Committee, the members thereof shall be elected by the Board of Directors to serve during the

pleasure of the Board of Directors and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Board of Directors. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as Chairman by the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the Board of Directors in the management of the business and affairs of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or otherwise, to the extent authorized by the resolution providing for such Executive Committee or by a subsequent resolution adopted by a majority of the whole Board of Directors, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Board of Directors. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Board of Directors at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the Board of Directors; provided that no rights of third persons shall be affected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Meetings of Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure and shall meet as provided by these rules or by resolution of the Board of Directors, and it shall also meet at the call of the Chairman or of any two members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be constituted of such number as may be determined by the Board of Directors but not less than five (5) members.

Section 4. Other Committees . The Board of Directors may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable, and discontinue the same at ple sure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with the by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Board of Directors and shall serve during the pleasure of the Board of Directors. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

Section I. Executive Officers. The executive officers of the corporation shall be a President, one or more Vice Presidents, as Secretary and a Treasurer. The President and Vice Presidents shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation, but the Secretary and Treasurer need not be members. The executive officers shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of members, and each such officer shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year and until his successor shall have been duly chosen and qualified, or until he shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Section 10 of this Article IV. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Board of Directors, at any regular or special meeting.

Section 2. President. The President shall be the chief executive officer of the corporation. He shall when present, preside at all meetings of the members and of the Board of Directors; he shall have general charge and supervision of the business of the corporation; he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution threrof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and, in general, the President shallpperform all duties incident to the office of a president of a coporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. First Vice-President. At the request of the President, or in his absence, or disability, the first Vice President shall perform all of the duties of the President; and when so acting shall have the powers of the President; and shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to his by the Board of Directors.

Section 4. Additional Vice Presidents. Each additional Vice President, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of their rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to them by the Board of Directors.

Section 5. Executive Director. The office of Executive Director may be created by the Board of Directors and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by said Board.

Section 6. Secretary. The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the members, of the Board of Directors and of the Executive Committees in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, ~~and of the corporate seal~~ or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corp rate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corprate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest them same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors or the by-laws.

Section 7. Treasurer. The Treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be depositied, in the name of the corporation, all moneys or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies or other depositaries as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Bo rd of Directors; he shall render to the President and to the Board of Directors annually and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all the duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors or the by-laws.

Section 8. Assistannt Officers. The Board of Directors may elect one or more Assistant Secretaries and one or more Assistant Treasurers. Each Assistant Secretary, if any, and each Assistant Treasurer, if any, shall hold office for such period and shall have such authority and perform such duties as the Board of Directors may prescribe. The offices of Assistant Treasurer and Executive Director may be held by the same person.

Section 9. Subordinate Officers. The Board of Directors may elect such subordinate officers as it may deem desirable. Each such officer shall hald office for such period, have such authoirty and perform such duties as the Board of Directors may prescribe. The Board of Directors may, from time to time, authorize any officer to appoint and remove subordinate officers and prescribe the powers and duties thereof.

Section 10. Removal. Any officer or agent of the corporation may be removed, with or without cause, by a vote of a majority of the entire Board of Directors at a meeting called for that purpose, or, by an officer upon whom such power of removal may have been conferred.

ARTICLE V. FINANCE.

Section 1. Checks, Drafts, etc. All checks, drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes, and other evidences of indebtedness, issued in the name ofthe corporation, shall unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors, be signed by the Treasurer or an Assistant Treasurer and countersigned by the President or a Vice President.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year of the corporation shall be the calendar year, unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VI. SUNDRY PROVISIONS.

Section 1. Seal. The corporate seal of the corporation shall bear the name of the corporation and the words, "Incorporated 1929, Georgia".

Section 2. Bonds. The Board of Directors may require any officer, agent or employee of the corporation to give a bond to the corporation, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties, with one or more sureties and in such amount as may be satisfactory to the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Audit of Books. An audit of the books of the corporation shall be made at least annually by a certified public accountant to be selected by the Board of Directors or by some officer of the corp ration authroized by the Board of Directors to make such selection.

Section 4. Amendments. These by-laws, or any of them, may be altered or repealed, and new by-laws may be adopted at any annual meeting of the members, or at any special meeting called for that purpose, by the vote of a majority of the members represented in person or by proxy and entitled to vote thereat.

The Constitution

OF THE

North Carolina Council of Churches

ARTICLE I

Purpose

The Purpose of the North Carolina Council of Churches is:

1. To promote fellowship and mutual understanding among the followers of Christ constituting the several Communions of North Carolina.

2. To serve as a medium of interchurch advice and counsel on matters affecting the progress of Christianity in the State.

3. To associate the Communions in such joint service as may achieve more effectively the objectives of the Christian religion.

ARTICLE II

Principles and Policies

1. The Council shall exist as a voluntary association, and shall be without mandatory power in relation to the bodies choosing to make use of it as a channel of counsel and of joint Christian expression.

2. The complete autonomy and corporate integrity of each Communion shall be mutually respected and safeguarded in all relations involving interdenominational fellowship and action.

3. The membership of the Council shall be composed by direct action of each Communion, either by election, appointment, or nomination, as each body may determine.

4. Each cooperating Communion shall be permitted six representatives on the Council for the first ten thousand communicant members, and four for each additional twenty thousand or major fraction thereof up to fifty thousand, and beyond that there shall be two for each fifty thousand, or major fraction thereof, provided that a number not to exceed twenty percent may be elected at large by the Council.

5. In relation to such national bodies as the International Council of Religious Education and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the North Carolina Council of Churches shall be administratively autonomous, but cooperative in spirit, purpose and program.

ARTICLE III

Meetings

1. The annual meeting of the Council shall be held as early in the Council year as practicable, at a time and place to be set by the Council or its Executive Committee. Due notice shall be given of the meeting. The Council year shall extend from September 1 to August 31.

2. Special meetings of the Council may be called by the President upon the authorization of the Executive Committee, or upon the written request of at least ten members of the Council, the purpose of the meeting being stated in the call. In a special meeting Council may transact only such business as is specifically stated in the call.

3. Twenty members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

4. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE IV

Officers

The officers of the Council shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Secretary, elected annually by the Council upon the nomination of a Nominating Committee. All officers shall perform the usual duties pertaining to their offices, and shall continue in office until their successors shall have been duly elected.

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

1. The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers of the Council, and nine members elected by the Council upon the nomination of the Nominaing Committee. In 1937 three members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for a period of one year, three for two years, and three for three years; and thereafter, three shall be elected annually, due consideration being given to denominational distribution.

2. The Executive Committee shall elect its own officers.

3. Regular meetings of the Executive Committee shall be held twice each year. Special meetings may be called upon due notice.

4. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

5. The Executive Committee shall make its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE VI

The Executive Staff

The Executive Staff of the Council shall be composed of the Executives of the cooperating communions or denominations working through the Council.

Article VII

By-Laws

The Council may make By-Laws as it sees fit.

Article VIII

Amendments

The Constitution may be amended by the Council at any meeting by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided the proposed amendments shall have been submitted in writing to the members of the Council at least ten days before the vote is taken.

Article IX

Boards and Committees as follows:

1. Board of Finance. The Board of Finance shall develop plans and policies for the successful financing of the work of the Council, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee. The Board of Finance shall elect its own officers and determine its own meetings.

2. Board of Christian Activities. The Board of Christian Activities shall be responsible for developing a constructive program of cooperative activities, and shall recommend same to the Council or Executive Committee for adoption. The Board of Christian Activities may create such special committees as may be necessary. The Board shall elect its own officers and determine its own meetings.

Article X

Regional Units

Regional Units of the Council for carrying out of the cooperative activities of the Council may be established with the approval of the Executive Committee.

North Carolina Council of Churches

COLLEGE STATION

Durham, North Carolina

SEPTEMBER, 1943

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR THE COMMON GOOD
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

Revised Oct. 22, 1937 - Oct. 31, 1941 - and Oct 5,1943

ARTICLE 1 - NAME
The name of this organization shall be THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

ARTICLE 11 - OBJECT
The object of this organization shall be to bring about a co-ordination of the plans and policies of the various state-wide and county organizations of women and men looking toward greater social progres in South Carolina through united effort.

ARTICLE 111 - MEMBERSHIP
Section 1. Any state-wide, non-political organization of women having for its objective the betterment of living conditions in South Carolina may be admitted to membership in the Women's Council.

Section 2. Each state-wide organization holding membership in The Women's Council for the Common Good is entitled to representatio on the Council by its president, its legislative chairman, and a member-at-large.

Section 3. Response to invitation or application for membership in the Women's Council for the Common Good shall be accompanied by a copy of the constitution and by-laws of the applying organization.

Section 4. Any County Council composed of organized groups within a county whose purposes are in accord with those of the Women's Council for the Common Good may become a member.

Section 5. Each County Council shall be represented by one woman who shall be its president or his or her appointee.

Section 6. All applications for membership in The Women's Counci for the Common Good shall be acted upon by its Executive Board.

ARTICLE IV - OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a Preside a First Vice President, a Second Vice President, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers of the Women's Council for the Common Good.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall consist of the President and Legislative Chairman, or appointee, and an elected member from each state-wide organization belonging. All members must be women.

Section 4. All Charter Members of the Women's Council for the Common Good shall be life members of the Women's Council with the privilege of attending all meetings, but without the right to vote.

Section 5. No member organization of the Women's Council for the Common Good may have more than one of its representatives serve as an officer for the Women's Council at the same time.

ARTICLE V - ELECTION

Section 1. Voting. Each state-wide member organization and each Congreassional District appointee of the County Councils of a given District shall be entitled to one vote.

Section 2. No officer shall be eligible for the same office for more than three consecutive years.

ARTICLE VI - DUES

Section 1. The dues for state-wide organizations holding membership in the Women's Council shall be $5.00 per member organization per yea

ARTICLE VII - COMMITTEES

Section 1. There shall be a Publicity Chairman, who shall be selected by the Executive Board. She shall co-operate with the various publicity chairmen of member organizations in giving information about the policies and work of the Women's Council for the Common Good.

Section 2. There shall be a Legislative Committee composed of the Legislative Chairmen of the various member organizations. It shall elect its own chairman.

Section 3. Suth other committees as found necessary shall be create by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII - MEETINGS

Section 1. Meetings of the Women's Council for the Common Good shall be held in January, April and October. An Executive Board meeting shall also be held immediately following the annual Public Affairs Forum, in which Forum the public shall be invited to participate.

Section 2. The Women's Council for the Common Good or its Executive Committee, or its Executive Board, may have "called meetings" as ofte as it is deemed necessary by a majority of its Executive Committee or its Executive Board.

Section 3. The President of the Women's Council for the Common Good may call a meeting of the Executive Committee or of the Executive Board when in her judgment such a meeting is necessary.

Section 4. The Call shall be sent fifteen days in advance of regula meeting. The date of the next regular meeting shall be determined at the meeting previous to it.

ARTICLE IX - QUORUM

Section 1. A quorum of the Executive Board shall consist of the re presentatives from one-half of the member organizations and not less than ten persons.

Section 2. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of a majority of the members.

Section 3. Each state-wide member organization and each County Council for the Common Good shall be entitled to one vote.

ARTICLE X - AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution and By-Laws may be adopted, amended or re pealed at any meeting by a two-third vote, provided notice of the proposed amendment has been sent with Call of Meeting.

ARTICLE XI . Sec. 1. Any item which has been on the legislative calendar for six consecutive years and has not been acted upon shall be dropped, unless re-affirmed.

1-5-44

SC/SRC
4/17/47

BY-LAWS

of the

SOUTH CAROLINA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I
Name

The name of this organization is the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II
Purpose

The purpose of this organization shall be to endeavor to promote in the state of South Carolina the aims and purposes of the Southern Regional Council, which are stated in the charter of the Council as follows:

> "The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South, in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

ARTICLE III
Membership

Section 1. Members. Voting members of this organization shall consist of members of the Southern Regional Council who live in the State of South Carolina.

Section 2. Associates. Persons who are not members of the SRC but who wish to cooperate with this division may become associates of the division. They may attend meetings and may have the privilege of the floor, but shall be without vote.

Section 3. Dues. Annual dues of members shall be the dues required for membership in the Southern Regional Council, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council. Annual dues of Associates shall be $1.00 a year, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the South Carolina Division.

Section 4. Affiliate Agencies. Agencies may become affiliated members of the South Carolina Division paying dues of $5.00 for a local agency and $10.00 for a statewide agency, each affiliated agency to have one official delegate with vote at the state meeting. The affiliated group,as such, need not subscribe to all of the program of the SRC.

ARTICLE IV
Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of the members for the transaction of business at such time, at such place as may be designated by the Executive Board. Notice of the annual meeting shall be given to each member in writing not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2, Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Board at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3 Quorum. The presence of not less than 5 per cent of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting. Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure.

ARTICLE V
Executive Board

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Board of not more than 25 members, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice Chairmen, the Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. The members of the first Executive Board elected under these by-laws shall be divided by lot so that the terms of one-third expire in two years, one-third in four years, and one-third in six years. Each Executive Board member elected at such annual meetings shall hold office for a term of two years, and shall be eligible for re-election except that he may not serve more than two consecutive terms. The Chairman of the South Carolina Division shall be Chairman of the Executive Board. During the intervals between meetings of members, the Executive Board may exercise all of the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the members.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Board shall hold regular meetings as provided by its own rules or as instructed by a resolution of the members of the South Carolina Division, and it may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman of of any five members of the Board.

Section 3, Quorum. The presence of 12 members, including ex-officio members, shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Board.

Section 4, Vacancies. In case of any vacancy on the Executive Board the remaining members of the Board may select a successor to fill the vacancy.

Section 5. Advisory Committee. An Advisory Committee may be set up by the Executive Board to function in such ways, at such times, and for such duration as its discretion may seem best.

ARTICLE VI
Officers

The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, two Vice Chairmen, A Secretary and a Treasurer. These officers shall be elected annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Board. The Chairman and first Vice Chairman shall serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman respectively of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VII
Finances

Section 1. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the South Carolina Division shall be signed by the Treasurer.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Financial Report The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the members at each annual meeting and send a copy to SRC.

> Note: $1.00 of the dues of each SRC member in South Carolina will be returned to the Treasurer of the South Carolina Division. Likewise, any contribution earmarked by South Carolina members for use in South Carolina will be returned.

ARTICLE VIII
Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of members, or at any special meeting called for that stated purpose, by a majority of the members present.

cc: Harold Fleming
(She is an attorney and professor of law)

February 14, 1949

Miss Cassandra E. Maxwell
721 Russell Street, N. E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Miss Maxwell:

We are so glad to have you as a Fellow of the Council.

You can help us greatly—as I know you already do anyway.

We are talking about trying to get up by October of this year an appraisal of changes, good and bad, state by state in the South during 1948-49. It seems to me you would be a mighty good person to do some work on that in South Carolina. I will write you about it a little later.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming
From: George S. Mitchell
Re: Annual Report

Our 1948 annual report number touched newspaper interest, perhaps to a degree in excess of its worth. I have been thinking that we might do a very useful thing indeed by making that number in 1949 come up to its full possibilities.

What the newspapers picked up was the beginning in that number of an appraisal of progress in a year's time. The number as it appeared had actually a vacuum for appraisal of the year's losses, but we could correct that in 1949.

Doing the job right would entail our writing to one person in each of the states along about now and asking that person to collect industriously the facts about change in matters of interest to the Council in their state in the period October 1, 1948 - September 30, 1949. The guy would have to keep clippings. The legislatures meet in most of the states this year and he would, therefore, have to give a legislative summary. Other subjects would be freedom of the ballot, racial violence, law enforcement, health, housing, schooling, evidence of agricultural and industrial expansion, democracy in industry, development of state services in the fields of welfare, interracial adjustment, and other things.

If we did this job well, and did it annually, we would get to be quite a source.

Ponder thou.

GSM

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

✓ Ala. - Comillion ~~Everett Heal~~
✓ Fla. - Lovejoy
✓ Ga. - ~~Hill~~
Ky. - Hortense Young (Sanders)
La. - ~~Hackl.~~ Schowden
✓ Miss. - Schaffer
✓ N.C. - ~~Mr Johnson~~ McDowell
✓ Okla. - Mrs Johnson
✓ S.C. - ~~Zellner @ Winthrop~~ Cassandra Marvell
✓ Tenn. - Valien ~~(Mrs Johnson)~~
? ✓ Texas - Jewel Tatum
Va. - Emerson Smith
✓ Ark. - Stephan

File

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

2/23/49

Mrs. McKoy:

Here are two copies of the by-laws of the Alabama Division. These were officially adopted at the annual membership meeting February 22, 1949.

GSM.

Contain the 1st membership provision (for students, presumably) — this should be submitted to annual mtg. of 2/9/49

McK.

(One other copy of these By-laws is in my Ala folder — D. McK.)

2/22/49

State Ctees & Divs. — Constitutions

BY-LAWS

OF THE

ALABAMA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization is the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II

Purpose

This organization shall endeavor to promote in the State of Alabama the aims and purposes following, that is to say: to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to maintain an organization for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust, to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Members. Voting members of this organization shall consist of members of the Southern Regional Council who live in the State of Alabama.

Section 2. Associates. Persons who are not members of the SRC but who wish to cooperate with this division may become associates of the division. They may attend meetings and may have the privilege of the floor, but shall be without vote.

Section 3. Dues. Annual dues of members shall be the dues required for membership in the Southern Regional Council, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council. Annual dues of Associates shall be $1.00 a year, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Alabama Division.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of the members for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive

Committee. Notice of the annual meeting shall be given to each member in writing not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Committee, at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of not less than twenty-five of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting. Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure.

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Committee of not more than 12 members, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, the Secretary and the Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Committee. The members of the first Executive Committee elected under these by-laws shall be divided by lot so that the terms of four expire in one year, four in two years, and four in three years. At each subsequent meeting, four members shall be elected to the Executive Committee to serve a term of three years. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. The Chairman of the state division shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. During the intervals between meetings of members the Executive Committee may exercise all of the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the members.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Committee shall hold regular meetings as provided by its own rules or as instructed by a resolution of the members of the Alabama Division, and it may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman or of any five members of a committee.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of seven members, including ex-officio members, shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy on the Executive Committee the remaining members of the Committee may select a successor to fill the vacancy.

ARTICLE VI

Advisory Council

The members shall elect annually an Advisory Council of not more than twenty members.

ARTICLE VII

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer. These officers shall be elected

annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Committee.

Section 2. No person may serve more than three successive years in the same office.

ARTICLE VIII
Finances

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the Division shall be signed by the Treasurer on order of the Executive Committee, as certified by the Secretary.

The Treasurer is authorized to make payments of ordinary bills between meetings of the Executive Committee when these bills are approved by the Chairman and the Secretary.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Financial Report. The Treasurer shall submit a financial report at each meeting of the Executive Committee, and at each annual meeting of members. A copy of the annual report of the Treasurer shall be sent to the office of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE IX
Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of members, or at any special meeting called for that stated purpose, by a majority of the members present.

(NOTE: One-half of the dues of each SRC member in Alabama will be returned to the Treasurer of the Alabama Division. Likewise, any contributions earmarked by Alabama members for use in Alabama will be returned.)

February 24, 1949

Dear -------:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which ~~we feel~~ such summaries ~~should~~ might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in (name of state) and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 24, 1949

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
Miami University
Miami, Florida

Dear Dr. Lovejoy:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Florida and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 24, 1949

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan
Dept. of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Stephan:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Arkansas and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 24, 1949

Mrs. Hortense Young
The Louisville Defender
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Young:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Kentucky and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 24, 1949

Mr. Charles G. Gomillion
Box 51
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gomillion:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Alabama and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 24, 1949

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson St.
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Mississippi and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 25, 1949

Miss Cassandra Maxwell
Librarian, Law School
State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Miss Maxwell:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in South Carolina and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

March 22, 1949

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

We are grateful to you and Miss Swearingen for undertaking to do the annual summing up for Mississippi.

I shall be happy to remind you of it several weeks in advance.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

THE MISSISSIPPI DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

("To Attain, Through Research and Action, the Ideals and Practices of Equal Opportunity for All Peoples in the South.")

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

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Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer, D. D.
1525 Robinson St.
Jackson 11, Miss.

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President S. L. Greene
Campbell College
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Second Vice-Chairman:
Miss Bethany Swearingen
1501 N. State St.
Jackson, Miss.

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Jackson College
Jackson, Miss.

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1143 W. Pearl St.
Jackson, Miss.

Dr. David R. Minter
Rt. 1, Cruger, Miss.

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Sherard, Miss.

Mrs. J. E. Johnson
Prentiss Institute
Prentiss, Miss.

Mrs. M. M. Hubert
1088 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss.

President John Long
Southern Christian Institute
Edwards, Miss.

Miss Jean MacGillivary
117 N. West St.
Jackson, Miss.

Dr. Lee Owens
1215½ Washington St.
Vicksburg, Miss.

Rev. W. A. Bender
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Mr. A. J. Noel
1037 W. Pearl St.
Jackson, Miss.

Rev. D. Swan Haworth, D. D.
First Baptist Church
Vicksburg, Miss.

Mr. T. D. Davis
110 Pinehaven Drive
Jackson, Miss.

Mar. 4, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In regard to an annual report as requested in your letter of Feb. 24th, I have conferred with Miss Bethany Swearingen and we have agreed to provide such a report if you will remind us of it several weeks in advance.

Yours sincerely,

H. Brent Schaeffer

H. Brent Schaeffer

February 25, 1949

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
336 S. Salisbury St.
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Cy:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in North Carolina and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 28, 1949

Dr. Preston Valien
Director of Social Science Research
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

Dr. Charles Johnson suggests that you may be able to help us out on a project which we are planning.

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Tennessee and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Dr. Preston Valien February 28, 1949

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

February 28, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your prompt suggestion about the proposed annual summary of progress. I am writing Dr. Valien today.

The year book issue of the Race Relations Summary of Events and Trends will certainly be helpful in this connection. We all look forward to seeing it.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming

hcf/t

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 25, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It is a very good idea to have an issue of "New South" devoted to an annual summary of progress and setbacks in various Southern states. I am suggesting that you refer the request to Dr. Preston Valien, Director of Social Science Research at Fisk University.

wr. Hqs 2/28/49

You may find some interest in the year book issue of Race Relations Summary of Events and Trends which will appear in about three weeks. This volume covers the past twelve months.

Best wishes

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 4, 1949

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation
P. O. Box 1208
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Cy:

You are quite right that the yearly summing-up is an appropriate job for the Fellows.

On Lib's suggestion, I have written Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald of Hickory, N. C., asking her to tackle it. In the event she agrees, and if you are still there next summer, I'll send her report to you for such changes and additions as you think wise.

Sorry to hear you may be leaving, but will assume you're not unless I hear further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

TELEPHONE 3-1911

North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

An Affiliate of The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

P. O. Box 1208

Raleigh, North Carolina

DIRECTOR
CYRUS M. JOHNSON

GENERAL OFFICERS
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
GOV. R. GREGG CHERRY
RALEIGH

STATE CHAIRMAN
REV. LEON RUSSELL
GOLDSBORO

SECRETARY-TREASURER
C. C. SPAULDING
DURHAM

CHAIRMAN BOARD OF FINANCE
GURNEY P. HOOD
RALEIGH

March 1, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I'll be glad to help with the project of a yearly summing up of progress or lack of progress in our State. It is something that we aught to do any way so a little pushing to get it done will be helpful.

It would seem to me that this would be a good thing to work in the Fellows on though. I wonder if they might not be asked to help get the information together to be welded into a report or some such.

It is just possible that when the time come for the report that I won't be here. It might even be more probable than possible. I couldn't say right now.

Sincerely,

Cy

Cyrus M. Johnson

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

VICE-CHAIRMEN

MRS. ROSE D. AGGREY
C. H. HAMLIN
MRS. MARY C. HOLLIDAY
DAVID D. JONES
J. W. SEABROOK
W. A. STANBURY

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ROY M. BROWN
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R. P. DANIEL
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N. NORFLEET GARDNER
W. L. GREENE
WALTER J. HUGHES
W. C. JACKSON
HAROLD E. JENSON
GUY B. JOHNSON
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A. E. MANLEY
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HAROLD L. TRIGG
E. T. THOMPSON
GERTRUDE WEIL
R. D. WELLONS
MRS. L. B. YANCEY

TELEPHONE 3-1911

North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

An Affiliate of The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

P. O. Box 1208

Raleigh, North Carolina

DIRECTOR
CYRUS M. JOHNSON

March 7, 1949

GENERAL OFFICERS
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
GOV. R. GREGG CHERRY
RALEIGH

STATE CHAIRMAN
REV. LEON RUSSELL
GOLDSBORO

SECRETARY-TREASURER
C. C. SPAULDING
DURHAM

CHAIRMAN BOARD OF FINANCE
GURNEY P. HOOD
RALEIGH

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald will do a good job if she will accept and do the summing-up. I did not mean to try to get out of the job as it is one that we aught to do anyway and would need to do, if I am still here, as I may well be. If Mrs. McDonald accepts that will be fine. If she won't do the whole job she might take one phase of it as others might take a phase and them the whole picture could be drawn to gether.

What I may do to help, even if I am not here, if I get time, is to go through the back files of my Negro papers, (I have them here for a year) and clip the items that will be of help.

Sincerely,

Cy

Cyrus M. Johnson

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

VICE-CHAIRMEN

MRS. ROSE D. AGGREY
C. H. HAMLIN
MRS. MARY C. HOLLIDAY
DAVID D. JONES
J. W. SEABROOK
W. A. STANBURY

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N. C. NEWBOLD
HAROLD L. TRIGG
E. T. THOMPSON
GERTRUDE WEIL
R. D. WELLONS
MRS. L. B. YANCEY

March 14, 1949

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
738 Gimghoul Road
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. McDonald:

I am sorry that we failed to enclose the suggested outline for the yearly progress report. Here is a copy. All I have tried to do is to provide a fairly comprehensive checklist which may be helpful in summing up yearly progress in the state. Some items will be relevant in some states and not in others.

Mr. Cyrus Johnson knows of this project and will be glad to be of help. His address is: North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Box 1208, Raleigh.

We shall be grateful for your cooperation in making this issue of New South a success.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

cc: Cyrus Johnson

Dear Mr. Fleming

You failed to enclose outline for report in your recent letter to me regarding State Summaries for New South. My address is now changed from 12 1/2 St. Hickory to:

Anne Lanier McDonald
738 Dinghoul Road
Chapel Hill
N. C.,

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1940
Southern Regional Council

March 3, 1949

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
1527 - 12½ Street
Hickory, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. McDonald:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in North Carolina and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

March 14, 1949

Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson
Executive Secretary
Urban League
Oklahoma City, Inc.

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Thank you for agreeing to help us with the annual summary issue of New South. The developments in Oklahoma should be of special interest.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1 would be a convenient deadline. As you know, we hope to make this our September, 1949 issue. I will write you again within the next few months.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

Urban League of Oklahoma City, Inc.
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES
TELEPHONE: 2-8817 300 NORTH STILES
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

JESSE T. OWENS, PRES.
GEORGE R. RAGLAND, VICE-PRES.
L. D. LACY, TREASURER
CARRIE L. EDWARDS, SECRETARY

CERNORIA D. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MISS HELEN M. HOLMES
OFFICE SECRETARY

March 8, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I will be happy to share with your office a progress report for Oklahoma. As you no doubt know, we are expanding in many areas in Oklahoma, particularly in the elimination of segregation in higher education.

What is the deadline on receiving this information?

Sincerely yours,

Cernoria D. Johnson

(Mrs.) Cernoria D. Johnson
Executive Secretary

hmh

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

February 24, 1949

Mrs. Genoria Johnson
Urban League
500 North Eyles
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Oklahoma and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

7

March 14, 1949

Miss Cassandra E. Maxwell
721 Russell, N.E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Miss Maxwell:

Thank you so much for agreeing to prepare the progress report for South Carolina.

Enclosed is a copy of the October 1948 issue of New South. As you will see, only a few of the state reports are actually of the sort we are planning. Please regard the mimeographed outline as only a suggested checklist--only those items which seem to you relevant need be bothered with.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

721 RUSSELL, NE

TELEPHONE 66

CASSANDRA E. MAXWELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 11, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have your letter of February 25, asking that I undertake to keep track of developments in the State of South Carolina and prepare a yearly summing-up for "New South".

Even though you have asked for a very extensive coverage, I shall be glad to do what I can, and will gather as much information as possible and seek to prepare a summary from the facts gathered. It would be helpful I believe if I could have a copy of the October issue of New South, in which a similar yearly progress report was made. Will you have one sent to me?

Very truly yours,

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Cassandra E. Maxwell

March 22, 1949

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Dean
School of Education
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Dean Gomillion:

Thank you for agreeing to do the annual summing up for Alabama. If further suggestions would be of help, please let me know.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, DEAN

March 3,1 949

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

I have your letter of February 24 inquiring as to whether or not I would prepare a report on Interracial Developments in the State of Alabama for the September number of New South. I shall be glad to accept this assignment and will prepare for you a report which will be submitted during August 1949. If you have any further suggestions concerning the nature of the report, feel free to pass them on to me.

Very truly yours,

Charles G. Gomillion

Charles G. Gomillion, Dean
School of Education

/b/

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 22, 1949

Dr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

Thank you for agreeing so promptly to prepare the yearly summing up for New South. I shall look forward to seeing it.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

March 7, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of February 28. I will be happy to prepare the yearly summing-up for the New South.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Preston Valien
Chairman

p
v
:
a
w

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 22, 1949

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
University of Miami
Miami (University Branch), Florida

Dear Dr. Lovejoy:

Thank you so much for agreeing to do the annual summing up for Florida.

I am sorry that we settled on this idea so late in the year. It is good of you to take such thorough measures to cover the lapsed months.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
~~CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA~~
MIAMI (UNIVERSITY BRANCH), FLORIDA
P. O. Box 51

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

February 28, 1949.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your request that I assist in preparing the annual summing-up for "New South" is most provocative. I shall be happy to undertake this task.

I am faced, however, with some very practical situations arising from the period of time you desire covered. Unfortunately our library does not maintain files of a single newspaper and that means I will have difficulty in checking what has happened since August 1st, 1948. Secondly, no one newspaper in Florida covers adequately the entire state and I must check, therefore, papers from Jacksonville, Tallahassee, Tampa and Miami. I am writing newspapers in each of these cities regarding back issues and I shall take out subscriptions to each at once. Thirdly, no major newspaper gives more than occasional references to items concerning the Negro (for example neither Miami paper mentioned one word about the honorary doctorate recently conferred upon Mrs. Bethune by Rollins College). This means I must also check at least two of the state's Negro newspapers.

I don't know as yet just how I will handle the project you propose but as soon as I have something definite I will correspond with you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon W. Lovejoy

Gordon W. Lovejoy
Prof. of Human Relations

GWL/ejg

March 22, 1949

Dr. A. Stephen Stephan
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Stephan:

Thank you for agreeing to prepare the Arkansas summary for New South. Please regard the checklist as only a suggested outline. No doubt many of the items will not be applicable.

I hope it will be satisfactory to regard September 1 as the deadline for the report. That should give us ample time to get it in print in the September issue of New South.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf;t

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
FAYETTEVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

March 15, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am sorry for this delay in answering your letter of February 24 in which you ask me to prepare a summary of Arkansas for the period August, 1948 to July, 1949 for the New South. I shall be glad to attempt this though my information, I am afraid, will be a bit skimpy in this first summing up. It will be better, I hope, in the subsequent summing up.

Sincerely yours,

A. Stephen Stephan

A. Stephen Stephan

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 24, 1949

Mrs. Hortense H. Young
818 South 6th Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Young:

It is very kind of you to agree to do the annual summing up for Kentucky. I do not believe that the job is as formidable as it seems, since the report is to be fairly brief, and will cover only the most significant developments. Then too, I have been impressed by the way the Kentucky Division keeps in touch with happenings in the state.

If further suggestions from me about the report would be helpful, please let me know.

I have noted your home address, and will use it in future correspondence.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MANSIR TYDINGS, CHAIRMAN
R. B. ATWOOD, VICE CHAIRMAN
DR. O. T. BINKLEY, 2ND. VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. HORTENSE YOUNG, SECRETARY
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CHARLES G. TACHAU
WHITNEY M. YOUNG

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

KENTUCKY DIVISION

~~KENTUCKY~~

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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DR. WARREN S. REHM
MRS. PATSIE SLOAN
CHARLES T. STEELE
O. M. TRAVIS

818 South 6th Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky
March 22,1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 24 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of February 24th requesting that I attempt to keep track of developments in Kentucky through newspaper clippings of significant happenings reached me some days ago.

I fully understand the task you ask of me, and,in a way, I am reluctant to take on such an assignment. I do not have much time to really peruse the papers as thoroughly as they should be for such an undertaking, but I shall do the best I can.

I think the undertaking is a laudable one and will be of inestimable value in making a yearly report of what is happening in the States we are so interested in.

I have asked Mrs. McKoy to direct all mail from that office to my home address. I am asking you to do the same. It has been some time since I worked daily at the DEFENDER office here, as a result mail which goes there is often several days reaching me. They do not forward it because I am in and out of the office during some part of the week.

Very truly yours,

Hortense Young

Hortense H. Young
Secretary

May 26, 1949

Mr. Jewel Tatum
Mary Allen College
Crockett, Texas

Dear Mr. Tatum:

Some time back I made a request of you. I now discover that the letter was sent through error to the wrong address, so that I assume it did not reach you. I am still hoping, however, that you can help us out on this project.

There is a great public demand for a responsible annual report of progress in the South. The Southern Regional Council is a logical organization to do the job. We should like to devote our September issue of New South to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover. Some of our annual reports of last October moved faintly in this direction. I enclose a copy of that issue of New South.

Ideally, such reports should be prepared by people who are on the spot and are reasonably well informed about developments in their respective states. Could you undertake to prepare for us the report on Texas? The yearly period would be August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, and the report need not be lengthy or detailed. Fifteen hundred words or so would be about right. September 1 would be a convenient deadline for the manuscript.

We should greatly appreciate your help. Let me know if it is possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

To answer

February 24, 1949

Mr. Jewel Tatum
22 Cable St.
Beaumont, Texas

Dear Mr. Tatum:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Texas and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

May 26, 1949

Dr. George Snowden
2601 Gentilly Road
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Snowden:

Some time back I wrote asking if you could help us by preparing an annual progress report for Louisiana. It occurs to me that the letter may not have found its way to you, since I have received no reply. Or perhaps the pressure of your activities has prevented it. In any case, I should like to repeat the request.

Enclosed is a copy of the letter which I sent earlier, as well as a copy of the suggested checklist for such a report. If you could help us, we should be most grateful. Please let me know if that is possible.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t
enclosures

February 24, 1949

Dr. George Snowden
2601 Gentilly Road
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Snowden:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Louisiana and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

May 26, 1949

Rev. C. Emerson Smith
Virginia Council of Churches
109 West Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are probably taxing your good will with the many requests for help which we make of you. Some time ago I wrote to ask if you could help us by preparing an annual progress report for Virginia, to be used in the September issue of New South. I enclose a copy of the letter.

I believe you are ideally suited to do this job for us with a minimum of time and effort. If you feel that it is one straw too many, could you suggest a logical person to prepare such a brief summing up? What it requires, of course, is somebody well informed enough to sift out the important developments and set them down accurately and concisely.

We will appreciate this added favor.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

February 24, 1949

The Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith
Virgin ia Council of Churches
109 West Grace St
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

The October issue of New South presenting our annual reports aroused a good deal of interest. The reason was that the reports served, to some degree, as a yearly progress report on the South.

That interest leads us to believe there would be considerable demand for an annual issue of New South devoted entirely to state-by-state summaries of the major advances and setbacks in those fields in which the Council is particularly interested. The attached outline suggests the major topics which such summaries might cover.

It is well nigh impossible for us here in the Regional Office to keep close tabs on the day-to-day happenings in each of the states. That is why we are calling on you.

Would you undertake to keep track of developments in Virginia and prepare the yearly summing-up for New South? The job would consist mainly of keeping newspaper clippings of significant happenings and drawing them together in a report of 1500 words or so. The yearly period would extend from August 1, 1948 to July 31, 1949, so that the reports might appear in the September New South. The issue could thus serve the double purpose of informing the public at large and of providing a basis for planning at our annual meeting.

Please let me know if you can help us on this project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

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JUN 18 1949

U. of Kentucky to Admit Negroes to White Classes

LEXINGTON, Ky., June 17 (UP).—Negroes will be admitted to classes with white students at the University of Kentucky, Dr. H. L. Donovan, president of the university, said today.

His announcement came after a study of a Federal court order opening the university to Negroes and a ruling by the state attorney general that the Day law, which provides for segregation, was not voided by the Federal court order. Dr. Donovan said the ruling by United States District Judge H. Church Ford is that Negro students must be given equal educational opportunities.

DR. G. L. PRINCE— PRES.

PROF. W. A. PERRY— DEAN

...OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT...

Mary Allen College

BOX 741
CROCKETT, TEXAS
OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE
GENERAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF TEXAS

June 25, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Letters sent me since I was recommended as a fellow of the council turned up while at home last week. You can imagine how I did fuss with my folks for not forwarding them on to me. Well, this accounts for the delay of the enclosed sheet on information about 'Fellows of the Council'.

I also found among these letters your circular letter of May 18, 1949 which revealed to me for the first time any knowledge of the $10.00 campaign. I, therefore, am enclosing a money order for the amount of $11.00 for same and the extra dollar to complete my brother's payment for the year 1949. His balance according to my last letter received from you is $1.00.

to a week. July 1.49 SWM.

I understand that you are complying information to complete a report by September. If I can be of any service in this respect don't hesitate to let me know what I can do to make the report a success.

About my future plans..... Am planning to attend New York University's Summer's 'Inner-Session' as I am working here this summer and will be until summer school closes on the 12th of August. I plan to take courses in 'Economics' as you have advised.

Here's wishing the council continued success.

Your friend,
Jewel Tatum

P. S. Don't fail to let me know when I can be of any service to you and the council.

ltr sent
7-28-49

July 26, 1949

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As I understand it, the deadline for the 1500 word or so summary I am to write on Arkansas is September 1st. Is this right?

Sincerely yours,

A. Stephen Stephan

A. Stephen Stephan
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

July 27, 1949

Mrs. Cernoria D. Johnson
Executive Secretary
Urban League
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for Oklahoma, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 27, 1949

Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

Several months ago, you and Miss Bethany Swearingen were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for Mississippi, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 27, 1949

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald
1527 - 12½ Street
Hickory, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. McDonald:

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for North Carolina, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 28, 1949

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
University of Miami
Miami (University Branch), Florida

Dear Dr. Lovejoy:

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for Florida, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 28, 1949

Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Dean
School of Education
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Dean Gomillion:

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for Alabama, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 28, 1949

Dr. A. Stephen Stephan
Dept. of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr.STephan:

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for Arkansas, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 28, 1949

Dr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Dept. of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for Tennessee, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 28, 1949

Mrs. Hortense H. Young
818 South Sixth Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Young:

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for Kentucky, to be used in the September issue of New South.

Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st will be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

July 28, 1949

Miss Cassandra E. Maxwell
721 Russell, N. E.
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Dear Miss Maxwell:

We probably tax your good will with the many requests we make of you, but I take the liberty of reminding you of this one project.

Several months ago, you were kind enough to agree to do a brief progress report for South Carolina, to be used in the September issue of New South. Since the report will cover the period from August 1, 1948 through July 31, 1949, September 1st would be a convenient deadline.

We are most grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

August 4, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your note of July 28. I have not forgotten my promise to do a brief progress report for Tennessee to be used in the September issue of New South. You may expect it on or before the September 1st deadline.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Preston Valien

Preston Valien
Chairman

p
v
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a
w

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

721 RUSSELL, NE

TELEPHONE 66

CASSANDRA E. MAXWELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 9, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just returned to Orangeburg from a three week vacation trip, and find your letters of July 19 and 28.

In response to your letter of the 19th, it would seem to be too late to add anything - if one could add to the article. I thank you nevertheless for submitting the article to me for comment. I think the subject a timely one. We have too long overlooked the power of the state legislature and its effect upon the problems recognized by the SRC. I will look forward to reading the next issue of New South.

And now in response to your letter of the 28th, I do most certainly plan to have a report in your hands before the 1st of September, as agreed. This item is at top of my post-vacation list.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Cassandra E. Maxwell

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Urban League of Oklahoma City, Inc.
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES
TELEPHONE: 2-8817 300 NORTH STILES
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

JESSE T. OWENS, PRES.
GEORGE R. RAGLAND, VICE-PRES.
L. D. LACY, TREASURER
CARRIE L. EDWARDS, SECRETARY

CERNORIA D. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MISS HELEN M. HOLMES
OFFICE SECRETARY

August 17, 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fleming:

I have before me your letter requesting a brief progress report for Oklahoma to be used in the September issue of New South. However, at the present time, I am on my vacation which will last until the first of September. Inasmuch as I will be attending the Urban League National Conference in September, it seems to be that it will be almost impossible to get anything to you before your deadline.

I am grateful for your invitation.

Sincerely,
Cernoria D. Johnson
(Mrs.) Cernoria D. Johnson
Executive Secretary

hmh

September 2, 1949

Miss Cassandra Maxwell
721 Russell, N. E.
Orangeburg, S. C.

Dear Miss Maxwell:

We are deeply grateful to you for the careful summary of the past year in South Carolina. It is excellently done and will greatly add to the annual round-up issue of New South.

I don't yet know what the space requirements will be, but it is kind of you to give me a free hand in any necessary editing.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

721 RUSSELL, NE

TELEPHONE 66

CASSANDRA E. MAXWELL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

August 30, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have checked through many newspaper clippings relative to the more important happenings in South Carolina during the period August 1, 1948 thru July 31, 1949, and hand you herewith a summary. I trust that you will find this report of some use to you.

Please feel free to cut it or do whatever you think might be necessary that it will be of advantage to you and the Council.

I am indebted to Mrs. Andrew Simkins of Columbia for the use of her files and her wealth of newspaper clippings. Mr. McCray of the Lighthouse and Defender has sent me a very excellent report on Negro policemen. Mr. Butler of the Palmetto Teachers Association made a hasty survey for me in regards the matter of double sessions, and gave other advices.

Hoping that this summary will prove to be helpful, I am

Sincerely yours,

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Cassandra E. Maxwell

Encl.

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 12, 1949

Dr. A. Stephen Stephan, Head
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Stephan:

Please forgive this delay in acknowledging your excellent summary of the past year's changes in the status of Negroes in Arkansas. We are most grateful to you for this careful, well documented report.

It was also kind of you to let me know that your report would be a few days late. That did not inconvenience us in the least, since our normal operations were virtually suspended during our Southside conference of church women with Mrs. Roosevelt as guest speaker. Because of the interruption of the conference, we now plan to make the annual number of New South an early October issue.

Again, our sincere thanks.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
FAYETTEVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

September 3, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing "Changes in the Status of Negroes in Arkansas, 1948-49", the Arkansas state summary which I promised you for the New South.

Sincerely yours,

A. Stephen Stephan

A. Stephen Stephan, Head

Ans 9/15

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
FAYETTEVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 13, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing another change in my article for the forthcomind New South on "Changes in the Status of Negroes in Arkansas, 1948-49." Please substitute the first paragraph enclosed for the first paragraph in the original article. I find it necessary to make this change since I believe the information in the present paragraph enclosed is a better estimate of the number of Negroes voting in Arkansas. The original paragraph had figures which I now believe are too high. Please make the change in accordance with the new paragraph even if the article is in galley proof. You may make whatever editorial changes are needed to make the substituted paragraph come out to the right number of words if the article is in galley proof. If the first sentence in the new material is not used then the number of words would be about the same as the original.

I am sending you this by air mail and would appreciate an acknowledgment.

I am sorry to bother you with these changes. This one I believe is important. Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

A. Stephen Stephan

A. Stephen Stephan, Head

PS Another change concerning students in the Law School, page 4, of manuscript attached.

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
FAYETTEVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 15, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I suppose you must think I am a sort of an irresponsibile person the way I have been sending corrections to you of my summary,"Changes in the Status of Negroes in Arkansas, 1948-49". Here are two more which are given on the attached sheet. The one concerning the number of voters was given me incorrectly at a thousand more than what the figure should have been. Please note that this is a change in the new paragraph which I sent you on September 13, in which the estimate of the number of Negro voters in the 1948 primaries was given as 23,600; this figure should have been 22,600. The other correction concerns the number of beds in the McRae Sanatorium as given in the original manuscript. The latter correction comes from a newspaper clipping of two days ago.

Thank you for your letter of September 12, acknowledging my summary.

Sincerely yours,

A. Stephen Stephan

A. Stephen Stephan, Head

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

RECEIVED
SEP 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

September 20, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing the report for Tennessee.

I greatly appreciated your patience with respect to the report and hope that it is the type of report which you had in mind.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Preston Valien
Chairman

pv:aw

Enc.

September 22, 1949

Dr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

Thank you for your report on the past year in Tennessee. It is an excellent summary and it serves our purpose exactly.

We are most grateful to you.

Sincerely,

Harold Fleming
Director of Information

HF:wgd

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MANSIR TYDINGS, CHAIRMAN
R. B. ATWOOD, VICE CHAIRMAN
DR. O. T. BINKLEY, 2ND. VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. HORTENSE YOUNG, SECRETARY
LEWIS D. COLE, TREASURER

DIRECTORS
MRS. E. F. HORINE
FRANK L. STANLEY
MRS. ANNA H. SETTLE
MRS. LUCY HARTH SMITH
CHARLES G. TACHAU
WHITNEY M. YOUNG

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

KENTUCKY DIVISION

~~LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY~~
818 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and [illegible] opportunity for all peoples in the South.

ADVISORY DIRECTORS
MISS JULIA F. ALLEN
PHILIP ARDERY
REV. W. H. BALLEW
DR. HOWARD W. BEERS
LOUIS J. BOSSE
JOHN W. BROOKER
W. C. BUFORD
DR. ALICE CHENOWETH
TARLETON COLLIER
MRS. LIZZIE H. FOUSE
MRS. V. P. HENRY
REV. DANIEL HUGHLETT
MRS. ABBIE C. JACKSON
ARTHUR S. KLING
DR. J. A. C. LATTIMORE
DR. JULIAN P. LOVE
DR. E. A. MC DOWELL
DR. C. H. PARRISH
W. H. PERRY, JR.
VICTOR PORTMANN
MISS JULIET J. POYNTER
DR. WARREN S. REHM
MRS. PATSIE SLOAN
CHARLES T. STEELE
O. M. TRAVIS

26 September 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atalnta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have not forgotten that I am to send you a report of whatever progress we have made here in Kentucky during the past year.

I have not taken time to go to the COURIER-JOURNAL files to review the highlights I may find there, but I shall make an earnest effort to get to it by Wednesday. You should get some "rough notes" by Friday or Saturday - I promise.

Sincerely,

Hortense Young

Mrs. C. Milton Young

October 5, 1949

Dr. A. Stephen Stephan, Head
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Stephan:

Thank you for the additional information on West Memphis. I shall see that it is included in your report.

We appreciate your kind comment on Race in the News. It shows signs of being one of the most popular things we have done, and also one of the most effective. One of our jobs is to get it into the hands of appropriate people--and also to pay the printing bill! Do you think the department of journalism at the University of Arkansas could be persuaded to buy some copies for classroom use? Emory University has just bought a hundred copies for its journalism courses. If you could help us with this, or offer other suggestions, we should be very grateful.

One of the things that pleases us is that the booklet has already got tangible results from the newspapers here in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Harold G. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t
enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
FAYETTEVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

September 29, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am attaching an item which if not too late you may care to add to my article on "Changes in the Status of Negroes in Arkansas, 1948-49". It concerns the predition of additional facilities for Negroes in West Memphis, Arkansas, which was much publicized by Life magazine early in the year. If it is inconvenient or too late to make the change please disregard it.

I was much interested in the report in the October 3 issue of Time which came today about the pamphlet, Race in the News. I would appreciate a copy.

Sincerely yours,

A. Stephen Stephan, Head

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

October 10, 1949

Dr. A. Stephen Stephan, Head
Department of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Stephan:

Your letter of October 3 arrived just as Dr. Mitchell was about to set off for a week's travel. He has asked me to answer it.

Your suggestion is a good one. We had hoped all along that this issue, when it is released, would receive wide newspaper notice. Mr. Ashmore should be eager to give special attention to your splendid report on Arkansas. We shall let you know the results of our correspondence with him.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
FAYETTEVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 3, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have sent to Mr. Fleming your director of information an article entitled, "Changes in the Status of Negroes in Arkansas, 1948-49". This is for the forthcoming issue of the New South.

The Arkansas Gazette, the state's most influential paper published in Little Rock, has a regular feature of reprints on its editorial pages. It occurred to me that they may be interested in this article of mine from the New South. If you think it is advisable, I would suggest that you send it to Harry Ashmore, the editor, with the suggestion that they reprint it if they so desire. Of course, I would be pleased to have my bit of an article get the wide circulation which its publication in the Gazette would give it.

I have already sent for your new pamphlet on Race in the News of which I saw mention in Time. I believe it will change reporting.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Steve

A. Stephen Stephan
Head

RECEIVED
6 1949
Southern Regional Counc

Prepared for New South, October, 1949

CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF NEGROES IN ARKANSAS, 1948-49

by A. Stephen Stephan

Significant changes in the status of Negroes in Arkansas have occurred in recent years and one of the most important concerned their political participation. Just how many Negroes voted in 1948 is not known, but the indications are that probably more of them voted than ever before. According to one estimate by Dr. J. M. Robinson, long president of the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, about 22,600 Negroes voted in the primaries in the summer of 1948. Arkansas has a preferential and a run-off primary in its gubernatorial election. The total vote in the run-off primary, the largest vote cast in 1948, was approximately 300,000. States' rights and civil rights figured in the gubernatorial campaign and Sid McMath, the successful candidate, while not making a forthright endorsement of the federal civil rights program, took the position that the state had responsibilities toward all citizens. McMath was nominated over Jack Holt in the run-off primary by 10,000 votes.

The vote in the primaries and in the general election indicated an advance in political participation on the part of both races. Both whites and Negroes were urged to qualify as voters. The Negro newspapers and organizations, including the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, made strong appeals to the Negroes to pay their poll taxes and these appeals were continued in 1949. Governor McMath advocated the repeal of the one-dollar non-cumulative poll tax (payment of the poll tax also constitutes registration), but the measure was not passed by the 1949 legislature. The Governor also advocated stringent anti-lynching legislation but such a measure was not introduced. Provisions were made by the legislature for general advances in roads, education, medical education, and social services.

In February, 1949, the people of Little Rock by a somewhat narrow margin voted a $359,000 bond issue for the establishment of a Negro Park and recreational facilities for a community center, a swimming pool, and playgrounds. Little Rock had upwards of two million dollars in recreational facilities for whites but the city had spent practically nothing to provide park and playground facilities for Negroes, who made up about twenty-five per cent of the population.

It was hoped that the Negro Park, or at least the swimming pool, would be available this past summer. A recent picture in the Little Rock Arkansas Gazette shows Negro children looking on a model of a recreational center constructed by two Negro children with the caption: "They can dream, can't they?" Three Negro children were drowned while playing and swimming in the Arkansas River in Little Rock in mid-summer.

There was a long delay and much disputation in the selection of a site. The City Council finally voted approval of the area known as the South End site, as recommended by the City Planning Commission. During this past summer, the Little Rock Housing Authority began investigating the possibility of using the $359,000 bond money as the local contribution in obtaining federal funds in a million dollar slum clearance project. The city is committed to spending the money for Negro recreational facilities and city officials have endorsed the slum clearance proposals in so far as they do not jeopardize the planned park development. The Little Rock Housing Authority has plans for 600 housing units, 500 for Negroes and 100 for white World War II veterans.

In the 1948 general election, the people adopted an initiated act to compel all school districts which had less than 350 enumerates to dissolve and annex to larger school districts. This has reduced the number of districts from over 1500 to approximately 400 and gives more assurance of providing educational opportunities from grade 1 to grade 12 for every child in the State, Negro and

white. In addition, the people also adopted a constitutional amendment authorizing every school district by a majority vote to levy a property tax at whatever amount they deem necessary for support of the schools. Formerly there was an 18-mill limit on tax levies for schools.

During 1948-49 there were erected twelve completely new plants in public elementary and secondary schools serving Negroes. According to statements of local officials, salaries of Negroes and white teachers were equalized in 1948-49 in Jonesboro, North Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Blytheville, and Texarkana. Little Rock and Ft. Smith, the two largest cities, have had equalized salaries for some time, and some other cities could be added to these two. Consolidations and transportation during 1948-49 permitted an increase of about 1000 in Negro high school enrollments of children who had not had previous opportunities for high school attendance. This may be compared with the total of 10,733 in high school enrollment of Negroes during 1947-48. Significant increases were made in high school enrollments for Negroes and whites in 1948-49. School district reorganization and other laws should provide substantial increases in the immediate future.

The inadequate and over-crowded school facilities for Negroes in West Memphis, Arkansas, a community of about 8,000, was publicized in Life Magazine early in the year. Jack Coughlin, editor of the West Memphis News which campaigned for two years for the badly needed facilities, said the following in an address to the Urban League in Little Rock this past summer: "West Memphis has announced a quarter million dollar school building plan to begin this summer. Members of the School Board, in answer to public demand -- and I want to stress demand of the white public--have expressed determination to provide Negro students with separate but equal school facilities guaranteed by our state constitution." This plan did not materialize. In an election

held on September 27 the proposed bond issue for a Negro school was defeated. A taxpayers' suit appears imminent.

Four taxpayers' suits to equalize school facilities were instituted in 1949 by Negroes against the school boards of DeWitt, Conway County, Ft. Smith, and the Upchurch District, No. 6, near Texarkana. In the DeWitt case Judge H. J. Lemley of the Federal District Court issued a ruling in July that the district must provide for Negro school children "public education facilities substantially equal to those....for white children" and within "a reasonable time". Among the specific instructions to the school board were the following: equalize the length of the school term of the Immanual High School which the Negro students attended with that of the white DeWitt High School, equalize the length of the term of the Negro elementary school, provide "for safe and comfortable transportation" of Negro students from DeWitt to Immanuel High School, and bring about the accreditation of Immanuel High School from Grade C to a Grade A rating, comparable to the standing of the DeWitt High School.

Some significant advances were made in higher education for Negroes during 1948-49. Philander Smith College, a church-supported school in Little Rock, in 1949 became the first Negro college within the state to be accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. It also received a grant of $25,000 from the General Education Board for campus expansion, bringing to a total of $71,800 grants received by the college in recent years from the General Education Board. During 1948-49, the Arkansas A/&M N College, the state-supported school, had an all-time high with a total enrollment of about 2000, including 1,081 in its college student enrollment. The 1941 legislature more than doubled its appropriations for operations, beginning 1949-50 with an appropriation of $435,000 annually for the biennium. The college was also appropriated $750,000 for new buildings. The accrediting of the college by the North Central Association is hoped for soon.

In the fall of 1949, a young Negro woman, Miss Edith Mae Irby of Hot Springs, was accepted in the Medical School of the University of Arkansas on a non-segregated basis. Her admission was based on a high ranking (28th of 230 applicants) in the medical aptitude test. The Law School of the University accepted a second Negro student last fall; the first student, Silas Hunt, dropped his work because of illness. This second student first attended classes with white students on a unique segregated basis, with a railing in an alcove; the railing was later taken down. For 1949-50, one additional Negro student has been accepted by the Medical School and two additional students by the Law School. During the summer of 1949 the University of Arkansas Graduate Resident Center for Negroes was in operation for the second time at Pine Bluff with about 100 graduate students in attendance. These students may qualify as candidates for master's degrees to be awarded by the University of Arkansas.

Some notable advances have been made in certain social and health agencies serving Negroes in Arkansas. A new building, modern in every respect, was put in operation at the McRae Memorial Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Alexander, increasing the number of beds to 479. This is a credit to its capable superintendent, Dr. High A. Browne. The board of the sanatorium is made up of Negroes and whites. A new building in Little Rock for the Negro Schools for the Blind and the Deaf, for which the 1947 legislature appropriated $200,000, was occupied early in 1949. This is a thoroughly modern facility, but high costs did not permit as extensive a building as originally planned. Only a limited number of children can be accommodated. About $9,000 was raised for a Florence Crittendon Home, Little Rock, to serve unwed Negro mothers and it is hoped that construction will begin this fall. In 1945 the state legislature made appropriations for the establishment of a Training School for delinquent Negro girls, but it was not until this past summer that such a school was put

into operation. The Fargo Agricultural School, a semi-private Negro school located at Fargo, was sold to the State for the Negro Girls Training School and funds were appropriated by the 1949 legislature for the operation of the school. The school has a board made up of whites and Negroes. The Negro Women's prison at the Cummins State Prison Farm has a new and modern building. For the first time in at least 30 years there are more whites than Negroes in the jurisdiction of the Arkansas State Prison Farms at Cummins and Tucker, the whites exceeding the Negroes by something over 100. About 25 per cent of Arkansas' population is Negro.

In June, 1949, the Urban League of Greater Little Rock made its first awards for outstanding contributions to better race relations and cited five leaders: Dr. Edwin A. Barron of the Little Rock School Board for his work in securing two new Negro schools; Joshua K. Shepherd, insurance executive, who did the preparatory work for the Negro Park bond issue; Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette for "his editorial attitude toward the race problem"; Dr. J. M. Robinson, head of the Negro Democratic Association for "the promotion of Negro interest in voting," and J. R. Booker, Negro attorney, for his work on many inter-racial committees.

In 1948 Arkansas had a farm income of over one-half billion dollars, the highest farm income in its history. Cotton as usual was its chief crop, though rapid strides have been made in diversification. Mechanization is significantly on the up-grade and this will materially affect the status of Negroes. The first mass production of the light cotton picker was begun at Pine Bluff in the summer of 1949. Increasing mechanization in agriculture and advancing urbanization and industrialization are evident in the State. These indicate future far-reaching developments affecting whites and Negroes in Arkansas.

#

SRC - State Roundups
(New South)

November 15, 1949

Dr. Preston Valien, Chairman
Department of Social Sciences
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Valien:

We are very glad that you think the October New South a useful issue. Your own contribution was a valuable asset.

The cost of New South is five cents per copy, or $5.00 per 100 copies. I only wish we could afford to supply them free, particularly for such good purposes as yours.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

November 11, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just had the opportunity to receive and read the progress report for the six states. I feel that the report is a valuable documentation of some of the changes which have taken place in the South, and I would like to have some copies for distribution to our students and other interested persons. Would you be kind enough to let me know the cost of 100 copies of this particular issue of New South.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Preston Valien

Preston Valien
Chairman

pv:aw

* C O P Y *

EDWARD WATERS COLLEGE
Founded 1866
Business College
Jacksonville 4, Fla.

November 21, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I noticed in your "New South" for October, under Florida (page 16), that you say: "The passage by the legislature of a bill permitting women to serve on juries, if they register for such service, paves the way for Negro women voters to qualify for jury service. To date there has been no known registration anywhere in the State by a Negro woman."

To this I must say that the very morning the books were open for registration to qualify for jury service, which was -- as my memory serves me -- August 1st, I registered in Duval County, Jacksonville, Florida. The daily paper said that two hundred women registered; of that number twenty-five were Negro women.

I am sending you a clipping from the Jacksonville Journal and you will see where women have been called, and Mrs. Florence Dixon, colored, is in the number called.

With best wishes for your every success, I am,

Respectfully yours,

Lavinia S. Wilson
Edward Waters College
Kings Road
Jacksonville, Florida

filed in clipping file — under "Negroes on Official Bodies"
JPS

* C*O P Y *

SRL - State Roundups

November 22, 1949

Miss Lavinia S. Wilson
Edward Waters College
Kings Road
Jacksonville 4, Florida

Dear Miss Wilson:

It was very kind of you to send us the information that Negro women are registering and serving on juries in Florida, or at least in Jacksonville. As you know, it is difficult for us to keep track of such local advances from this distance, and it helps a great deal when our members send us just such information.

We are sending a copy of your letter and the clipping to Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy of the University of Miami, as he will certainly wish to have this information also.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

November 21, 1949

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Dr. Lovejoy:

You will be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter we have just received from a Jacksonville resident concerning jury service for Negro women in Florida.

The clipping she mentions stated that three women —two white and one Negro — answered a Circuit Court call for jury duty for the first time in the history of Duval County, and that one of the white women jurors served as Foreman. Unfortunately, the clipping is undated.

We thought that you would like to have this information in order to bring your excellent Florida roundup up to date.

Sincerely,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

EDWARD WATERS COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1866
BUSINESS OFFICE
JACKSONVILLE 4, FLA.

November 21,1949.

Paul D. Williams,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:-

I noticed in your New South, October,under Florida(Page 16) Where you say,"The passage ~~of~~ the legislature of a bill permitting women to serve on juries,if they register for such service, paves the way for negro women voters to qualify for jury service.

To date there has been no known registration anywhere in the State by a negro woman.

To this I must say,that the very morning the books were open for registration to qualify for jury service, which was as my memory serves me ### Aug. 1st.I registered in Duval County,Jacksonville Florida. The Daily paper said that two hundred women registered of that number Twenty Five were negro## women.

I am sending you a cliping from the Jacksonville Journal and you will see where women have been called and Mrs. Florence Dixon, colored is in the number called.

With best wishes for your every success, I am,

Respectfully yours,

Lavinia S Wilson

Lavinia S. Wilson,
Edward Waters College
Kings Road
Jacksonville,Fla.

See clipping file - "Negroes on Official Bodies"

RECEIVED
Southern Regional C

SRC - State Roundups (New South)

December 1, 1949

Mr. Irving Dilliard
Editor of Editorial Page
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Dilliard

We were most gratified to see the use that you made of the October issue of New South. It was an excellent editing job.

There is one slight error in your introductory note that I might call attention to. The development of regional education is not one of our functions, but that of another organization in Atlanta, The Board of Control for Southern Regional Education (formerly the Regional Council on Education). Because of the similarity of names, we are occasionally confused.

Anytime our Council can be of service to you or your staff, please do not hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:wgd

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

November 28, 1949

New South Magazine,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

We think you will be interested in seeing this contribution of yours as reprinted in the Post-Dispatch.

Please forward one of the copies to the author.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Dilliard

Irving Dilliard,
Editor of Editorial Page.

ht

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
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PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street - New York

NORFOLK, VA.
JOURNAL & GUIDE
Circ. W. 62,850

APR 9 1949

Court Opens University Of Kentucky To Colored

LEXINGTON, Ky. — Federal Judge M. Church Ford ruled last week that colored students were entitled to entrance on the same basis as white students to the University of Kentucky Graduate School until a graduate school for Negroes "substantially equal" to that at the university is provided by the State.

Unless the ruling is reversed on appeal, the University of Kentucky will be the first all-white institution south of the Mason-Dixon Line and East of the Mississippi River to admit students of the Negro race. The ruling was handed down in a suit filed by Lyman Johnson, Louisville school teacher, who was refused admission to the university's graduate school to study for a degree of doctor of philosophy.

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

May 18, 1949

The Honorable W. Kerr Scott
Governor of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Governor Scott:

In this latest issue of New South the Council had occasion to speak (on page 6) in the warmest terms of your statesmanlike act in appointing Mr. Trigg to the State School Board.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

May 25, 1949

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Forsyth Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Josephine:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

Could you return the manuscript to me on or before June 1, indicating: (1) approval or disapproval of the proposal to issue such a statement; (2) any changes in the text which you think desirable.

I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:j

May 25, 1949

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

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I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:j

Rt.

May 25, 1949

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara
222 E. Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Monsignor McNamara:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

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I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:j

May 25, 1949

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

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I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

May 25, 1949

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Hancock:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

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I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

May 25, 1949

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

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I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

May 25, 1949

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Box 652
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

Could you return the manuscript to me on or before June 1, indicating: (1) approval or disapproval of the proposal to issue such a statement; (2) any changes in the text which you think desirable.

Returned & as 5/27/49 MEJ

I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

May 25, 1949

Mr. C. H. Gillman
75 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gillman:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

Could you return the manuscript to me on or before June 1, indicating: (1) approval or disapproval of the proposal to issue such a statement; (2) any changes in the text which you think desirable.

Returned 5/27/49 MEJ

I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:j

SKC - Statement to Southern Governors

May 25, 1949

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

Could you return the manuscript to me on or before June 1, indicating: (1) approval or disapproval of the proposal to issue such a statement; (2) any changes in the text which you think desirable.

Returned 5/27/49 MEJ

I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf;t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

May 25, 1949

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence I am sending you and the other members of the Executive Committee the enclosed draft of a possible statement to the Southern Governors. If the Executive Committee approves, we should release it to the press at the time of the June meeting; it would also be the substance of the May-June issue of New South.

Could you return the manuscript to me on or before June 1, indicating: (1) approval or disapproval of the proposal to issue such a statement; (2) any changes in the text which you think desirable.

Returned 5/27/49 MEJ

I am sure you will understand the need for a prompt response. It will help us greatly in planning the publicity for the June meeting and in preparing the forthcoming New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

May 21, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
c/o Dr. Broadus Mitchell
313 West 20th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Here is my notion of the statement for the Southern governors. The ideas and most of the language, I hope, are still yours. My main object was to prune it down a bit. If you will look it over, make the needed revisions and ship it back to me, we can send copies out to the members of the Executive Committee. Advise me, too, about what we should ask the Executive Committee to do. Should we ask them to indicate approval or disapproval and to return the manuscript to us within, say, a week, showing such changes as they think desirable? Or should we simply ask them to meditate on it between now and the meeting, at which time it will be on the agenda? The latter course of action, while possibly the better, means that New South will not go to press until after the meeting. Let me know what you think.

Doctor Will was in town yesterday and I spent a very pleasant evening with him. I told him that you expected to be in his neck of the woods next week. He said he would be at the farm and will look forward to seeing you.

Cheerful note on the tuppence front: the five hundred bucks from Mary Margaret McBride came in yesterday's mail.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist
RECTOR'S OFFICE
Savannah, Georgia

May 26, 1949

Dear Harold:

The proposed statement to the Southern Governors is very timely and in its considerateness should prove acceptable to those to whom it is addressed.

It is with satisfaction that I affix my signature. As a member of the Executive Committee I would like to express this satisfaction to the author of the statement.

With personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

T. James McNamara

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

S.C. Statement to Southern Governors

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

May 27, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.--Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I thank you for your letter of May 25, 1949 and wish to assure you that the idea of calling this matter to the Governors of the Southern States is an excellent one and I like the wording. I am sorry that I have to be the subject.

I am glad to have your generous comment concerning my appointment to the State Board of Education. The people of the State are ready for it and we happened to get a Governor with vision. I am sure this can happen in any other Southern State.

With kindest good wishes to all of the Staff and you, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

STATE OF LOUISIANA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
BATON ROUGE

EARL K. LONG
GOVERNOR

June 10, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 6, enclosing letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

We are always interested in the latest information such as this letter contains, and I appreciate your forwarding same to me.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Earl K. Long

Earl K. Long

EKL:a
cp

WJK

RECEIVED
JUN 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

Executive Department
Atlanta

HERMAN E. TALMADGE
GOVERNOR

BENTON ODOM
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 9, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thank you for transmitting the letter from the Southern Regional Council.

You may be assured that I will study it carefully and give their recommendations my earnest and careful consideration.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Herman E. Talmadge

HET:fhk

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC- Statement to Southern Governors

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND

WM. M. TUCK
GOVERNOR

June 8, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

This will acknowledge your letter and enclosure of June 6th relative to the action of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

Very truly yours,

Wm. M. Tuck

Wm. M. Tuck

a

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

SID McMATH
GOVERNOR

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

June 8, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 6, together with a copy of a letter to all Southern Governors adopted by your Executive Committee.

Rest assured that I will give serious consideration to the recommendations contained therein.

Yours very truly,

Sid McMath

Sid McMath

SM:nw

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J. STROM THURMOND
GOVERNOR

J. ERNEST CRAIG
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 8, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Your letter of June 6, enclosing the letter to all Southern Governors from your Executive Committee, has been received during Governor Thurmond's absence from the office. The matter will be called to his attention at the earliest opportunity.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

J. Ernest Craig

J. Ernest Craig
Executive Secretary

JEC:MCN

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

June 6, 1949

The Honorable W. Kerr Scott
Governor of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

My dear Governor Scott:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

You will see that the letter speaks in warm praise of your own recent appointment.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

Charles S. Johnson, President, Fisk University
Gordon B. Hancock, Professor of Economics, Virginia Union University
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney
Josephine Wilkins, Citizens' Fact Finding Movement of Georgia
Paul D. Williams, Vice President, Mentzer-Bush Publishing Company
Msgr. T. James McNamara, Rector, Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable James E. Folsom
Governor of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

My dear Governor Folsom:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Earle C. Clements
Governor of Kentucky
Frankfort, Kentucky

My dear Governor Clements:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

We are gratefully aware of Kentucky's precedents in the appointment of Negro citizens to official bodies. A forthcoming article in our monthly bulletin speaks of your own appointments with warm praise.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Gordon B. Hancock, Professor of Economics, Virginia Union University
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
Leonard Haas, Atlanta Attorney
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Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Herman Talmadge
Governor of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Governor Talmadge:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

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Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Fielding L. Wright
Governor of Mississippi
Jackson, Mississippi

My dear Governor Wright:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Roy J. Turner
Governor of Oklahoma
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

My dear Governor Turner:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable J. Strom Thurmond
Governor of South Carolina
Columbia, South Crolina

My dear Governor Thurmond:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

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Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Gordon Browning
Governor of Tennessee
Nashville, Tennessee

My dear Governor Browning:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Gordon B. Hancock, Professor of Economics, Virginia Union University
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney
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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Beauford H. Jester
Governor of Texas
Austin, Texas

My dear Governor Jester:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable William Mumford Tuck
Governor of Virginia
Richmond, Virginia

My dear Governor Tuck:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Fuller Warren
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Warren:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Gordon B. Hancock, Professor of Economics, Virginia Union University
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
Leonard Haas, Atlanta Attorney
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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

June 6, 1949

The Honorable Earl K. Long
Governor of Louisiana
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

My dear Governor Long:

I have the honor to transmit to you a letter adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council.

The Executive Committee bespeaks your earnest consideration of the recommendations for action here made.

As the matter is of interest throughout the South, the Council will, within a few days, release the letter to the press.

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

The signatories of the letter are:

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Gordon B. Hancock, Professor of Economics, Virginia Union University
Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
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Guy B. Johnson, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina
Charles Gillman, Georgia Director of CIO
Carter Wesley, Editor, Houston Informer
John H. Wheeler, Vice President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank

SRC-Statement to Southern Governors

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown AA11 on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1949 JUN 6 PM 4 21

A.NHA211 PD=NASHVILLE TENN 6 310P=

:HAROLD C FLEMING=

:SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ROOM 432 63 AUBURN AVE

NORTHEAST ATLA=

TH ATLANTA

=APPROVE PROPOSED STATEMENT TO SOUTHERN GOVERNORS. NO CHANGES SUGGESTED. REGRET INCONVENIENCING YOU BY UNWRITTING DELAY=

=CHARLES S JOHNSON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. N. E. $ SRC Statement to Southern Governors

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON
PRESIDENT
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

IF CONVENIENT PLEASE LET US HAVE BY MONDAY YOUR REACTION

TO PROPOSED STATEMENT FOR SOUTHERN GOVERNORS MAILED

MAY 25.

HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SRC - Program & Policy

TENNESSEE
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
NASHVILLE

GORDON BROWNING
GOVERNOR

June 8, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

This acknowledges your favor of June 6th and I have read the enclosure containing recommendation to the southern Governors, which I very much appreciate.

Most sincerely,

Gordon Browning

GB:JC

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1949
Southern Regional Council

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

W. KERR SCOTT
GOVERNOR

May 23, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me the April issue of the New South and calling to my attention the statements regarding the appointment of Dr. Trigg to the North Carolina Board of Education.

I am happy to know that the Council concurs so heartily in this appointment. Dr. Trigg is well qualified, and I have no doubt that he will make an outstanding member of the State Board of Education.

Sincerely,

W Kerr Scott

WKS:fr

GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
FOUNDED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER 1902
(INCORPORATED 1903)
49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

CHESTER I. BARNARD, PRESIDENT
ROBERT D. CALKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR

FRED MCCUISTION, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
ROBERT W. JULY, SECRETARY

June 9, 1949

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter to the southern governors. I am very glad indeed to have it.

Sincerely yours,

Robert D. Calkins

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RDC.clt

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

SEC - Statement to Governors

June 7, 1949

Dr. Robert D. Calkins, Director
General Education Board
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, New York

Dear Dr. Calkins:

Here is a letter to the southern governors which the Council has sent.

We hope it will get good news notice.

It seems to us the next long step ahead hereabouts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

June 27, 1949

Mrs. Max Ascoli
23 Gramercy Park South
New York 3, New York

Dear Mrs. Ascoli:

I thought you would like to see this letter our Executive Committee sent some days ago to the southern governors. It had fairly good press notice, and we think it offers a useful next step.

It so happens that since the governor of South Carolina got the letter he has appointed a Negro to membership on the South Carolina State Hospital Advisory Commission. Post hoc ergo propter hoc --but we think our letter may have strengthened his resolve. In any case, publication of it will set a good many local pressure groups to working for appointments to some of the Boards and Commissions listed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-8578.
Cables: "Stokesfund," Newyork.

June 9, 1949

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to the Southern Governors and for the Press Release attached. I found this material very interesting.

Thank you also for your word of condolence.

Sincerely yours,

Channing H. Tobias

CHT
RLH

Channing H. Tobias
Director

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1949
Southern Regional Council

SLC - Statement to Governors

June 7, 1949

Mr. Channing H. Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Tobias:

You will be interested in this. It urges what now can and should be done.

We were most sorry to hear of your bereavement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC: Statement to Governors

June 7, 1949

Mr. Charles Dollard
Carnegie Corporation of New York
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Dollard:

This has gone out to the governors, and will reach the papers in a couple of days. It seems to us the next step ahead.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC - Statement to Governors

June 7, 1949

Mr. Philleo Nash
Executive Officer to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Philleo:

We sent this letter out to the governors yesterday.

Press release Thursday. We hope it will do some good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

June 30, 1949

MEMO:

RE: Publicity for Executive Committee's Letter to the Southern Governors

As of this date, our clipping service shows that the following newspapers carried accounts of the Executive Committee's request that the Southern Governors appoint Negroes to policy-making boards:

Asheville Citizen-Times
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Daily World
Alabama Citizen
Augusta Herald
Chattanooga Times
Christian Science Monitor
Gainesville Daily Times
Greensboro Daily News
Jacksonville Journal
Lighthouse and Informer
Miami Daily News
New York Herald Tribune
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Palmetto Leader
Pittsburgh Courier
Raleigh News and Observer
St. Petersburg Times
Tallahassee Democrat

HCF

7/5/49 - Add: New York Times

SRL - State Roundups

METHODIST ADVOCATE

THE VOICE OF METHODISM IN MISSISSIPPI

SELLS, REV. J.W.
403 WESLEY MEM BLDG.
ATLANTA, GA.

Old Series—Vol. 96 | JACKSON, MISS., FEBRUARY, 8, 1950 | New Series—Vol. 8, No. 31

For Race Relations Day

Understanding Both God And Man

By
Mr. Elton P. Rawson, Jackson

ELTON P. RAWSON, age 39, Assistant State Agent for Negro Education, State Department of Education, Jackson, Mississippi. A Mississipian who received his B. S. from Mississippi State College; taught vocational agriculture in the public schools of Mississippi three and one-half years before returning to Mississippi State College as a teacher trainer in agricultural education. Did graduate work at Louisiana State College, receiving the M. A. in 1941. After serving with the Air Force for four and one-half years during World War II, returned to Mississippi State College as an appraiser in the Vocational Guidance Center; resigned in 1947 to accept present position. Since 1947 activities have been primarily with the Negro high schools in the state. In addition to this work, served on varous committees, commissions, and other groups concerned with the general welfare of people; member of the Board of Stewards and the Board of Education, St. Luke's Methodist Church, Jackson, Mississippi; counselor for Intermediate Department and Chairman of the Project Committee of the Men's Club.

The job of understanding God and Man is big enough to challenge the greatest among us, and yet simple enough to be attained by the least of us. God's love is universal. That is what makes it the most wonderful possession of man. To have the love of God we do not have to be rich; nor need we be black, or red, or yellow. We do not have to be highly educated; nor need we be unlearned. We do not have to be socially prominent; nor need we be social outcasts. My friends, it is within the power of all human beings, regardless of their station in life to possess the love of God. Listen to these words: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself."

For emphasis, let me repeat: "Thou shalt love." Love who? Love God and Men.

I may speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but if I have no love I am a clanging cymbal; I may have the faith to remove mountains, but if I have no love I count for nothing; I may give all I possess to charity, but if I have no love my giving is empty and without meaning.

What is love? Love is the spirit of God living in us. It is very patient, very kind. Love knows no jealousy, makes no parade, gives itself no airs, is never rude, never selfish, never resentful, never irritated. Love is never glad when others go wrong. It is gladdened by goodness, always slow to expose, eager to believe the best, always hopeful. Love endureth all things.

You and I have seen knowledge superseded many times. What we once thought to be correct, we now know to be incorrect. Just the other day I was reading some advice given fifty years ago. In substance, it warned us not to eat prunes because they were unhealthy. Today, prunes are a part of our regular diet.

There have been so many wonder developments in medicine, transportation, and any field you can mention in the last half century that many of us have come to believe that all things are possible through the grace of God, ruler of the Universe.

We have witnessed the changes in a changing world, and have learned this great truth; That faith, and hope, and love last on and on, these three; but the greatest of all is love.

My message to you is this: If you want to understand God and Man, make love your aim and then set your heart on spiritual gifts.

We talk much about race relations, and we read and hear many sordid and distorted stories until we become confused and disturbed, and so the tug of war goes on between races and classes. Have you ever stopped to think that this problem can never be solved by putting one race or class against another trying to prove their superiority? Did we not learn a lesson from Adolph Hitler in the recent war in his ruthless efforts to prove the superiority of the German people? In World War II the hatred for and the crimes against human beings surpassed anything mankind has witnessed. The evils of this war were unsurpassed; but **evil can never defeat love.** Just as Jesus rose the third day from the dead, so will love rise from the ruins of destruction to claim in the power of its own purity everything for itself and for God. "Love never faileth."

Peace is more than the cessation of armed conflict. How well we have learned this from the so-called Cold War with Russia. Peace is the gift of God. It is an inward disposition of the soul which brings quiet and calm in the midst of life's storm. It is an attitude of the mind toward one's neighbor, one's friend, and even toward one's enemy. Peace, as Jesus presented it, is something dynamic. It means that a person will not just talk about the love, mercy, and justice of God; but that he will do something about it in his daily living. The sharing of peace, which is the gift of God, not only means that our responsibility is to bring man into the right relationship with God, but that also we must bring Man in the right relationship with his fellowman. The most important thing in any person's life is to know God. To know Him is to love Him. If we love Him we will keep His commandments. "Love ye one another."

My friends, what this world needs and must have, if human relations are to be improved, is Christianity. And I do mean **Christianity,** and not church membership. It takes love to be a Christian, the kind of love shown us by the Good Samaritan as he journeyed to Jericho. A love that is interested in and concerned with the well-being of others.

I might mention some of the interest and concern that has been taking place in Mississippi recently:

1. The development of the Negro Community Center in Marion County, under the leadership of the Methodist Church.

2. The Indian-Negro-White Festival sponsored by the citizens of Carthage, Mississippi in bringing about better race relations through understanding other people and their customs.

3. The fine program of work being carried on by the Negro Boy Scouts of Alcorn County.

4. The Library Project for Negroes, sponsored by the white women of the Jackson Junior League and the City of Jackson.

5. The fine service being rendered by the Negro police of Gulfport, Miss.

6. The recognition given the Negro farmers in the production of corn this year.

There are many other things I could mention, but time does not permit. However, I will say this: While our education is far short of what it should be, we have made tremendous progress in the last few years. And I have enough faith in the people of Mississippi to believe that we will solve our problems and meet our moral obligations willingly in providing better educational opportunities for the Negroes. Much of the criticism that has been hurled at Mississippi has been true; but we are rapidly improving these conditions. We still have too much selfish desire

on the part of some. Hatred reigns instead of love; but one day they will realize that they cannot love God and hate Man, and the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God will be with us. The Lord our God is one Lord and Creator of us all. We are his children, and He is our Father which art in Heaven. His love and blessings are for all —the rich, the poor, the white, the black, for all who seek to find Him and who are willing to follow Him through this life on earth.

I close with Paul's letter to the Phillipians: "So by the stimulus of Christ, by every incentive of love, by all your participation in the spirit, by all your affectionate tenderness, I pray you to give me the utter joy of knowing that you are living in harmony, with the same feeling of love, with one heart and soul, never acting for private ends nor from vanity, but humbly considering each other the better man, and each with an eye to the interest of others as well as to his own. Treat one another with the same spirit as you experience in Christ Jesus."

This, my friends, is the only way I know for solving racial or any other problems dealing with human relations —"That ye love one another."

Today, February 12, has been designated as "Race Relations Sunday." This seems somewhat ironic to me, since our scriptures stress every day as Human Relations Day.

It seems to me if we would stop magnifying our differences and place more emphasis on the things we have in common, the more harmony and good will we would have between the races. This cannot be done by observing race relations once a year. It is how we live the other 364 days that makes for better or worse race relations. However, there is one significant thing about today, and that is the offering which we give to Rust College, our Negro Methodist College located at Holly Springs, Mississippi. If you have not visited Rust College, I hope you will at the first opportunity and learn first-hand what your money does. It will do your heart good to see the wonderful work Dr. L. M. McCoy and his staff are doing. The new Administration Building is a credit to Mississippi and the nation, and we Methodists can be justly proud of Rust College. We hope that in the not too distant future we can add other needed buildings and facilities. You will be interested to know that while the program of Rust College is limited in its offerings, the work being done there is rated "A" by the Southern Association of Colleges and Universities.

Enterprises and activities of this kind are living expressions of race relations in Mississippi. Helping others to help themselves is Christianity in action.

The Weir Church, Rev. S. B. Potts, pastor, has been refinished inside and out, new pews have been bought.

Sermon From A Cotton Field

By DR. FORNEY HUTCHINSON
In The Arkansas Methodist

When I was a boy in my teens I chopped cotton on my father's farm with a Negro boy about my age, named Oscar. His father was a share-cropper and Oscar and I spent much time playing and working together.

One day we stopped at the end of the cotton rows and lay down under the shade of a big elm tree to rest. While we waited, I told Oscar some of my plans for the future. I expected soon to leave for Hendrix College to prepare for the ministry. My ambitions were lofty and I talked freely. Presently I heard Oscar crying, and when I looked at him he was shaking with sobs. I inquired what was the matter and when he regained his composure, he said, "I can never be anybody; I can never do anything; I'm a 'nigger'."

His attitude moved me greatly. I had never thought much about his position in life, but had just taken it for granted. He had as much sense as I had, and, no doubt, as much ambition. Many roads, open to me, were closed to him, through no fault of his, but merely because of an accident of birth.

Many a time since then I have heard Oscar's sobs, and they have always made me tolerant toward my black brothers. I want them to have a fair chance at life and all the opportunities it affords. I have tried in a small way to make his lot easier, rather than harder.

In the face of the war, in which we are now fighting for democracy, let us be fair to the black man in our midst. Some things can come only with time. Attempting to bring them about prematurely would result in riot and bloodshed.

However, even now, we can see that he has a square deal in all the important things of life.

First of all, I want him to have an equal opportunity to educate his children.

Second, I want him to have an equal justice in the courts. A lynching party is a national disgrace and a shame to a community.

Third, I want him to have economic equality. He should be paid as much for the same work as a white man.

Fourth, I want him to have a square deal in politics. In a democracy his vote should count for as much as mine. If we steal his vote and count him out, we will hurt ourselves and our children more than we will him and his children.

Whenever I see an injustice done a negro by members of the dominant race, I always hear Oscar's sob. I have no idea where Oscar is now, but he preached me a sermon that day in the cotton patch that I can never forget.

This week I had a letter from Claude Gilyard. He was one of the janitors at Boston Avenue Church when I was pastor. I helped him to buy a little home and tried to be kind to him in every way possible. He is now in the army and wrote from a hospital in Belvoir, Va. His letter breathed gratitude and appreciation. He was thankful, most of all, that he had a home in which to leave his wife when he was called to the front. Every day he reads a lesson from "God's Minute" and prays.

God bless Claude and Oscar.

LETTER FROM LYTLE

Chaplain Ware is Worthy This High Tribute

Dear Brother Howell:

I should like to say a few words about the fine work being done by our Chaplain at the Sanatorium, Brother Ware. Being so near the work, I know and appreciate the splendid way in which he is bringing the church and the gospel to the good people there, both patients and staff alike.

Last Saturday morning I had the joy of assisting Brother Ware in the baptism and reception into the church of one of the patients in his room. This was made possible by the discipleship of another patient who had made a like decision a short time before. In the room with us was a nurse, Miss Helen Pope, Supervisor of the Ward, Miss Frances May, Instructor of Patients, Mrs. May Rowland, hostess, and Mr. and Mrs. R. M. McMichael of Gulfport. The young man whom we received into the church was Carl Brown Black of Greenville, Miss.

After his reception into the church the Holy Communion was served, using an individual Communion Set given Brother Ware by a good layman of First Church, Gulfport, J. K. Milner.

I know of several instances when Brother Ware has been instrumental in bringing persons of other denominations into fellowship with churches of their choice and the times when he brings spiritual comfort and encouragement to others are too numerous to mention.

The church can well be pleased with the representation Brother Ware is giving his ministry to the some 500 patients and staff of the Sanatorium.

Very cordially yours,

Mark F. Lytle, Pastor.
Magee Methodist Church,
Magee, Miss.

Attending Ministers Week at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas are Rev. and Mrs. R. I. Moore, Sr., of Laurel and Rev. and Mrs. A. M. Ellison of Flora.

December 4, 1950

Mr. J. C. Blair, Director
Division of Negro Education
State Department of Education
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Blair:

We are happy to send you for free two copies of "How a Virginia County Made Up Its Mind." They are almost the last of this issue in our files.

We have at the printers now a statement our Board approved November 7 on getting Negro citizens on to school boards. I rather think that that statement must have had something to do with Governor Darden's speech at Charleston the other day. In any case, we are getting a couple of thousand extra copies of our own statement printed and will send it out to county and city superintendents, and, of course, to people in the State departments of education.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er/Encls.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

November 30, 1950

Dr. George C. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1950

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have a request from one of our county superintendents for two copies of your pamphlet reporting on the Virginia court case.

Will you be kind enough to send me two copies of this bulletin and let me know the cost. I thank you.

My very best wishes to you.

Yours very truly

J. C. Blair
L.

J. C. Blair, Director
Division of Negro Education

JCB:L

Same letter to State Division heads

December 13, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

You will remember that the Council officially adopted this statement, "Representation for All."

There was agreement also that it should be sent out to county and city superintendents of schools all over the South. Will not the Alabama Division be willing to send it out within Alabama? It would involve merely mailing one to the county superintendent of schools (by title, not necessarily by name) in each of your counties, and to the city superintendent in as many cities as you thought proper. With a mimeographed enclosure from you, the postage would come to no more than three or perhaps even two cents (second class). By our scales, it would probably come to six cents each, first class.

The statement will do more good if it reaches the school officials from you than if it reaches them from us.

We have already sent one to each Southern Governor. You ought to send copies to the principal State school officials, within your discretaion.

I think that the follow-up on the statement should be a major part of the business of all our forces in each State during 1951. So much the better, therefore, for it to be mailed by you.

We would ship a bundle of as many as you may wish to anybody you name as the person who will send it out. Your own budget would be burdened by the cost of postage. In most States that would hardly exceed $5.00.

If agreeable to you, let us know how many copies to send, and where.

Sincerely,

GSM:er
Encl.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 15, 1950

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

What is the best way for us to get this circulated to Oklahoma school superintendents? The reach from Atlanta to your cities is pretty long. As you have no Oklahoma Division, and therefore no treasury, We would be glad to do the clerical work of a mimeographed letter and would send you (or anybody you made arrangements with) the leaflets in stamped envelopes with mimeographed enclosure stuffed in. Then there would simply be the matter of dumping them into a mail box in Oklahoma.

Or is there something quite different to be done in your State?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. NORMA HUFF
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ALABAMA DIVISION

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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TALLADEGA COLLEGE
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VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCIL TRENHOLM
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
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DR. VERNON JOHNS
MONTGOMERY
MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM
* FELLOWS

Talladega College
Talladega Alabama
December 15, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We shall be glad to mail out the pamphlet "Representation for All" to the county and city superintendents of schools in Alabama.

There are 67 counties in Alabama and 250 "cities". Would you like us to send copies of the pamphlet to all of the "cities". Some of them are very tiny and could probably be omitted. We shall be glad to follow your suggestion in the matter. Two hundred copies would cover all of the counties and all of the cities of any size.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

Chairman, Alabama Division

ADB:mtj

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ell

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1950
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

AN ACCREDITED CO-EDUCATIONAL SCHOOL FOR NEGROES
CHARTERED 1875

EDWARDS, MISSISSIPPI

JOHN LONG, PRESIDENT
CHARLES C. MOSLEY, DEAN

December 16, 1950

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

RECEIVED
DEC 19 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The idea of each State sending out the Statement to its own officials seems logical and wise, and Mississippi will be glad to see that they are distributed here.

Please send about 100 copies to me and I shall see that they are mailed to our 82 counties and to our State officials.

A happy and joyous time this Christmas season!

Cordially,

John Long

December 18, 1950

Mr. A. D. Beittel
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Beittel:

Thank you so much for your letter of December 15 saying that the Alabama Division will be glad to send "Representation for All" cut to county and city superintendents. We are forwarding the 200 copies you asked for.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Beth Rogers
Secretary to George Mitchell

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

W. KERR SCOTT
GOVERNOR

December 19, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have read with a great deal of interest the statement of the Southern Regional Council entitled "Representation for All."

Thank you very much for making a copy of this statement available to me.

Sincerely,

W Kerr Scott

WKS:fr

STATE OF ALABAMA
EXECUTIVE OFFICE
MONTGOMERY

W.V. (BILL) LYERLY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

December 15, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Governor wishes to express his appreciation for your kindness in forwarding him a copy of the statement "Representation for all".

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours

W. V. Bill Lyerly
W. V. (BILL) LYERLY

WVL:S

Copies to all Southern Governors

December 11, 1950

The Honorable James E. Folsom
Governor of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

My dear Governor Folsom:

I have the honor to send you a copy of a recent statement called "Representation for all" adopted by the Southern Regional Council.

We think the course it recommends is important to the solution of the South's problems about schools.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY 5471

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

December 19, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

In the first place I must apologize for my deliquency in the new-found office as Chairman of the Louisiana Division of the S.R.C. It is certainly not my lack of enthusiasm for the Council that causes my deliquency, but an intense pressure of work from my various committments in other fields. However, I do hope to be able to give much more attention to the Louisiana Division in the new year.

I do thank you for both your letters of December 14 and 15th. Regarding the matter you discussed in your letter of December 14, I will certainly do what I can to see to it that we get a representative number of ten-dollar memberships from Louisiana. We will be in a much better position to do this after our meeting on January 13th.

Mrs. Cohn has perhaps told you of our plan to hold a meeting of prospective organizers from seven Louisiana cities here in New Orleans on the day mentioned above. The purpose of this meeting will be an attempt to interest key individuals in these cities, instruct them in the nature and objectives of the S.R.C., and send them back to their respective communities to solicit active membership for the organization. The more important purpose, however, is to arrange through these men for meetings in these cities at which you, sometime in the early months of 1951, we hope you will appear. This procedure was determined upon at the last executive meeting of the Louisiana Division. We thought that you above all others could do the best selling job. I do hope that you will be able to make the rounds as indicated above. I will let you know the details of this propaganda mission after our January 13th caucus.

I have read "Representation for All," as well as the excellent address of Paul Williams at the recent annual meeting of the Council. Undoubtedly a distribution of this pamphlet among the

school officials in Louisiana will do a great deal of good if only they will read with dispassionate minds.

The proper person for you to send the number of pamphlets necessary for Louisiana distribution is Miss I. D. Jenkins, Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Miss Jenkins, as you may know is Secretary-Treasurer of the Louisiana Division. I am writing Miss Jenkins telling her of the plan to distribute this pamphlet to the Louisiana school officials.

Tomorrow, December 20, I leave the City for an absence until January 5th. When I return I will do all I can to put some steam behind our Louisiana Division.

My sincere best wishes and prayers are that you and yours may enjoy a most happy and holy Christmas and a new year filled with God's choicest blessings, spiritual and temporal.

Cordially,

L. J. Twomey, S. J.

L. J. Twomey, S. J.
Director

LJT:aw

December 19, 1950

Mr. John Long
Southern Christian Institute
Edwards, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Long:

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th saying that the Mississippi Division will be glad to mail out the copies of "Representation for All" to school officials there.

A hundred copies are being mailed to you today.

The best of Christmasses.

Sincerely,

Beth Rogers
Secretary to George S. Mitch

December 26, 1950

Mr. O. D. Duncan
Dept. of Sociology
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Duncan:

It was mighty kind indeed of you to send us the map and the extremely helpful comments.

We are sending the magazine out to the superintendent of schools in each town that you inked in and to the county superintendent of schools in all the counties (except Alfalfa and Grant) in the eastern two-thirds of the State.

Here is a copy of the letter I sent to the State Superintendent of Schools and a copy of the mimeographed letter we sent to the city, town, and county superintendents.

I have also written Mr. Roscoe Dunjee as enclosed.

I send you ten copies of the statement for any possible use they may have.

We have rounded out the year less in the hole than we had expected. Next year will be tough, but I think we can find some way to keep going.

We are grateful for your continued friendly interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

December 18, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The problem of circularizing Oklahoma is relatively easy, there being only a few of our 77 counties in which there are enough Negroes to have a school. This is especially true, if the desire is to work in areas in which there is a bi-racial situation at all. The rural Negro school has all but disappeared. There are three places in which the population is all Negro, Boley, Taft, and Langston. Some of our counties have a few Negroes, but too few to maintain schools, especially high schools, and the children are transported to other schools at distances of more than 50 miles.

I do not know whether you wish to work in all areas regardless of existing Negro population or only in those counties in which there are enough Negroes to have schools. I think some economy might be effected by addressing your letters to city superintendents in the counties in which there are Negro schools as well as white. I am at a loss as to how best to advise you.

I think I shall send you a marked map, and let you decide. I will indicate the towns in each county, and probably you can formulate a mental picture of the problem. In a very short time, I predict, all the Negro schools in the State will be located in these towns, if not in some others to which Negroes may migrate or in which Negro schools may be centralized.

My suggestion is that we circularize the city superintendents in the towns written on the map, and if you think desirable it would not be a bad idea to send copies to the county superintendents. The latter step is only a precaution lest there be a few scattered rural Negro schools in those counties about which I do not know.

Negro schools in Oklahoma are supported on a countywide basis, but the money is turned over by the county to the towns in which the schools are located and they are directly under the superintendents of schools in the communities where they are located. The county commissioners actually have more to do with Negro schools than the county Superintendents, unless these schools happen to be located in common school districts. It is a peculiar system.

I shall send the map under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

O D Duncan

O. D. Duncan.

December 26, 1950

Superintendent of Schools
State of Oklahoma
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Sir:

Here is a statement relating particularly to school administration in the South which our Council recently issued.

We are sending copies to the Superintendent of Schools in most of your cities and county towns, and to the county superintendents of schools in the eastern two-thirds of the State.

I know Atlanta is a long way off to be reaching into Oklahoma matters, but we have only a handful of members in your State and had perforce to make a distribution from here.

We greatly hope that the statement will be sympathetically received. I do not doubt that at a good many points in Oklahoma its recommendations have already been put into practice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

"Representation for All"

Oklahoma

Sent out to all city & town superintendents indicated by D. D. Duncan & to County superintendents in eastern 2/3 of Oklahoma.

Number sent: 137

Postage: 2¢ each

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WHEELESS
WILLOW BAR
CLEVELAND
GRESHAM
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Sent to county & city superintendents of schools in Oklahoma as advised by O. D. Duncan

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. NORMA HUFF
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 26, 1950

Dear Sir:

Here is a recommendation lately adopted by the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. We are an old established group, interracial in character, whose effort is to assist the whole South in bettering opportunity and democratic arrangements.

We will be most grateful if our statement can be read in the knowledge that we offer it as attemperate and constructive proposal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

December 27, 1950

Miss Inez D. Jenkins
Southern University
Southern Branch Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Miss Jenkins:

Father Twomey wrote us that he was asking you, as representing the Louisiana Division, to take on the job of getting the pamphlet "Representation for All" out to parish, city, and town school superintendents. We are mailing you 94 copies. We figured this as one for each parish, and 30 extra. If you need more, let us know. If any remain over, keep them. They may come in handy.

I would suggest that you also send a couple to the State Superintendent of Schools in Baton Rouge with a special letter to him.

The mailing to the others ought probably to be accompanied by a letter (mimeographed). It could be very brief, but even a brief letter would do a good deal toward getting it read and understood.

With many thanks for your help,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Copy: Rev. L. J. Twomey

Copy in La. 50 for 51 file

December 27, 1950

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S.J., Director
Institute of Industrial Relations
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Father Twomey:

Many thanks for your long and helpful letter of December 19.

We are delighted that you will organize for us a modest campaign to bring in the new $10.00 members.

I will be fully available for whatever engagements you or the others wish to make for me in the various Louisiana towns. So far as I know, I am free in February and March and will, in any case, fit things into your needs.

Thank you also for agreeing about distribution of "Representation for All" in Louisiana. We are sending Miss Jenkins enough copies of the leaflet to afford one for each parish and thirty extra for cities and towns.

We have rounded out the year with what seems to us a modest burden of debt and we hope, with you, for much progress in the coming year.

Please know that we are anxious at all times to help the new Louisiana Division.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Gmier
Encl.

THE METHODIST CHURCH
SAVANNAH, DISTRICT
G. E. CLARY, SUPERINTENDENT
SAVANNAH, GA.

RESIDENCE AND OFFICE
626 MAUPAS AVENUE

PHONE
6858

December 27, 1950.

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dector Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of December 15th, concerning distribution of the statement, "Representation for All." Your letter came during my absence from the City and since returning we have had house guests which explains my delay in writing.

I find myself in thorough agreement with your plans in this matter and I am therefore sending your letter to Mrs. Tilly with the request that she handle it in what ever way the two of you may think best. I am assuming that you had in mind that I would send this out as the Chairman of the Georgia Committee.

With sincere good wishes, I am

Yours very cordially,

G. E. Clary

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

December 28, 1950

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee
The Black Dispatch
P. O. Box 1245
Oklahoma City 1, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

You may recall press notices after the Council's Board meeting on November 7 approved the enclosed statement.

We have arranged state by state for distribution of it to city, town, and county superintendents of schools. In the other states we got our Division chairman or somebody like him to do the mailing, but we have so few members in Oklahoma that we simply sent it straight across from here to your school officials. We omitted altogether the Northwestern parts of your state.

I merely wanted you to know about this.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

The Chattanooga Times

January 8, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

If you will send me 100 copies of the statement on putting Negroes on policy boards I will carry out your suggestion of sending one to each county superintendent and one also to each city superintendent in the large cities.

I will try to have a covering letter mimeographed although our mimeographing facilities here are extremely limited, and I will pay the postage.

Faithfully yours,

Alfred Mynders

Alfred Mynders
Editor of The Chattanooga Times

AM/ea

deposited rec'd Jan 9 '51 EMM

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

Representation for All
Green Copy

Bulletin
Clear copy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

January 9, '51

Dear Mr. Mynders,

That's kind of you. I've sent you the hundred copies.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Representation for All

apparently, this is a green copy

January 11, '51

Dear Mrs. Crate,

Mrs. Huff thanks you warmly for the check for $3.25 for literature sold, and for the return of your travel-check for fifty dollars. I know that latter was less by a good deal than you spent, and it is kind and generous of you to pour it back into our barrel-bottom. We are happy to say that we did before the end of the year get a check out to everyone who had come to the meeting. We dislike the precedent of letting such checks come back, but in each instance we feel caught in our necessities. Anyway, we delighted that you came.

Suggested letter to school superintendents:

This statement adopted recently by the Southern Regional Council is a sincere one. It proposes a course of action which can greatly help with our school problems.

The Texas Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation hopes that it will prove useful in your school system.

Very truly,

Main thing is to have the letter short, and friendly.

We are sending you 300 copies of the statement. Kind of you and of the Texas Commission to carry on through.

I am working with some friends in the American Jewish Committee, who think they see a way for me to get to Houston and Dallas in a few weeks and talk with some people there, about building up what you do and what the Council does.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

OFFICERS

VICE PRESIDENTS
Dr. W. R. Banks, Prairie View
Dr. J. L. Clark, Huntsville

SECRETARY
Prof. H. J. Mason, Marshall

TREASURER
~~Mrs. J. L. Brock, Bryan~~

HISTORIAN
J. D. McLeod, Huntsville

TEXAS COMMISSION ON INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION

AFFILIATED WITH

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MRS. JAS. S. CRATE, *President*
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

DIRECTORS
Mrs. A. E. S. Johnson, Marlin
Dr. Charles Sherer, Fort Worth
Prof. I. Q. Hurdle, Austin
Mrs. B. J. Covington, Houston
Dr. Edwin A. Elliott, Fort Worth
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Charles A. Shaw, Houston
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Prof. T. W. Pratt, Dallas
Mrs. John M. Hanna, Dallas
Dr. Daniel Russell, College Station
Mrs. W. H. Hogue, Houston
Dr. W. C. Davis, Dallas
Dr. R. B. Melton, Denton
Dr. Blake Smith, Austin
Mrs. P. D. Johnson, Marshall

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19

RECEIVED
JAN 11
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Jan. 9, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Av. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing list of literature sent to the Annual Meeting in Austin with amount sold and check for same. Mr. I. Q. Hurdle, our new Secretary, was to return the unsold portion. We had a good meeting but due to lack of local publicity a small attendance. Please cash check at once as I am transferring the bank account from Bryan to Waco where our new treasurer, Miss. Laura Edwards lives.

In regard to sending out the statement "Representation for all". I will be glad to co-operate in this if you will kindly send me a suggested letter to be enclosed, which I would have mimeographed. We have 250 counties and I have in the Tex. Almanac names of county Supt. of schools by not of the cities, so if you will send about 275 I will also send them

to supt. in the largest cities, either by name where I can secure it or, addressed to Supt. of Schools. Of course the Commission will be glad to stand the expense of mailing them.

It was a privilege to attend the annual meeting of the Council and I trust the New Year will bring continued success of the splendid work being done by you and all the staff.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

(Mrs. Jas S.) Margaret B. Crate

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 5, 1950

Mrs. James S. Crate
c/o I. Q. Hurdle
1416 East 12th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

Your telegram was received this morning, and we have sent off a package as you requested. It was sent parcel post special delivery, which the post office tells us should guarantee its delivery by Thursday at the latest. We trust it will reach you in good time.

The following priced materials were sent on consignment:

Returning

19	25	copies	Race in the News @ 15¢ per copy
19	"	"	Greenville's Big Idea @ 20¢ per copy
21	"	"	Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation @ 20¢ per copy
22	"	"	Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940 @ 25¢ per copy

The following free materials were also included in quantities of 25:

Safety, Security, and the South
Brothers in Black
Unity Begins at Home
Getting Along Together
Self-survey leaflet
What Kind of South Do You Want?
Publications order leaflet

I hope our selection was appropriate. If not, or if the quantities sent were too small, the order leaflets may be used by your members.

With every good wish for a successful meeting,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Representation for All .. How it stands 1/17/51

State	Asked to Handle	Accepted	Remarks
Alabama	1 - A. D. Beittel	1 - Dec. 1950	1 - Was to send out 200 after Xmas holidays & has sent us copy of mimeographed letter.
Arkansas	1 - W. W. Wilke		2 - Wrote again 1/17/51 asking would he do?
Florida	1 - W. W. Gibbs		2 * Wrote again 1/16/51 asking would he do
Georgia	1 - Dr. Clearry	1 - He suggested Mrs Tilly do the letter	
Kentucky	1 - J. M. Tydings		2 - Wrote again 1/18/51 asking what about
Louisiana	1 - Fr. Twomey	1 - He suggested Miss Jenkins	1 - We sent her 100 copies 12/27
Mississippi	1 - John Long	1 - Dec. 16, 1950	1 - We sent him 100 copies 12/19
North Carolina	1 - Rev. Leon Russell		2 - Wrote 1/18/51 asking what about
South Carolina	1 - Mr. Dabbs	1 - He suggested Miss Reid	2 - Wrote Reid 1/18/51 asking what about GSM taking 75 copies to her
Oklahoma	We sent out the mailing for Mr. Duncan 12/26 to 137 counties & cities		

State	Asked to Handle	Accepted	Remarks
Tennessee	1 - Alfred Mynders	1 - 1/8/51	1 - Sent him 100 copies
Texas	1 - Mrs. Crate	1 - 1/9/51	1 - sent 300 copies & suggested a brief letter
Virginia	1 - Rev. C. Emerson Smith		2 - Wrote again 1/19/51 to ask what about

1/18/51

MEMO

Dr itchell:

The following people we wrote about sending out Representation for All have not replied.

W. W. Gibbs - Florida
J. M. Tydings - Kentucky
Rev. Leon Russell - N. C.
Rebecda Reid - S. C. (Mr. Dabbs suggested her in reply to our request to him.)
Rev. Emerson Smith - Va.

Beth

See Dabbs' letter for details

December 26, 1950

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Many thanks for agreeing to arrange with Miss Reid about the New Souths to go out to the school people. We will expect to hear from her and will send her the number she wishes. Then it will be your job to prepare your letter.

If you need any mimeographing or other services from us, let us know.

You cheer us greatly with your news of a forthcoming $250.00. That makes the third such sum in a row that has come out of the blue. The man who does the work of the Marshall Field Fund sent us $200 a couple of weeks ago, saying that an anonymous person not connected with the Fund desired to help us. Then yesterday an obscure family fund connected with the Eastmans sent us $250.00, so far as I know unsolicited. And yesterday came your letter. We can live very well on sums like that.

We are rounding out the year better than I expected. We have cleaned up all the small debts and owe nothing except six hundred-odd to the printer, our smouldering obligation to Mr. Byrd, the standing debt to me, and some back salary to me. In all, we will end the calendar year with not over $1600 or $1700 of current debt. And there is still a few days' time in which some of that may be eaten back.

Despite all the things in this world to bring gloom, I warmly

hope that the best of the South Carolina Christmas spirit will be around your fireplace.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dictated 12/22/50

South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A COUNCIL TO ATTAIN THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION THE IDEALS AND PRACTICES OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH

FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN
CASSANDRA MAXWELL
ORANGEBURG

SECOND VICE CHAIRMAN
REV. ROBERT AYERS
COLUMBIA

CHAIRMAN
JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
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CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
MRS. C. P. McGOWAN
CHARLESTON

SECRETARY
REBECCA REID
SUMTER

TREASURER
ADELE J. MINAHAN
COLUMBIA

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PRESIDENT M. F. WHITTAKER
ORANGEBURG

MRS. MARION B. WILKINSON
ORANGEBURG

REV. A. J. WRIGHT
BENNETTSVILLE

December 16, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear George:

Relative to your letter of Dec. 15, I will have Miss Rebecca Reid find out how many of the November NEW SOUTHS we can use, and obtain that number from you. I will be glad to write a letter to go with this issue to the proper people in this state.

By the way, I have in hand a check to the SRC for $250, post-dated Jan. 2, in order that the contribution may go in with next year's income tax report. I will forward it to you at the proper time. I thought you might feel better over Christmas knowing that the New Year would bring at least this.

With kindest regards and the best wishes of the season,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs.

J. M. Dabbs.

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Mrs. Alice Anderson, Rev. E. A. Adams, Dr. J. A. Bacoats, Mrs. Rosamonde W. Boyd, Earle R. Britton, Mrs. W. T. Cassels, Rev. Maxie C. Collins, Franz Daniel, Mrs. Beautine DeCosta, Mrs. Louise J. DuBose, Laura Ebaugh, A. C. Flora, Mrs. Phyllis Gibbes, Wil Lou Gray, Mrs. Madge Harper, Rev. A. W. Hill, J. M. Hinton, Mrs. J. Ray Jones, Leila Johnson, Vonnie Lance, Mrs. Norman Lynch, John H. McCray, Mrs. Sarah McCullough, Mary Helen Oetzel, J. F. Potts, Josephine Pinckney, Mrs. Corrie Plyler, Dr. W. M. Ratliff, Julia R. Reynolds, Mrs. Hyman Rubin, Dr. J. J. Seabrook, Edwin G. Seibels, Gadsden E. Shand, Mrs. Andrew J. Simkins, Mrs. Albert Simons, Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Mrs. J. R. Thornton, Marion A. Wright.

ON THE NATIONAL CRISIS

A STATEMENT BY

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

AUGUST 1967

A STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

As an organization of Southerners of both races dedicated to equal opportunity for all, the Southern Regional Council has watched with profound grief and alarm the riots that have occurred during this first half of the summer of 1967. But far more destructive than riots would be the failure of the nation to recognize riots as a symptom of profound failure -- social and economic -- of American society to provide a chance for a decent and constructive life for vast numbers of its people, North and South, white and Negro.

Fully aware of the need for fact and sympathy in doing so, we are compelled as Southerners, out of a knowledge of our own region's tragic history of racial antagonism, to speak to the nation, urging that it act against the causes of the riots and not merely with repressive force to end them. We would also urge the South, as it continues to strive to restructure its society to conform to laws of equality and racial justice, to look upon these riots which have occurred in Northern cities as a severe object lesson in the tragic consequences of not achieving these objectives fully for all citizens.

We are grieved about the damage, destruction, injury and death attendant on riots. But we are even more concerned about the damage physically, mentally and spiritually that has been done to far more human beings over many years by the social conditions out of which the riots have risen. The grave national emergency of the riots at essence involves the conditions that southern organizations like ours have struggled against for years -- poverty and discrimination against Negroes.

As so often we have had in the past to point out that only a minority of white Southerners have engaged in racial violence, so it should be noted that only a minority of Negroes have succumbed to the destructive fury expressed in the riots. But the suffering and injustice which have stirred their fury are borne by many millions more, whites as well as Negroes.

Particularly is this true in the South. However, we can take neither comfort nor any degree of self-satisfaction out of the fact that until this moment, most of the riots and the worst of them have occurred outside the South. We can only acknowledge that historically, the South has exported people of both

races not properly prepared for life in a complex modern nation, and with them have developed new variants of the deprivation and racial antagonisms that have so long crippled the South. And we can only look about our own region and know that the same conditions which have exploded into riots exist in many places in the South. The starvation-level poverty in many parts of the rural South is a particularized problem of ours, more severe and punishing probably than any other poverty in the nation.

Progress in race relations and against poverty in the South has been great in recent years. But it has not been enough. While these states have made efforts toward compliance with federal civil rights laws, perhaps to a greater degree than the rest of the nation is aware of, there has been achieved in no area of desegregation the goals of national law and commitment. In the basics of making a living, the South's per capita income has increased at a greater rate than that of the nation since 1950. But in terms of actual dollars, the gap between the South's per capita income and that of the rest of the nation has widened.

In these and other endeavors, the South has been gaining, but not enough.

In 1960, when white violence was the problem, a Southern Regional Council publication, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," stated: "Law enforcement is... an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crises of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely exercised, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists, or segregationists." These responsibilities remain.

There should be no confusion of rioting with either the tradition of non-violent Negro protest demonstrations or with the honorable philosophical principles of civil disobedience. Unlawful violence by a mob has none of the moral defense or force of these traditions, and such violence must be quelled, just as white mob violence against constitutional peaceful protest has to be. But in both instances, we must be alert to the dangers of excessive, unconstitutional use of police

force; we must look with apprehension on any tendency to be satisfied merely with the momentary ending of the system of violence without following through with treatment of the social and economic malfunctionings that are the underlying causes of such violence.

We must note too another grave factor in our current crisis. There now are millions of Americans outside our economic system, neither contributing to it or benefiting from it. This must realistically be seen as a serious threat to that economic system.

The Southern Regional Council supports and urges national efforts to remedy problems of race and poverty. We support and urge similar efforts on the state and local level in the South, public and private. We need to continue present efforts and improvise creative new approaches to solve such regional problems as rural and urban poverty, educational deprivation, and race relations. The South has yet the opportunity to go beyond technical compliance with law to the functioning of a truly equal, harmonious society. And because it has come to basic changes in the nature of American society later than the rest of the nation, the South also has greater opportunity, yet, to avoid mistakes

others have made. We, the South, can still avoid in most cities the development of ghettoes. We can utilize intelligent planning to make people rather than things the central factor in industrialization, urbanization, the transformation of agriculture, and the utilization of natural resources and the South's as yet largely unspoiled beauty of landscape.

The Southern Regional Council believes that the good will between the races in the South has not deteriorated in these past years of often tense, total change of the legal framework of relationships between the races. Indeed, we believe that relationships have been improved to the extent that Negro Southerners have gained in self-respect and status in society, and to the extent that they have come to equal footing in their day to day, face to face encounters with white Southerners. We continue in the conviction that for the South and for the nation, the only realistic and moral goal in regard to race relations is the full integration of Negroes and other minority groups into the American society. We recognize and applaud efforts of such groups to develop legitimate methods

of gaining objectives of self-interest, economically and politically. But we continue to oppose racism and separatism as antithetical to everything America stands for. It is our belief that Southerners, white and Negro, have moved and are resolved to continue to move toward the kind of society, one of equal opportunity and human dignity, made possible by the Constitution of the United States.

It is toward this high goal rather than to the absence of riots that we must look.

August, 1967

SRC - Statement to Southern Governors

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, DURHAM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS

Gentlemen:

As Southerners closely identified with the stream of change in the bi-racial society of our region, we feel it appropriate to call your attention to an opportunity which now presents itself to the South.

One of your number, the Governor of North Carolina, has lately set a significant example by his appointment of an esteemed Negro citizen to the North Carolina State Board of Education. The man selected for this honor is President Harold L. Trigg, of St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, who is eminently qualified in every way to serve in this position. His appointment implements the policy, set forth by Governor Scott at his inauguration, of granting "broader representation on the boards and commissions which serve the public interest." As a precedent, the appointment was courageous; as an act of statesmanship, it shows acute discernment of the mood and needs of the Southern people.

Our States are accepting increased responsibility for public well-being in a broadening field of services. The need for further growth and improvement in this direction is the essence of the controversy about States' rights. If the Southern States would preserve a broad measure of autonomy in local and state affairs, they must speed their efforts in at least three fields. They will need a greater flow of revenue from state and local sources; they will need to build a tradition of administration markedly free from politics and patronage; and they will need to adjust their state services to fit more closely the needs of all citizens.

In most of our States, a fourth or more of the people are Negroes. As a group, the weight of need rests most heavily upon them, and they are accordingly entitled to a large share of the services of the modern State. This is true in education, in agricultural credit and instruction, in aid to the elderly and to dependent children, in unemployment compensation, and in the administration of justice. In all of these fields, and in others, the appointment of capable and representative Negro citizens to positions upon policy-making boards would be of the greatest public benefit.

Over a period of time, the benefit would be felt in many ways. The administration of public services would reflect greater attention to the exact needs of Negro citizens. Needless irritations and inconsiderate acts, which are now routine in many state services, would be greatly lessened. Most important, perhaps, the loyalty and common civic pride of the Negro citizen body would be considerably strengthened. Notwithstanding discouragements that would have crushed a lesser resolve, the Negro people of the South have held firmly to the faith that justice and a basic equality can be achieved within the framework of American legal and cultural institutions. The South has an old duty -- postponed of fulfillment until the strain is very great -- to reward that loyalty with recognition and acceptance. The kind of appointments we suggest will be seen by the Negro citizens of the South as the opening of a new era in their public standing.

There is a broader area, too, in which this step would benefit our region as a whole. Many of the South's problems spring from economic disabilities. Race relations would be vastly improved by the security to be derived from expanded industry, a strengthened pattern of family farm ownership, good schools, good homes, and good health for all our citizens. But these things are expensive -- expensive beyond the means of the South by itself to provide.

We shall need the aid of the whole nation in obtaining these fundamentals of modern society. The nation will be understandably reluctant to put up its share of the funds unless there is evidence of a determination to provide public services more equitably than the South has done in the past. Such evidence can be convincingly furnished if the Southern States will follow the broadened precedent which North Carolina has set.

Below are listed some of the specific fields in which, it seems to us, the precedent might be most promptly and usefully followed:

Public Welfare Boards	Agricultural Commissions
Prison Boards	Police Commissions
Pardon and Parole Boards	Library Boards
Boards of Health	Park and Recreation Boards
Boards of Education	Veterans Service Commissions
Hospital Authorities	Licensing Boards
Labor Commissions	Boards of Registration
Apprentice Training Boards	Planning Boards

We respectfully recommend, therefore, that you give your attention to the unfolding of a series of appointments of this nature. We do not presume to recommend in detail the pace or the distribution of such appointments. We do, however, point out the importance of selecting appointees whose standing in their own communities commands confidence and respect. Here or there-as has happened - it may seem simplest to select an individual whose complacency would ease the task of getting political acceptance. But the job is more difficult than that; for the appointments will be meaningless unless the persons selected can be trusted by their own people to be truly representative.

We firmly believe that such a course of action by you who are elected to lead all the people of your States will be of multiplying benefit for generations to come.

Respectfully,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Charles S. Johnson	Paul D. Williams
Gordon B. Hancock	T. James McNamara
Rufus E. Clement	Guy B. Johnson
Leonard Haas	Charles Gillman
Josephine Wilkins	Carter Wesley

John H. Wheeler

STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., is a non-profit organization which seeks the improvement of social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South through educational methods. At its central office in Atlanta, it carries on the following activities:

Maintains a small staff constantly studying the course of change in the economy and institutional life of the South, with special reference to race relations implications;

Publishes a monthly magazine, NEW SOUTH, which provides an informative service to subscribers throughout the South, including newspapers and organizational officials; publishes other reports from time to time;

Supplies speakers to church, trade union, business, and other gatherings desiring non-political discussion of southern issues, particularly in the field of race relations;

Assists in the organization and support of non-political state and local organizations conducting educational activities in the field of race relations, in each of twelve southern states and non-political organizations engaged in voter education work which is in behalf of our research interests;

Supplies facts about southern institutional patterns and their changes to a considerable number of persons who request such facts by mail;

Services informationally and educationally, a stream of visitors, many of them visitors from abroad under sponsorship of the U. S. State Department, or the U. S. Department of Labor, and other agencies, but including many travellers from points within the United States;

Extends its services of information and consultation through traveling consultants to community leaders, editors, school authorities, and others concerned with the problem of race relations.

MEMO TO MR. FLEMING:

A letter from Jewel Tatum who is now a Fellow in substitution of his brother James.

I have written Jewel that he stays a Fellow.

Observe his statements about the round-up. I don't know whether he can do the round-up as he will be gone this summer.

Please write him as you will.

George S. Mitchell

SRC - State Roundups Ala. Ky. La. N.C. Okla. Tex. Va.

ROUNDUP -- MISCELLANEOUS STATES

SUFFRAGE

Alabama

1. A three-judge Federal District Court in Mobile on Jan. 7, 1949 ruled unconstitutional Alabama's Boswell Amendment which required prospective registrants for voting to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of county boards of registrars. The Court declared that the Amendment clearly "was intended to be, and is being, used for the purpose of discriminating against applicants for the franchise on the basis of race or color," and that it therefore violated the 14th and 15th Amendments of the U. S. Constitution.
2. Despite Governor Folsom's plea to the State Legislature for more liberal voter qualifications to "provide the people with an opportunity to qualify themselves as electors" without disfranchising any of the population, the Legislature voted to submit to the people a proposed constitutional amendment designed to replace the invalid Boswell Amendment. The amendment, if passed, would require all prospective voters to be of good character, be able to read and write, and to understand and embrace the duties of citizenship under a republican form of government. It would also exempt from registration those who had registered under the Constitution of 1901.
3. Although the Governor had also requested repeal of the poll tax, no action was taken by the Legislature during the 1949 session.

Texas

1. The 1949 Texas Legislature voted to submit the issue of poll tax repeal to the people as a constitutional amendment. At the same time, however, the Legislature voted to provide for an annual levy of ~~50¢~~ fifty cents -- called a registration fee -- to replace the poll tax if it is repealed. The poll tax referendum ~~will be held~~ was defeated on Nov. 8, 1949.
2. A new registration law was enacted, designed to keep Republicans + Dixiecrats from voting in Democratic primaries.
3. The Legislature gave Texas a secret ballot for the first time in history.

Virginia

1. The State Legislature voted to submit to the voters a constitutional amendment to repeal the poll tax. Voters defeated the amendment ~~The voting will take place~~ on Nov. 8, 1949. The amendment, if passed, however, ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ will contain features more restrictive than the old poll tax law. ~~(a)~~ Although it will abolish the present $1.50 poll tax, it will give the Legislature the right to impose a "school tax" of as much as ~~poll tax -- in the form of a school tax -- up to~~ $4.00 on everyone over 21. ~~(b)~~ Instead of permanent registration, which the State has now, the amendment will allow the Legislature to require annual re-registration.

EDUCATION

Alabama

1. After recommendations by a bi-racial state committee, Governor Folsom called for the following provisions for Negro higher education in the State: ~~(a)~~ a separate state university for Negroes, including a law school; ~~(b)~~ an increased appropriation to state Negro colleges for maintenance; and ~~(c)~~ a $4,500,000 building program for Negro colleges.
2. In April, 1949, the Mobile County Board of Education voted to equalize the salaries of Negro and white teachers, beginning this fall.
3. The State Legislature during 1949 voted to approve participation in the Regional Education program.

INSERT →

Louisiana

1. On July 31, 1948, a U. S. District Court Judge issued an order that New Orleans schools must pay qualified Negro teachers slalries equal to those paid white teachers.
2. The State Legislature during 1949 voted to approve participation in the Regional Education program.
3. Louisiana's progress in education during 1948-49 included the approval of 80 public school construction projects.

INSERT — Page 2

Kentucky

1. As the result of a suit brought by a Negro school teacher who had been denied admission to the graduate school of the University of Kentucky, it was decided that qualified Negro students will be admitted to the graduate schools of engineering, law, pharmacy, commerce, and agriculture.

2. The following arrangements, covering both graduate and undergraduate fields, ~~was~~ were adopted by the State Board of Education with one Negro member opposing: (a) Negro students desiring courses offered by the University of Kentucky, but not offered by Kentucky State College ~~(Negro)~~ for Negroes, will be taught by white instructors who will commute the 26 miles between Lexington and Frankfort; and (b) Negro students requiring laboratory and library facilities not offered by their own college will be transported to the University for special periods of work or research.

3. The admission of Negroes to the University of Kentucky raised some question about the out-of-state aid ($500) granted to Negro students pursuing courses not offered at State-supported Negro institutions. However, the Assistant State Attorney General stated that Negroes who already have earned scholastic credit in institutions outside the State should continue to receive state aid in order to retain the educational advantages the Legislature had "clearly granted" them. 114 Negroes were receiving financial aid for out-of-state study.

4. It is reported that the Louisville NAACP and the Kentucky State NAACP contemplate suits against the University of Louisville testing the validity of the Day Law and the recent declaration of the University of Louisville that it is not bound by the decision admitting Negroes to the University of Kentucky. The Board of trustees of the University of Louisville have refused to consider applications of Negroes to date, but the President of the University has stated that he would recommend to the Trustees that the University admit Negroes if the ruling at the University of Kentucky stood. He further said that the University of Louisville should follow the policies of State institutions, because it accepts tax funds from the city and State. But, he said, until the decision is final, the Day Law requires separate and equal facilities for Negroes and whites.

North Carolina

1. Governor Scott named Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C., and former ~~Assistant~~ Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, to serve on the State Board of Education. Dr. Trigg will be the first Negro member of the Board.

2. Last spring, ~~Negro~~ law students from North Carolina College ~~(Negro)~~ for Negroes at Durham picketed the state capitol during a session of the General Assembly. The demonstration, made without the knowledge of the school administration, was staged to emphasize the need for improvement of facilities at the school. At present the law school is not accredited by the American Bar Association, and its graduates find it difficult to practice in other States.

3. In 1949, the N. C. Legislature appropriated unprecedented sums for education in the State: (a) $25,000,000 for school buildings, to be divided equally among the 100 counties; (b) a 28% salary increase to public school teachers; and (c) $40,000,000 for the state-operated colleges and university system. A bond issue of an addtional $25,000,000 for education is subject to popular vote.

4. Parents and guardians of 60 Negro children of Durham have brought suit in federal court against the State Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The suit charges gross discrimination in favor of white children in quality and number of buildings, equipment, teachers, and reacreational and other facilities. ~~The trial was set for September, 1949, in the Federal Court in Durham.~~

5. The State Legislature voted to approve participation in the Regional Education program.

Oklahoma

1. The 1948 Legislature passed a law allowing Oklahoma University to admit, on a segregated basis, a Negro applicant for a PhD. in Education, since the State did not not provide separate facilities.

2. In 1949, the Legislature enacted a law admitting Negro students to state institutions of higher education on a segregated basis when courses leading to

a specific degree were not offered in a state-supported Negro institution. The law specified that, ~~there~~ whenever possible, separate classrooms and teaching hours are to be maintained. If that is impossible, the school must provide separate seats for Negro students, set off, if possible, by a railing. Following this decision, it was reported that over 40 Negroes in Oklahoma had applications on file for admission to the University graduate schools. The University is now planning dormitories to house Negro students.

3. The Legislature voted to approve participation in the Regional Education program.
4. Two Negro students from Langston University applied for admission to Okla. A & M (Stillwater) in March '49. Application referred to the Pres. after accepted by the Registrar.

Texas

1. The 1949 Legislature appropriated $120,000,000 for the overhauling and reorganizing of the state public school system.
2. Last spring, Negro citizens of Texarkana and Winnsboro filed suits against their respective Boards of Education, charging discrimination against Negro school children because of race and color.
3. In April, 35 Negroes tried unsuccessfully to register at the University of Texas. They were told that Texas law required their application to be made at the Texas State University for Negroes at Houston.
4. For the year ending August 31, 1950, the Legislature appropriated $1,527,000 for operating and other expenses ~~to the~~ at Texas State University for Negroes. The University was also authorized to issue bonds for the building of dormitories.

Virginia

1. Four Gloucester County school officials were fined $250 each in Federal District Court in Richmond for contempt of court, on the ground that they failed to provide public educational facilities for Negroes equal to those furnished for whites. They had failed to obey an injunction issued the year before. The Judge declared that the injunction was still in effedt and that further violations would be punished.
2. King George County, scene of a similar suit, voted to build a new high school for Negroes.
3. It is reported that 8 or 10 similar suits for equal facilities are ~~reading for filing~~ ready to be filed against officials of other Virginia counties.

4. In Chesterfield County, a suit instituted to bring about equalization of teachers' salaries resulted in a favorable decision for the plaintiffs. Although the School Board appealed the decision, it lost the case.
5. In order to prevent an expected court action in that county, the Essex County School Board has asked for a $300,000 school bond issue. An appropriation to equalize Negro and white teachers' salaries has been approved for next year.
6. Until legislative approval can be obtained, Virginia is participating in the Regional Education program by authority of the Attorney General.

HEALTH

Kentucky

1. For the first time in its history, the Louisville General Hospital admitted a Negro doctor to train as a part-time resident.
2. The Kentucky State Board of Health, meeting in Louisville this spring, moved its sessions and luncheon meetings in order that Negro delegates might attend without discrimination.

Louisiana

1. The Legislature appropriated $30,000,000 for new hospital buildings and other health facilities, both general and special.

North Carolina

1. Following a decision by the North Carolina State Nurses Association to admit Negro nurses to membership, the N. C. Association of Negro Registered Nurses voted unanimously to dissolve its 27-year-old organization. Admission to the State Association will qualify Negro nurses for admission to the American Nurses Association, which they are now allowed to join as individual members.
2. The 1949 legislative session resulted in expanded provisions for medical education, expanded services for state hospitals, and the anactment of enabling legislation permitting local governmental units to establish regional hospitals.

Oklahoma

1. The Oklahoma University Medical School is sponsoring a 3-part program designed to spread doctors into the rural areas of the state where they are most needed. The plan includes: (a) a scheme under which young medical students will spend 3 months each year actually working with an experienced general practitioner in a rural community; (b) the establishment of regional interneships in general practice in small-town Oklahoma hospitals; and (c) a 50% increase in the number of medical students at the University.

Texas

1. The Legislature voted to establish two new medical colleges, one for whites and one for Negroes; it also increased the enrollment in the present medical school by 65%.
2. Meanwhile, Herman Barnett, a Negro student who applied to the University of Texas for medical training this spring was required to enroll in the Texas State University for Negroes. Since the latter institution did not have facilities for medical training, Barnett has been allowed to attend the University of Texas Medical School which, under contract with the Negro university, is providing training in graduate fields that are not available elsewhere.

Virginia

1. Negro physicians have gained limited staff privileges in one of the hospitals in Lynchburg. Their practice will be restricted to Negro patients.

HOUSING

Alabama

1. After months of racial tension and violence over housing, the Birmingham City Commission in August voted a new zoning law which prohibits Negroes from moving into areas "generally and historically" regarded as white sections, and vice versa. Proponents of the ordinance, among whom was Police Commissioner Eugene Connor, had urged passage of the ordinance to "prevent bloodshed". A group of Birmingham Negroes, represented by attorney Arthur Shores, immediately filed suit, asking the U. S. District Court to declare all such racial zoning regulations unconstitutional.

2. Following passage of Birmingham's new zoning ordinance, similar legislation was introduced in the State Legislature to require racial segregation in residential areas throughout Alabama.

3. In September the Public Housing Administration approved 3,000 new public housing units for Birmingham, the first such units approved for Alabama under the new federal housing act.

Louisiana

1. The legislature referred to a popular vote proposals to authorize urban redevelopment and slum clearance in New Orleans.

Texas 1. A statewide rent decontrol law was passed by the Legislature, to take effect October 5, 1949.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Alabama

1. Alabama has endured a wave of violence and terrorism during the past year. In the Birmingham area, a Grand Jury investigating mob activities returned 44 indictments against 17 persons, with charges ranging from flogging while masked to first-degree burglary. A State official of the Ku Klux Klan, supoenaed and ordered to produce Klan membership rolls, was jailed for contempt of court when he refused to do so.

Note the spreading practice of the grand jury service throughout South?

2. The State Legislature, alarmed at the epidemic of mob violence sweeping the state, enacted an anti-mask law during its 1949 session. The city of Auburn has also passed an anti-mask ordinance.

Kentucky

1. A Police-Training Institute, sponsored by the University of Louisville and the Louisville Police Department, was approved by the Mayor's Office this month. Its establishment, however, is contingent on the securing of an initial sum of $500,000. Designed to benefit the "larger social and political welfare of the nation as a whole", the Institute would serve the 11 Southern States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. ~~The Institute will emphasize~~ Police work with minority groups would be emphasized. Its 12-week course would be offered three times a year, with each class including a maximum of 25 students. In addition to tuition and roundtrip transportation, scholarships would include $400 living expenses.

2. A Negro police sergeant, who had been a member of the Louisville police force since 1935, was recently promoted to Police Lieutenant, ~~in Louisville.~~ Louisville thus becomes the first city in the South to have ~~xx~~ a Negro officer of this rank on its Police Force.

3. ~~An all-Negro jury was impaneled in Frankfort to try a Negro accused of killing a white man. The defendent, claiming self-defense, was given a 3-year sentence. The question has been raised as to whether this jury could be legally invalidated on the same way as one which was all white and excluded Negroes.~~

North Carolina

1. Four ~~North~~ Carolina cities added uniformed Negro police to their police forces in 1949 -- Burlington, Fayetteville, Goldsboro, and Salisbury.

Texas

1. The Legislature in 1949 enacted an anti-lynch law which provides ~~for~~ the death penalty or 5 or more years imprisonment for persons convicted of participating in an unlawful assembly which results in the death of a lynch victim. The bill also provides ~~for~~ lesser penalties when ~~where~~ the victim is not killed.

2. The City of Orange added 2 uniformed Negro policemen to its ~~their~~ police force.

Virginia

1. The City Council of Lynchburg appointed the first full-time Negro probation officer in the city's history. Records had shown that about half the cases handled by probation officers were Negroes.

OTHER CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Alabama

1. Last November, the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury discharged ~~an Alabama~~ the U.S. Collector of Internal Revenue for Alabama for refusing to comply with the President's Executive Order against racial discrimination in federal employment.

2. Dr. A. B. MacKenzie became the first Negro member of the Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce.

3. A ~~"little Jim Crow act"~~ a restrictive labor act applying to only one county -- Wilcox -- was passed by the Alabama Legislature over Governor Folsom's veto. The measure was introduced by a Senator from Wilcox County; the county itself lies in a predominantly

agricultural and timber section of Alabama's Black Belt region. The Bill, which applies only to businesses engaged in intra-state commerce, sets up numerous restrictions on unions, some so binding as to virtually nullify labor organizing attempts in the county.

Kentucky

1. An all-Negro jury was impaneled in Frankfort to try a Negro accused of killing a white man. The defendent, who claimed self-defense, was given a 3-year sentence. The question has been raised as to whether this jury could be legally invalidated on the same legal grounds as one which was all-white and excluded Negroes.
2. The United Automobile Workers, CIO, at a regional conference in Louisville last January, announced that it would seek an end to segregated education in Louisville and the enactment of a Kentucky Civil Rights Law, providing for equal opportunity in the use of public facilities. throughout the State.
3. Louisville is one of the few cities, if not the first in the South, to admit Negroes to its main library without discrimination.

Louisiana

[redacted]

1. Insistence on strict segregation by the Board of Commissioners of the New Orleans City Park prompted Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans to announce a last-minute cancellation of the annual Holy Hour of the Holy Name Society which was to have been held in City Park Stadium. The Commissioners refused to allow an interracial procession of representatives of different parish units of the Holy Name Society, for "the good of the community and public order".
2. The Legislature relaxed restrictions on labor unions [redacted] by repealing a 1946 Act restricting union activity and by prohibiting the transportation of strikebreakers into the State.
3. Legislation [redacted] was passed which provides a compulsory system of workmens' compensation for minors between the ages of 12 and 18 who are engaged in specific street trades.

North Carolina

1. Governor Scott appointed Dr. Frank Graham, distinguished liberal President of the University of North Carolina, to the U. S. Senate to fill the unexpired term of the late J. M. Broughton.
2. Dr. Harold L. Trigg was appointed by Governor Scott as the first Negro member of the State Board of Education (see Education).
3. In Raleigh, a Negro was appointed to the City School Board and an additional Negro member was added to the City Commission on Parks and Recreation, making 3 Negro members of this body.
4. In Winston-Salem a Negro was appointed to the City Zoning Board of Adjustment.
5. In Fayetteville, a Negro physician was elected to City Council.
6. Two Negroes were appointed to the Boards of Trustees of both Elizabeth City State Teachers College and North Carolina College. The appointments now give North Carolina College 3 Negro trustees.

Texas

1. The Texas Council of Negro Organizations held a meeting in February, 1949, at which plans were made to memorialize the Texas Legislature with a comprehensive legislative program affecting Negro as. The program highlighted such issues as housing, education, labor, and civil rights. The Council has previously filed with Governor Jester and members of the Legislature a statement advocating "scientific anti-lynching legislation" and denouncing regional education on a segregated basis.
2. A constitutional amendment will be submitted to the voters giving women the right to serve on juries.
3. The Legislature passed a $5,000,000 modernization and industrialization program for the Texas Prison System, one of the worst in the nation.
4. A centralized State Juvenile Board, with complete control over juvenile problems, was established by legislative action.

5. The Legislature appropriated $5,000,000 for the State to go into the soil conservation business previously reserved to contractors.

Virginia

1. A Negro dentist and civic leader was appointed to the Roanoke Board of Education.

2. In Richmond last fall, a Negro election commissioner and 8 Negro precinct officials were appointed by the Richmond Electoral Board to serve in the August primary and November general elections.

Kentucky

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

KENTUCKY DIVISION

Louisville, ~~BURGOYNE RIDGE~~, KENTUCKY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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O. M. TRAVIS

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At long last I am putting down a few "rough notes" I have culled from the Courier-Journal files. I have spent several hours in the library of the newpspaer but did not succeed in finding many clippings in "Welfare" and "Health" that were helpful. The clippings were not up-to-date in those files - the latest being as far back as 1945. As a result it made it impossible to get as much data as I had hoped at this late date.

EDUCATION

MAY - '49 Qualified Negro students of Kentucky were admitted to four schools of the University: Graduate; Engineering; Law; Pharmacy. And also to the school of Agriculture on the graduate level.

Out-Of-State aid up to $500 granted Negro students pursuing courses not offered at State supported institutions was threatened for a time by the admission of Negroes to U. of Ky. However, Assistant Atty Gen. M.B. Holifield stated that Negroes who already have earned scholastic credit in institutions outside the state should continue to receive State aid in order that they could retain the educational advantages the legislature "clearly granted" them. 114 Negroes were receiving financial aid for Out-of-State study.

Univ. of Ky

* * * * * *

APRIL - '49 Dr. John W. Taylor, President of the University of Louisville, stated he would recommend to the Board of Trustees, according to a report in the Courier-Journal of April 1, that the U. of L. admit Negroes if the ruling at U. of Ky. stood. He further said that U. of L. should follow policies of State institutions because it accepts tax funds from the city and State. But, he said, until the decision is final, the Day Law requires separate and equal facilities for Negroes and whites.

Univ. of L'ville

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The Louisville NAACP and Kentucky State NAACP chapters contemplate suits against the University of Louisville testing the validity of the Day Law and the last recent declaration of the U.of L. that it is not bound by the decision which now admits Negroes to the Univ. of Kentucky. The Board of Trustees of U.of L. refuse to consider applications of Negroes to date.

4-10-49 University of Louisville students voted "no" by a vote of 1,116 to 1,025 on the question should the University administration discontinue all discrimination "regarding race,creed or color."

An editorial in C-J says: "Certainly it (the vote) does confirm the impression that prejudices are breaking down. One can hardly imagine such a poll having been conducted even a few years ago. Had there been one, we may be sure the score would not have been so close.#

JULY 27 - '49 William L.Sullivan and Ben Strother,Henderson,Kentucky lawyers ended partnership over the Day Law. Strother, a candidate for the Dem.nomination for city prosecuting attorney said the break resulted from Sullivan's "ill-advised" action in seeking to enjoin the University of Kentucky from admitting Negroes under Judge Ford's decision.

" This move is hastening the test which probably is inevitable and which we suppose the university would welcome no less than others." - C-J editorial 7-24-49

Civil Human Rts

LABOR

JANUARY 10 - '49 CIO-UAW at a regional conference in Louisville on January 9th announced it would seek an end to segregation in education in Louisville and a civil rights law in Kentucky. A model civil-rights law like in Indiana and 17 other Northern states would provide for equal opportunity in the use of public facilities.

HEALTH

The Kentucky State Board of Health meeting in Louisville in spring of 1949 moved its sessions and luncheon meetings from the Brown Hotel to the Warren Memorial Church in order that Negro delegates and those wishing to attend ~~may~~ might have the benefit of All meetings without discrimination. A planned banquet, to which Negroes were barred,had to be held at the Brown because another location could not be secured on such short notice. Dr. Underwood and Mr. Blackerby are responsible for move.

7PS

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O. M. TRAVIS

AUGUST - '49 "Human Need Blur The Old Color Line" is caption of editorial of C-J of 8-28-49 on colored nurses voting to join white nursing association.

" When the record of social advance in this country is written, attention must be given to the convention of the National Association of Colored Nurses in Louisville last week. It was marked by a step toward acceptance of a great reality. This is the fact that there can be no bars of race to divide programs relating to health, welfare, intellectual accomplishment and human service. . . . The steps toward the merger have been a natural process in which there was no other consideration than the common purpose of both groups. In this, the nurses provide a contrast to that other professional group, the American Medical Association."

~~WELFARE~~

(2) OCTOBER - '49 A Negro police sergeant was promoted to lieutenant in Louisville making it the first city in the South to have such an officer on its police force. Sgt. A. Wilson Edwards, 1023 S. Western Pkwy, a native of Frankfort, Ky. became a member of the force in 1935 and was made a sergeant in 1944. He is 41 years of age and married. There are three sergeants who are Negroes and 31 Negro police in Louisville.

jps

Law Enforcement

(1) Police-training institute sponsored by the University of Louisville and the Louisville Police Department was approved in the Mayor's office Oct. 10th, 1949. The institute would be of benefit to 11 states in the South and to the " larger social and political welfare of the nation as a whole."

Directed toward Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisana, Mississippi, N.C., S.C., Tenn., Va., and West Va., emphasis would be placed on police work with minorities. The 12-week institute would be offered three times a year, with each class including a maximum of 25 students. In addition to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ tuition and round-trip transportation, scholarship includeds $400 living expenses.

RELIGION

A Workshop attended by about 50 men and women, two-thirds being from the Baptist Theological Seminary and the other third from Simmons University, was held a Camp Dan Beard - Boy Scout camp - October 8th and 10th, 1949. A " Christian Workshop In Human Relations", the group constructed an Adirondack shelter for use as a patrol shelter by scouts as well as discussed human relations and consducted Bible study. The subjects were: "Labor in the South" and "An effective Youth Program In The Church." Seven girls from the Woman's Missionary Union training school prepared the meals.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

KENTUCKY DIVISION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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Civil & Human Rts
HPS

Mr. Fleming - Page 4

I did not include the article about the all-Negro jury which was impaneled in Frankfort several weeks ago to try a Negro accused of killing a white man. The defendant was given a three-year sentence. He claimed self-defense.

Would this jury be subject to the same invalidation as that of one where it was all white and excluded Negroes? Interesting!

I think it has been reported that Louisville is one of the few, if not the first in the South, to admit Negroes to its main library without discrimination. Negroes are registered there as other citizens. They may not use any other branches in the city than those designated for them.

If I have omitted other important matter that I should have thought of I shall try to jot them down for later inclusion in your file.

Sorry to have inconvenienced by my seeming neglect - but I am definately going to stop putting too many irons in the fire.

Very truly yours,

Hortense Young

Hortense H. Young
Secretary
Kentucky Division of the
Southern Regional Conference

GEORGIA ROUNDUP

Rough Draft

Teachers pay Kadar McLendon-lynching

HEALTH

1. The 1949 General Assembly appropriated $3,000,000 in annual State funds to match Federal and local funds for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act. So far, 46 projects have received final approval under the Hill-Burton Act; these projects will provide 1547 additional hospital beds throughout the state. They include 24 hospital projects, 2 hospital equipment projects, 4 additions to existing hospitals, and 15 health centers.

2. Among the hospitals to be built with federal and state aid is a 116-bed general hospital for Negroes in Atlanta. The new hospital, to be staffed by Negro physicians, will fill a long-felt need for private hospital facilities for Atlanta Negroes. At present, only 88 beds are available in the entire city to Negro patients who can afford payment for hospital treatment. The hospital will also provide much-needed professional facilities for Negro doctors. Construction is expected to start in December.

3. This fall, plans were announced for the building of a new, 1000-bed dormitory for Negro patients at Milledgeville State Mental Hospital. A 500-bed building and an auditorium for Negroes also were recently completed. Conditions at Milledgeville have been deplorable for all patients, but they have been notoriously bad for Negroes.

4. In its 1949 session, the General Assembly passed a law requiring premarital health examinations.

HOUSING

1. Under the U. S. Housing Act of 1949, at least 41 Georgia towns and cities were taking steps to obtain low-rent public housing. Since local housing authorities can be established in towns of 2500 or more people, many other towns are expected to take advantage of the Act in the near future.

2. Atlanta's desperate Negro housing ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ shortage has continued to worsen during the past year. Because of new highway and building construction, many Negro housing units have been demolished, and additional housing has remained unavailable. The shortage has been so critical that Negro families, forced to move into the fringes of white sections, have been subjected to abuse and some violence. During one such dispute last spring, Governor Talmadge publicly ~~xx~~recommended that the State Real Estate Commission revoke the license of any real estate broker found selling residential property in a white neighborhood to a Negro.

EDUCATION

1. Teachers' Pay

a) Atlanta: A year ago this September, in a 5-year-old suit brought by Negro teachers against the Atlanta Board of Education, the U. S. District Court ruled that the salaries of white and Negro ~~xxxxx~~ teachers in the city school system must be equalized. Although the Court gave the Board until September 1949 to comply with the equalization order, the Board is currently appealing the decision in the U. S. Circuit Court on the grounds that ~~the~~ new salary plan does not discriminate against Negro teachers.

b) Fulton County: The Fulton County School Superintendent announced this fall that, by September 1950, all beginning teachers, both white and Negro, will come into the county school system on the same salary schedule.

c) Columbus: The Columbus Board of Education recently voted a $100 annual pay raise to all white and Negro teachers "regardless of the contracts they hold."

d) State Action: With the help of funds made available by the Legislature, this year, the State Department of Education has adopted a new salary schedule which reduces the discrimination in pay between white and Negro teachers. Even with the new schedule, salaries paid to Negroes range from 6% to 23% ~~however, the differential remains large, with Negro teachers in the lowest brackets receiving 77% of the amount paid to white teachers in the~~

below those paid to white teachers. The State Minimum Foundation Program for Education, adopted but not yet financed by the Legislature, includes a permanent program for equalizing salaries.

2. School Facilities

a) Irwin County Equalization Suit: 18 Negro parents in Irwin County have filed a suit in Federal Court against the county school board and school superintendent demanding equal school facilities for Negroes. Their suit is based on a similar one which was won by Negroes in King George County, Virginia, last year. Irwin County school officials have asked the State to intervene and provide financial assistance in fighting the suit, but the Attorney General has stated that there are no grounds for state intervention and that the state can help only by making legal services available to local officials. The outcome of the suit, which few doubt will be successful, will affect almost every county in the state. Reliable authorities have estimated that the cost of equalizing Georgia's Negro schools may total $100,000,000.

~~b) Atlanta: In September 1949 Negroes representing 14 Negro schools petitioned the Atlanta Board of Education for equal aducational facilities and services for Negro children, claiming that the Board spent less than half the amound per Negro child than it did for Whites..~~

b) Atlanta: After repeatedly petitioning the Atlanta Board of Education for equal educational facilities for Negro children, a Citizens' Committee has unanimously decided to bring suit against the city school facilities. call Harper (Monday)

In the meantime, last April ~~Georgia Negro school teachers, through~~ the Georgia Teachers and Education Association (Negro), adopted a resolution requesting equal facilities, curricula, transportation, teachers' pay, and school lunch programs. In the form of a petition, the resolution has been placed before all State, County, and City Boards of Education.

Included in this Program is an equalization fund designed to reduce gradually the inequalities between white & Negro, rural & urban school systems

3. State Crisis in Education. If Georgia's schools, both white and Negro, are to even equal/those in neighboring states, the State must somehow find some $30-40,00,000 more in school money to finance its Minimum Foundation Program for Education. Firmly backed by almost all important groups in the State, including Negro citizens and educators, the Minimum Foundation Program was unanimously passed/during the last session of the Legislature. However, the legislators failed to appropriate funds to finance the program. Instead, the school system was given an emergency grant of $10,000,000 in order to prevent a breakdown this fall, and the real issue of raising revenues to meet educational needs was turned over to the people in the form of a referendum on new sales taxes. The referendum was defeated, and schools and taxes remain key issues which the Legislature will have to act upon during its forthcoming session this winter. Whatever action is, or is not, taken will undoubtedly figure prominently in the 1950 gubernatorial campaign.

4. Regional Education. The 1949 legislature voted approval of Georgia's participation in the regional education program. The Board of Control for Southern Regional Education, operated cooperatively by 11 Southern States, is set up with 4 members from each state -- the Governor and 3 additional members appointed by him. Under the plan, it is recommended that one of the 4 members from each state shall be a Negro educator. But, contrary to the practice in most of the states, the Georgia membership on the Board is all white. (Bd. of Cont. says we can't say Ga. is only state with Negro member, since all appointments from the various states are not yet official.)

5. In April, Governor Talmadge appointed Dr. J. W. Holley, president emeritus of Albany State College for Negroes, as Consultant to the Board of Regents on Negro Education in Georgia. Dr. Holley has long been known as an active Talmadge supporter and has lately received attention for his attacks on the "Northern press", the Rosenwald Foundation, the NAACP, and the CIO as "radical elements" which are endangering racial relations in the South.

SUFFRAGE

1. 1948 Gubernatorial Primary. Herman E. Talmadge was elected Governor in the September 1948 primary election after a campaign prominently featuring demands for the maintenance of white supremacy ("as white a primary as possible") and an end to "bloc voting" by Negroes. Before the primary, the names of Negro voters were widely purged from the registration lists in numerous counties; intervention by the Federal Courts failed to stop such practices in several cases. In the primary itself, voting in many places was marked by intimidation of Negro voters. Isaiah Nixon, a Negro who had voted in the primary although warned not to do so, was shot and killed by two white men on the night of the election in Mount Vernon, Georgia.

2. 1949 Election in Atlanta. A year later in Atlanta, a far different and much improved attitude was apparent toward Negro voting. With around 22,000 Negroes eligible to vote in the city primary, the campaign was highlighted by a series of political rallies sponsored, for the first time in the city's history, by the Atlanta Negro Voters' League and attended by almost all candidates. Negro voters did not hesitate to demand the views of candidates on such key issues as equal educational facilities and teachers' salaries, rent control, Negro housing, Negro police men, and Negro firemen. Significantly, most of the racial issues injected into the campaign took the form of accusations of anti-Negro prejudice on the part of certain candidates. In strong contrast to the previous city election in 1945, in which Negroes were kept from voting on the grounds that the election was a "white primary", Negroes in this recent election voted without interference.

3. Legislation Affecting Suffrage

a) Voters' Reregistration Act, 1949. The 1949 Georgia General Assembly responded to the Talmadge administration's call for legislation to end "Negro bloc voting" by passing a new voters' registration law containing many controversial features. This law wiped out Georgia's existing permanent registration of 1,200,000 voters, among whom were 120,000 Negroes,

Courts held against Alabama's Boswell Amendment.

and assigned to the respective counties the difficult and costly task of reregistration. The law was carefully drawn to meet the legal objections which the Federal Among its key provisions are: (1) a literacy test, to be administered by the registrar, in which the applicant must prove that he can read "intelligibly" and write "legibly" a selected paragraph of the state or federal Constitution; (2) an oral examination, if the applicant is illiterate, in which he must answer 10 out of 30 questions prescribed in the law in order to qualify; (3) a requirement that registrations for each general election (and its preceding primary) must cease 6 months before the general election is held.

The original bill would have abolished permanent registration, would have required a $1.00 registration fee from every applicant, and would have omitted the provision for automatically purging the voters' lists for non-voting. Although these dangerous features were left out of the bill as it was finally passed, the law has been subject to mounting criticism on other grounds.

Many see in the law a last desperate attempt to disfranchise the Negro citizens of Georgia, who were beginning to vote in impressive numbers. Other critics point out that the law, since it does not require literacy for registration, sets up no real educational qualifications. The ~~real~~ possibility of local abuse of the law, the high cost to the counties of reregistration, and the fact that the registration books will close in May 1950, thus sharply reducing the number of people eligible to vote in ~~the 1950~~ next year's gubernatorial and senatorial elections have been ~~completely criticized~~ under fire by much of the press, political opponents of the Talmadge administration, the State Association of County Commissioners, Negro groups, and various county officials.

The ~~law~~ constitutionality of the reregistration law was recently challenged before the Georgia Supreme Court on the grounds that the Act was designed to discriminate against Negro citizens, gives registrars too much discretion in deciding whether or not an applicant is qualified, and fails, in the 30-question test, to prove that a voter understands the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Although the Court ~~rendered that~~ ruling, handed down in September, upheld the Act's validity "as a whole", it pointed out the possibility of further attack on specific provisions of the Act, left the way open for ~~for further attack by stating: "This statement . . . is not to be taken as an intimation that . . . separate portions may or may not be unconstitutional.~~

Meanwhile, additional opposition to the law can be expected. [redacted] This summer, [redacted] the Georgia Chapter of the NAACP announced that it would test the Act's legality in the federal courts as soon as possible. Also, apparently worried by the slowness of reregistration throughout the state, two important administration leaders have announced a move to postpone use of the new voters' list until after next year's elections. More than a third of Georgia's 159 counties have not [redacted] even appointed registrars, and many more have not begun actual registration. If the Act is not changed, it is estimated that the number of qualified voters [redacted] will total only about half of the original 1,200,000. To date, only about 15% of Georgia's previously qualified voters have reregistered.

b) Proposed Extension of County Unit System. In compliance with another major Talmadge campaign promise, the 1949 General Assembly passed a resolution calling for a popular referendum on a constitutional amendment to apply the county unit system to the general elections. Long used in primary elections, Georgia's unique county unit system severely disfranchises the most populous counties and in effect minimizes the Negro vote which is concentrated in the urban centers of the state. [redacted], by seeking to extend the county unit system to general elections, the administration is hoping to kill the last remaining chance of a truly popular vote in Georgia. However, the county unit system will not apply to the referendum on this proposed amendment, [redacted] Opponents hope that [redacted] with a big enough registration in the larger centers of the state [redacted] popular opposition to the measure will be strong enough to defeat it. Scheduled for November 1950, the forthcoming referendum has aroused an intensive drive to reregister voters among all political factions.

c) Talmadge's Eligibility to Succeed Himself. Talmadge's legal right to seek re-election has also been the subject of controversy and [redacted] legislation.

Deppite a constitutional provision against any Governor succeeding himself within four years of his term, Talmadge recently has claim~~s~~d that he is eligible because he is not serving his own term but the unexpired term of his late~~r~~ father, Eugene Talmadge. Previously, ~~T~~the Talmadge-dominated legislature had ~~previously~~ passed two measures designed to help him succeed himself. The first provides that the legislature shall be the sole judge of the Governor's elections and qualifications, and thus, in the words of one of its sponsors, will "prevent the Supreme Court from usurping the rights of the Legislature" as it did in 1947 when it ruled that the General Assembly's election of Herman Talmadge was illegal. The second measure gives the State Democratic Executive Committee the power to determine the qualifications and eligibility of all ~~xxxxxxx~~ candidates. As a result, if the Committee favors Talmadge in the next gubernatorial contest and declares other candidates ineligible, any legal question which might arise will be settled by the legislature and not by ~~the xxxxxxxx~~ the courts.

d) Secret Ballot Law. The 1949 General Assembly passed a law requiring every ~~d) xx The General Assembly passed xx law~~ county to use a secret ballot in all elections.

GEORGIA ROUNDUP - CONTINUED

LAW ENFORCEMENT

1. Negro Police.

Atlanta's use of Negro police, now over a year old, has proved an unqualified success. Greater protection and better law enforcement in Negro sections of the city have been reflected in reduced crime rates and increased respect for the law. In one year, the rate of criminal homicides among Negroes has been cut in half.

Savannah and Macon remain the only other cities in Georgia employing Negro police. During the year, Savannah added 3 more Negroes to its police force -- 1 uniformed officer and 2 plainclothesmen.

2. Extra-Legal Violence.

a) Lynchings.

3) In Lyons, Georgia, Robert Mallard, Negro, was shot to death by a hooded mob last November. Tuskegee Institute classified the murder as a lynching. A local jury freed two white men accused of the slaying after deliberating only 20 minutes. The trial was further enlivened by the unique action of two jurors who -- having taken an oath stating their lack of prejudice and prejudgment -- descended from the jury box to testify for the defendents.

2) In Mount Vernon, Georgia, Isaish Nixon, Negro, was shot to death by two white men on the night of the primary election a year ago. His murder was classified as a borderline case of lynching by Tuskegee Institute. (See Suffrage section)

1) The first lynching of 1949 took place when Caleb Hill, 28-year-old Negro, was taken from the jail by two or more white men and shot to death. Hill had been arrested after a fight in a Negro cafe and allegedly had fired at the sheriff. The sheriff was absent from the jail when Hill was abducted and had left the keys to the jail on a table in a downstairs

room. Two white men, suspected of the lynching, were freed by the grand jury on grounds of "insufficient evidence". This marked the 26th unsolved lynching of Negroes in Georgia since 1930.

4) In Nashville, Georgia, the sheriff rescued a Negro seized by a mob bent on avenging a reported assault on a white woman.

5) Although no lyncher of a Negro has been convicted in Georgia since 1930, last February a well-to-do landowner was found guilty of murdering a white tenant farmer who had been cleared of a charge of cattle stealing. This murder had been classified as a lynching by Tuskegee in 1948.

b) Other violence. (See attached clippings - might want to mention these)

The past year has seen a marked upsurge in lawlessness and mob violence in Georgia. The known instances of threats, floggings, killings, police brutality, cross-burnings, and Klan parades are too numerous to cite here. Failure of local law enforcement officials to combat these extra-legal mob activities, and the action of the Georgia House of Representatives in tabling a bill to unmask the Klan, contributed materially to a growing climate of fear, intimidation, and indifference to the law.

In contrast to the timidity of Georgia's lower house, 10 Georgia cities have passed anti-mask ordinances: Albany, Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Gainesville, Cedartown, Iron City, Moultrie, Macon, and Wrightsville. (Valdosta and Swainsboro are on our list but not confirmed)

1/26

Margaret:

Here is an extra typed copy of Fellows. Could you make any corrections necessary, and cross off those who have refused, and indicate which have accepted already--for Harold!

Lib

marked # by those replied to date 1/26

List of Fellows
to Betty Cantor

Who is Zuber?

E PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

HCF

Charles Mitchell called:

Please add these names to list for Tuesday luncheon Monday

1. Kenneth Dowty
353 Courtland St.

2. Wm. V. George
444 Boulevard N.E.

Please call
Betty Cantor

Cy 1618

MEMO TO MR. FLEMING

In the letter today from Mr. H. B. Schaeffer, he stated that Miss Bethany Swearingen had told him June 27th that she would mail the report for the September issue of New South around the first of August.

George S. Mitchell

~~Mr. Ernest Neal~~
~~Tuskegee Institute~~
~~Tuskegee, Ala.~~

Mr. Charles G. Gomillion
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Professor of Human Relations
Miami University
Miami, Fla.

Mrs. Hortense Young
The Louisville Defender
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. George Snowden
2601 Gentilly Road
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

(what about Dr Flowers Sylz ? (alternate))

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson St.
Jackson, Miss.

Written 2/24/49

"Dear Mr. Schaeffer:"

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson
336 S. Salisbury St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Cy;

Mrs. Cenoria Johnson
Urban League
300 North Syles
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Miss Cassandra Maxwell
Librarian, Law School
State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

~~Mr. Jewel Tatum~~
~~Butler College~~
~~Tyler, Texas~~

Mr. Jewel Tatum
22 Cable Street
Beaumont, Texas

The Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith
Virgin ia Council of Churches, 109 West Grace St.,
Richmond, Va.

"Dear Mr. Smith:"

Dr. Stephen A. Stephan
Dept. of Sociology
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Ark.

Southern Regional Council

_____, 194____

TO: _____ ☐

FROM: _____

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	( )	4. Reply	( )
2. Consideration	( )	5. Suggested Reply	( )
3. Recommendation	( )	6. Signature	( )

7. Please circulate to:

Director	( )	Sec'ty.-Treasurer	( )
Associate Director	( )	_____	( )
Pub. Relations Dir.	( )	_____	( )
_____	( )	_____	( )

8. Please return to this office. ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

CHECKLIST FOR ANNUAL STATE SUMMARIES

HEALTH

1. Additional hospital facilities, health clinics, and other public health services, by race.
2. Increased opportunities or facilities for Negro doctors and nurses, greater cooperation between white and Negro personnel.

HOUSING

State and local programs of rural housing, slum clearance, public housing projects.

EDUCATION

1. Construction of new school plants, or improvements in old ones, for whites and Negroes.
2. Equalization of teachers' salaries, employment of additional teachers, higher standards for teachers.
3. More equitable distribution of school funds.
4. Opening of new educational opportunities (e.g., modification of the Kentucky Day Law to permit whites and Negroes to receive health education in same institution.)

SUFFRAGE

1. Improved public attitudes toward Negro voting.
2. Correction of discriminatory practices at registration places and polls.
3. Legislation affecting suffrage.
4. Stimulation of voting consciousness among whites and Negroes.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

1. Employment of Negro policemen, or progress in that direction.
2. Action to combat police brutality and other injustices; legal aid.
3. Institution of race relations courses by police departments, higher standards of selection of police officers.
4. Administration of justice in the courts.

RECREATION

Additional or improved parks, playgrounds, youth clubs, swimming pools, beaches, civic recreation centers, etc.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Farm mechanization, new or expanded industries, democratic practices in industry.

PUBLIC FACILITIES

Reduction of discrimination in public services, private and governmental — transportation, waiting rooms, department stores, etc.

STATE SERVICES

New or expanded state services in such fields as welfare, interracial adjustment, education, health.

CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Changes in public opinion.
2. Negro representation on bodies of official and private agencies.
3. Negro jury service.
4. Extended employment opportunities
5. Other advances or reverses in securing equal rights for all citizens.

(Note: Most city chambers of commerce issue a legislative report which should be of help.

A NEWS LETTER

FROM THE OFFICE OF

THE GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

It has been quite some time since you had a News Letter from us. It has not been because we had nothing to report, but that we have been too busy to get together the things that would best be said. Suppose we select a few points on which we should place some emphasis.

1. Temperature: Yes, we know the weather is hot and sticky. But what about our temperature in the matter of better race relations! Without doubt more Georgia people have a more kindly feeling in that matter than ever before. People are not now so touchy and resentful when the matter is mentioned in public address or in conversation. More and more both black and white are coming to see that we are in a common cause, have a common opportunity and a common responsibility in making our Georgia a happy and prosperous people; that we must "hang together or hang separately"; that it is a matter, after all, of give and take, of share and bear. It has been a long time doing it, but we believe the temperature in racial cooperation is going up. We should keep it moving upward. We can best do this through kindness, courtesy, keeping the Golden Rule, and a just pay for an honest day's work and an honest day's work for a just pay. Through these efforts we can create a wholesome social climate for all the people.

2. The Georgia Committee and kindred groups: This Committee shared in and financed the meeting of the Georgia Council of Church Women in Atlanta last spring. The office facilities were used to send out the publicity and literature for that seminar - "From Church Steeple to Capitol Dome." We are now cooperating with the Southern Regional Council in building the program and furnishing secretarial aid for a Southwide meeting to be held in Atlanta September 8-9, 1949.

3. A word to the local chairman: Be sure to have meetings of your Committee quarterly at least. Select some one item for discussion. Arrange your program in advance. Do not prolong your meetings to more than one hour. Push a new member campaign. See that all dues are collected and sent to this office.

4. The Director has been burdened with the responsibility of raising the budget to carry on this work, and this takes time and more energy than he can afford. But it is glorious work. Who said that "this was a soft job for a retired man!"

5. The Klan: Everyone who knows anything of our work knows our ardent opposition to this organization which the Federal Government has declared a subversive movement.

We see no place for it in our Community, State and National setup.

Our income is pitifully small, but we have spent this year $900 in fighting this movement. So far as we know their organization, we are opposed to everything they do.

6. Activities of the Local Committees:

Augusta - This is rather a large community. We find more difficulty in projecting programs in the larger cities than we do in the smaller ones. But the Augusta Committee keeps up the demand upon the Board of Education for a new High School building. They seem to be making some headway with the problem of creating a growing sentiment for it. They will, ultimately, realize their dreams and the Negroes will have a modern and adequate building.

Dalton - Here we have a rather small group, but they are active. They saw the need of a day nursery for the Negro children whose mothers must work. So they support the day nursery, which is a blessing to both the working mothers and their children. The Negro high school children had no place to play their games, so this Committee, through two of its members, has built them a gymnasium, in memory of a Negro boy whom they greatly appreciated and who passed away. These two items are worth the thought, care and planning of a group much larger than the Dalton Committee.

Atlanta - This Committee has found the pressure of the housing situation to be enough to take much time and many conferences. We found a solution to some of these situations, but the problem is far from being solved. This Committee will consider each and all of the difficult spots and strive to find a friendly settlement of them. There has been friction and some hot tempers, but so far we have come through without personal injury to anyone, and for the most part both sides have deliberated calmly and parted to take time to work out a peaceable settlement.

Marietta - In this city the Committee has busied itself with aiding in the construction of a hospital for Negroes; also a lovely swimming pool and recreational grounds, and now are giving attention to the moving of their business center to a more convenient place for their people.

LaGrange, Newnan and Thomasville have found fun and pleasure in building playgrounds and swimming pools for their Negro people, while Savannah, under the leadership of our chairman, Dr. G. E. Clary, has built a community house in the midst of a large Negro population.

There are many other things we might mention but these are sufficient to show what a local committee can do. May others do likewise.

COOPERATION NEEDED

WANTED - GOOD NEIGHBORS

Dear Friend:

In the past five years this Committee has:

Helped do away with the White Primary

Helped do away with the Poll Tax

Pushed city ordinances unmasking the Klan

Created a wider spirit of brotherhood in the state

Aided in building recreational and welfare centers

Organized groups for better citizenship in 25 counties

We have points of contact in 125 centers

Our chief aim has been to create a

NEIGHBORLY INTEREST AMONG ALL THE PEOPLE,

making it easier to encourage the feeling that we are just

ONE PEOPLE,

regardless of race, creed or color.

Will you please help us in this important work. A contribution, large or small, will be most appreciated.

SEND IT NOW!

To R. L. Russell
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

We are sincere in this request.

Other sample constitutions filed:

VIRGINIA - Commission on Interracial Cooperation

<u>Richmond Committee</u>

NORTH CAROLINA - Commission on Interracial Cooperation

<u>Proposed Revised Constitution of the NC Commission</u>

SRC [redacted] -

By-laws

State Committees & Divisions
Constitutions
Florida

BY-LAWS

of the

FLORIDA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization is the Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II

Purpose

This organization shall endeavor to promote in the State of Florida the aims and purposes following, that is to say: to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to maintain an organization for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust, to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Members. Voting members of this organization shall consist of members of the Southern Regional Council who live in the State of Florida.

Section 2. Associates. Persons who are not members of the SRC but who wish to cooperate with this division may become associates of the division. They may attend meetings and may have the privilege of the floor, but shall be without vote.

Section 3. Dues. Annual dues of members shall be the dues required for membership in the Southern Regional Council, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council. Annual dues of Associates shall be $1.00 a year, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Florida Division.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of the members for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the annual meeting shall be given to each member in writing not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Committee, at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of not less than twenty-five of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting. Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure.

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Committee of not more than 12 members, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, and the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Committee. The members of the first Executive Committee elected under these by-laws shall be divided by lot so that the terms of four expire in one year, four in two years, and four in three years. At each subsequent meeting, four members shall be elected to the Executive Committee to serve a term of three years. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. The Chairman of the state division shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. During the intervals between meetings of members the Executive Committee may exercise all of the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the members.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Committee shall hold regular meetings as provided by its own rules or as instructed by a resolution of the members of the Florida Division, and it may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman or of any five members of a committee.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of seven members, including ex-officio members, shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy on the Executive Committee the remaining members of the Committee may select a successor to fill the vacancy.

ARTICLE VI

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, two Vice Chairman, and a Secretary-Treasurer. These officers shall be elected annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Committee. The Chairman and first Vice Chairman shall serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman respectively of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII

Finances

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the Division shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Financial Report. The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the members at each annual meeting and shall send a copy of the report to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of members or at any special meeting called for that stated purpose, by a majority of the members present.

[NOTE: $1.00 of the dues of each SRC member in Florida will be returned to the treasurer of the Florida Division. Likewise, any contributions earmarked by Florida members for use in Florida will be returned]

BY-LAWS

of the

TENNESSEE DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization is the Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II

Purpose

This organization shall endeavor to promote in the State of Tennessee the aims and purposes following, that is to say: to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to maintain an organization for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust, to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Members. Voting members of this organization shall consist of members of the Southern Regional Council who live in the State of Tennessee.

Section 2. Dues. Annual dues of members shall be the dues required for membership in the Southern Regional Council, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of the members for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the annual meeting shall be given to each member in writing not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Committee, at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of not less than twenty-five of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting. Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure.

ARTICLE V

Executive Committee

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Committee of not more than six members, in addition to the Chairman, three Vice Chairmen, and a Secretary-Treasurer, each of whom shall be an ex-officio member of the Committee. The members of the first Executive Committee elected under these by-laws sahll be divided by lot so that the terms of two expire in one year, two in two years, and two in three years. At each subsequent meeting, two members shall be elected to the Executive Committee to serve a term of three years. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. The Chairman of the State Division shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. During the intervals between meetings of members the Executive Committee may exercise all of the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the members.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Committee shall hold regular meetings as provided by its own rules or as instructed by a resolution of the members of the Tennessee Division, and it may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman or of any five members of a committee.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of three members, including ex-officio members, shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy on the Executive Committee the remaining members of the Committee may select a successor to fill the vacancy.

ARTICLE VI

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, three vice-chairmen, and a secretary-treasurer. These officers shall be elected annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Committee. The officers of the Division shall also be the officers of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII

Finances

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the Division shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Financial Report. The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the members at each annual meeting and shall send a copy of the report to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE VIII

Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of members, or at any special meeting called for that stated purpose, by a majority of the members present.

(NOTE: $1.50 of the dues of each SRC member in Tennessee will be returned to the Treasurer of the Tennessee Division. Likewise, any contributions earmarked by Tennessee members for use in Tennessee will be returned.)

Driver refused Negro to get up + give seat to white pers.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Bus Incident in Griffin, Georgia Date: May, 1932

Informant:

Reporter: James G. Slade

When the bus stopped in Griffin, Georgia, en route to Macon, the long seat in the rear was filled to capacity with colored passengers. On the first seat to the right, in front of the long seat, sat one colored woman. Directly across from her sat two white persons. This vacant seat next to the colored woman was the only one in the bus. No one was standing.

When passengers began to load, all white, the operator came to the rear and asked the colored woman to relinquish her seat for two white women. When the colored woman refused, the operator ordered her off the bus. She left.

GREYHOUND BUS DEPOT OF ATLANTA, INC. January 19, 1941.

TERMINAL BULLETIN # 4

TO ALL EMPLOYEES

SUBJECT: CAN YOU MEET THESE QUALIFICATIONS?

The following are some simple but very important rules on courtesy, which all employees should at all times practice:

(1) "BE NEAT. Clothes pressed and shoes shined. Clean linen."

(2) "BE HAPPY. A pleasant smile will always work wonders. It is hard for a patron to resist a good honest smile- no matter how steamed up he or she may be."

(3) "BE GRACIOUS. "Yes,Sir" or "No, Sir", "Yes, Mam" or "No, Mam", sound so much better than just "Yes" or "No". "Good Morning" and "Good night". Above all make "Thank You" a regular habit."

(4) "BE FRIENDLY. Show our patrons that you like your job and be friendly. Be particularly thoughtful and considerate in handling women and children."

(5) "BE KIND. Be kind and courteous to members of the colored race. This is the test of the real gentleman. Only the snob or the fellow who is not sure of himself violates this important rule."

We ask your cooperation.

GREYHOUND BUS DEPOT OF ATLANTA, INC.

BY: R. W. SMITH

RWS:lts

SOUTHEASTERN GREYHOUND LINES
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY
MARCH 11, 1943

Mr. R. W. Smith, Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. L. E. Barnes, Birmingham, Ala.
Mr. J. H. Drinnon, Bowling Green, Ky.
Mr. C. A. Mollman, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Mr. Wm. W. Veazey, Clarksville, Tenn.
Mrs. Henry Morgan, Columbia, Ky.
Mr. W. H. Fulmer, Columbia, Tenn.
Mr. Dan Rowland, Corbin, Ky.
Mr. Lawson Davis, Covington, Ky.
Mr. C. F. Koehler, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Mr. H. E. Sunderland, Decatur, Ala.
Mr. Noel Wesley, Danville, Ky.
Mr. Paul M. Wright, Dothan, Ala.
Mrs. Roberta Tinley, Pineville, Ky.
Mr. Wm. Rains, Somerset, Ky.
Mr. Wm. B. Shurrett, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Mr. J. F. Hulett, Frankfort, Ky.
Mr. C. E. Adams, Gadsden, Ala.
Mr. Lee Lynch, Harlan, Ky.
Mr. J. D. Higgins, Hopkinsville, Ky.
Mr. J. P. Lawhon, Knoxville, Tenn.
Mr. V. W. Allender, Lexington, Ky.
Mr. W. L. Porter, Louisville, Ky.
Mr. Kenneth Byrley, Middlesboro, Ky.
Mr. C. E. Shriner, Mobile, Ala.
Mr. C. V. Courson, Montgomery, Ala.
Mr. Allen Jones, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Mr. R. Sadler, Nashville, Tenn.
Mr. Wm. Owen, Owensboro, Ky.
Mrs. Frances Woolums, Richmond, Ky.
Mr. B. N. Stammer, Springfield, Tenn.
Mr. Julian Gabbard, Winchester, Ky.

We are receiving a very noticeable increase of reports from colored passengers, complaining of discourteous treatment received at some of our stations.

This is a very serious type of report. As it requires so little effort to be courteous to everyone, it is indicative that some of our agents are becoming very careless, and instead of attempting to build up our business, are driving it away.

The success of our business depends upon the courteous treatment and service we render the traveling public. Our company handles a great many colored passengers and they should receive the same courteous treatment at our ticket and baggage windows as white passengers.

Let's try to eliminate all reports complaining of discourteous treatment. You can do your part by treating the other person as you would like to be treated.

Very truly yours,

T. W. DeZonia
Vice President - Traffic

c. c. to Mr. Campbell, Eads, Sutter, Shaddix
Lovett, Logsdon, Gibson, Waite

Bus-F-1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: The Bradley - Neely Case Date:

Informants: Mrs. Helen B. Neely, Miss Sarah Grace Bradley, Mr. Wm. Schley Howard.

Interviewer: J. O. Slade

Incident: Denial of bus transportation from Atlanta to Athens, Georgia.

Charges:

Bus Company* employees charge Helen B. Neely and Sarah Grace Bradley with disorderly conduct and H. B. Neely with use of Profanity in attempting to board bus for Athens.

Arrest was made of parties above. They were detained for brief period at police station.

Helen B. Neely and Sarah Grace Bradley charge bus company with abusive, uncouth and inhuman treatment.

Sarah Grace Bradley charges false arrest.

Place of incident: Greyhound Bus Terminal, Atlanta, Georgia.

Time of incident: Afternoon (early) of September 1, 1944.

Disposition: Arrest, detention at police headquarters for approximately one hour, police court trial on September 5, 1944.
Fined: Helen B. Neely, $17; Sarah Grace Bradley, $12.

Informants: Wm. Schley Howard, attorney, whose services were procured after police court trial; and the principals, (Bradley and Neely)

Interviewer: J. O. Slade.

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*Southeastern Stages, Inc.

TECHE GREYHOUND LINES
720 SOUTH GALVEZ STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

January 22, 1945

TO ALL SUPERINTENDENTS
STATION MANAGERS
DRIVERS

On January 3, 1945, I issued a letter to all concerned governing the loading of colored passengers and the allocation of seats for colored and white.

Effective immediately, you will disregard my letter of January 3 and be governed in this matter as per the following instructions:

1. We owe a legal duty to reserve at least the back seat as a minimum space in which to seat colored passengers.

2. When you have no colored passengers and white passengers occupy the rear seat, it shall be explained to them that they may continue to occupy same until the seat is needed for colored passengers. If white passengers occupying the back seat are not notified in advance that they will have to move in the event the room is needed for colored passengers, then you will have difficulty in getting them to move later.

3. Look over your passengers before you start to load, in order to get some idea of the amount of space which will be needed for each race. Remember that most of the white passengers will usually board ahead of the colored, therefore, it is up to you to make your space allocation before the bus becomes overloaded with white passengers.

We realize that during war time this business of segregation is a problem to you but if you will carefully follow the above instructions, it should assist in accommodating the greatest number with the least friction.

Very truly yours,

H. Vance Greenslit
Vice-President

COPY

W. F. Geoghan

Charleston, West Virginia
February 23, 1945

F. C. Martel
J. R. Saul
D. D. McAfee
L. C. Myers
R. W. Bolling
B. M. Amele
C. E. Chambers
G. H. Fulcher
Wilson Rose
D. D. Puckett
E. V. Garron

For quite some time now complaints of mishandling colored passengers by drivers and agents have been on the increase. These complaints have been so serious that necessary steps to correct the attitude of our personnel must be taken immediately.

Proper instruction along these lines is being given to student drivers in our schools and no driver can use ignorance of these contents as an excuse.

All of our personnel should be made to understand that our colored passengers should be treated as courteously and with as much patience as a white passenger.

A considerable amount of our revenue is derived from our colored passengers and we cannot afford to drive this business away from our coaches by the continuation of such mishandling by our employees.

All personnel under your supervision should be warned regarding discourtesy and mishandling of colored passengers.

I want to see this situation improved in the immediate future, and acknowledgement of this letter is requested.

SIGNED W. F. Geoghan
Assistant General Manager

CC-G. S. Engle

(Signed)

with act on bch side by side

Bu-D-3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Incident, Bus Travel - from Atlanta, Ga. to Athens, Ga -

Date: June 6, 1945
9:00 p.m. - EWT

Informant:

Reporter: Margaret Price

The bus was filled with white people and two Negro soldiers. The soldiers sat on the long seat in the rear -- white people had already occupied the other rear seats. White people were standing in the aisles of the bus. One man, his wife, and little boy proceeded to the rear of the bus and sat down on the long seat by the side of the soldiers. The man placed himself between his wife and the soldiers. The people -- white and Negro -- did not talk to each other, but apparently neither objected to the other. Other white people continued to stand.

Greyhound bus
Station -
routine observation

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Aggravated Assault, Bus Station, Atlanta Date: June 13, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

Form 32 - 22 Offense No. AA8343
Atlanta Police Department Offense Report
June 13, 1945
xx Aggravated Assault
Victim's Name - Eva Eulin, 925 Spruce Street, Augusta, Ga.
Hit with hand
Time 3 A.M., June 13, 1945

Provocation or Justification -- No
Small cut on right side of head. Grady Hospital -- Dr. Gibson treated and dismissed.
Assigned to White and Tayler

28. State here any reason for believing the complaint false -- no.

Bus driver's name not known.

Detailed Report: At 3 A.M. I was paged on the interphone at the Bus Station and talked to the victim who stated that she had inquired of one of the bus drivers just when the Augusta bus would leave. Driver told her to go into the waiting room and wait until the bus was called over the speaker. Victim stated that she started into the white waiting room through error and the bus driver grabbed her and turned her around and struck her on the head. Victim also stated that she is five months pregnant. I sent victim to Grady by Lt. Hooten where she was treated and dismissed by Dr. Gibson of Grady staff. Victim is leaving city to return to Augusta and does not desire to prosecute.

Respectfully,

L. E. Terrell
Patrolman

Mrs. Helen B. Neely's Statement

"When my sister ~~came~~ and I got ready to leave Atlanta for Athens, (on a Southeastern Stages Bus) I decided to go ahead of her in order to get a seat. I boarded the bus, which was practically empty at the time, and went immediately to the rear seat. Twenty or more people got on shortly after I got on. They were all white as I remember. When the bus was nearly filled, my sister, who had never gotten on, came to the rear window and said to me? 'Get off, sister, the driver says, 'no niggers ride this bus'. What's the matter I can't ride this bus, I replied. Suddenly the driver was in the rear near me. The driver said: 'No, no niggers ride this bus'. When I spoke up to the driver, he said: 'shut up and don't you sass me'. "Well driver, why didn't you tell me before I got on here." 'You didn't ask me', he said.

"As I was making my way to the front, I said: 'Its embarrassing to me to get on this bus and be taken off.' I got off, however.

"A very stout white man who helped in loading the bus shouted at me: "Get over there; get out of the way. You'll have to catch that other bus (to Athens)'.

"It was some time before I could get to the door of the other bus. While waiting a white lady said to me: 'I have been all day trying to get a bus out of here; they could speak to us like human beings, not dogs'. I think so too.

"When I got to the door of the second bus, the driver punched my ticket the second time. When I got on that one (bus), I found the rear seat full. Three Negroes occupied the two seats (for 2 each) just in front of the rear seat. I took the one vacant seat next to a Negro.

white	white		white	white
Negro	vacant		Negro	Negro
Negro	Negro	Negro	Negro	Negro

Rear of second bus (boarded) seating arrangement when Mrs. Neely entered the bus. Mrs. Neely took seat marked vacant.

,"The driver came to me shortly after I sat down and said:'Get off this bus; you have caused trouble. I am not going to let neither one of you nigger women ride this bus'.

"A moment later from the front the driver yelled 'come Here officer'. The driver said further to the officer who was now on the scene: 'Arrest these women'. The officer came forward. We (my sister and I)were taken then to the dispatcher's office. There someone asked for our names. My sister gave her, and I prefaced mine with "Mrs.' ~~name as S. Grace Bradley, 1298 Booker St. When they asked for my name, I said, Mrs. Helen B. Neely~~. My sister at that time was crying aloud. The white man said to me,'Where did you get that damn Mrs, at?' I replied: I am married to a soldier and he is overseas fighting for our country.'

"A white man then yelled out: 'I'll just let that nigger woman there cry.' (meaning ~~Miss Bradley~~ the sister who had been crying for sometime).

"While at the dispatchers office under arrest, the driver of the first bus we tried to ride came up to us and said to me: 'Girl, gimme your ticket.' My reply to him was, what reason have I to give you my ticket?

"I want to fix it', he said. Well if you didn't fix it when you had it, a lawyer will help you fix it now.

"Then a big white man who had assisted in the loading came to the bus driver who was talking to me and they walked away together talking.

"When we were later taken to the station house we were first taken to the white matron.

"I asked the policeman who was called to take us upstairs,'what is your name?' He told me ~~He said, 'Duncan.'~~ 'I thought I knew you, don't you remember me?' I said. 'Say,' said the officer, 'what have they got you for?' I said, 'For being a nigger, that's all.

"The arresting officer jerked my sister ~~Grace~~ at the bus station and threatened to hit her. My, my, how she cried. Those men kept saying, 'Shut up that crying.'

"When the arresting officer drew back to hit ~~Grace~~ her, she ducked and said to the officers: 'We are intelligent enough to know that we are under arrest. Please!'

"Oh, the colored matron at the jail was called from the white matron's office where we were first taken.

"A ~~Mr. J. Reese~~ man who was called by my daughter and told we had been arrested came down about an hour later and asked, 'Where are the ladies who were arrested at the bus station a little while ago? Someone, he said, answered, 'Them two girls arrested at the bus station? Go and get them girls.'

No bond was made, ~~Mr. Reese~~ the man told us.

~~Miss Bradley's Statement~~

Her sister continued the story:

"We had called Mr. C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World. Mr. Scott sent ~~Spike Washington~~ a representative down to the station and after we all got out we had a little session about 4:00 or 4:30 P.M.

"We all decided to postpone the case for a while with the hope that we could get justice.

"I had a case (~~Miss Bradley said~~) because I was a victim of false arrest. At the trial, I was not even called to make a statement. So, I said to the judge, 'May I say something?' The first thing I said when permitted to speak was, "Some of these people who have testified were not on the scene when the incident occurred. When the officer who arrested us interrupted me and made an incriminating statement, I said, "Officer, you were not there. How could you know all that happened?"

"During a brief interim at the trial a white man my sister (~~Mrs. Neely~~) knows, called her and told her that we were being framed. He also advised her not to pay a fine. 'Go back to jail,' he said, 'and I'll pay your bond.' Sister (~~Mrs. Neely~~), after the hearing, went back and I elected to pay the fines and get out of there. I paid her fine of $17 and mine, $12.

"A man ~~Mr. McWhorter~~ who it seems is employed by the bus company in some capacity, appeared as a witness against us. When his time came to speak, Judge Callaway gave him a great build-up: 'We all know Mr. ~~McWhorter~~, let's hear what he has to say about this case.

"This man ~~McWhorter~~ knew, he claimed, everything that happened on the second bus, although he was on the first bus my sister got on. He said she(my sister) cursed, sat in the middle of the bus, and in fact, almost started a riot at the station.

"He (~~McWhorter~~) really clicked with the police court. After he spoke you could see that truth and justice didn't have a chance.

"And, by the way, that lawyer we had, ~~Mr. Bellflower,~~ stood there as if he never heard of law. He asked one or two witnesses for the bus company a question

or so. The only question he raised -- and he did not follow that one through -- was, "If ~~Grace~~ didn't do anything but cry, why was she arrested?"

"I thought ~~Bellflower~~ the lawyer was working for the bus company too."

The two women afterwards engaged a prominent white lawyer to take their case. This statement follows:

~~Mr. Howard's Statement on Bradley-Neely Case~~

"They ~~(Helen Neely and S. Grace Bradley)~~ (the two Negro women in the case) came to me after they had had the police court trial. I went to work to see what I could do for them.

"I tried to find some witness for ~~Helen and Grace~~ them, but everybody I contacted claimed he did not see the incident. ~~They (Grace and Helen)~~ women were sure that a red cap at the station saw what happened, but they were unable to identify the red cap. There is just no witness I can find who will testify, but I know that those women ~~(Grace and Helen)~~ are telling the truth.

"The bus company got up a lot of witnesses who said that those women raised sand. ~~Helen~~ The one who had boarded the first bus, they said, abused everybody connected with the bus line; almost started a riot down there.

"A lawyer who was at the trial told me that the only thing the bus company and its witnesses proved was that ~~Grace~~ one of the women cried.

"I know that that rough neck bus driver was just as abusive and uncouth in dealing with ~~Helen~~ the women as ~~she~~ they said he was.

"The God's truth is: I represent more colored people than any lawyer in Georgia. I've suffered sometimes for doing it, but it doesn't make any difference to me; I believe in fairness and justice for everybody.

"Recently I had a call from some insurance agent for the bus company. I don't know who he is, but he offered to make some amicable settlement in this case.

"I'll see that something is done about this case."

At the last report, however, nothing further had been done.

Bu-F-1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: The Bradley - Neely Case Date:

Informants: Mrs. Helen B. Neely, Miss Sarah Grace Bradley, Mr. Wm. Schley Howard.

Interviewer: J. O. Slade

Incident: Denial of bus transportation from Atlanta to Athens, Georgia.

Charges:

Bus Company* employees charge Helen B. Neely and Sarah Grace Bradley with disorderly conduct and H. B. Neely with use of Profanity in attempting to board bus for Athens.

Arrest was made of parties above. They were detained for brief period at police station.

Helen B. Neely and Sarah Grace Bradley charge bus company with abusive, uncouth and inhuman treatment.

Sarah Grace Bradley charges false arrest.

Place of incident: Greyhound Bus Terminal, Atlanta, Georgia.

Time of incident: Afternoon (early) of September 1, 1944.

Disposition: Arrest, detention at police headquarters for approximately one hour, police court trial on September 5, 1944.
Fined: Helen B. Neely, $17; Sarah Grace Bradley, $12.

Informants: Wm. Schley Howard, attorney, whose services were procured after police court trial; and the principals, (Bradley and Neely)

Interviewer: J. O. Slade.

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*Southeastern Stages, Inc.

Mrs. Helen B. Neely's Statement

"When my sister Grace and I got ready to leave Atlanta for Athens, I decided to go ahead of her in order to get a seat. I boarded the bus, which was practically empty at the time, and went immediately to the rear seat. Twenty or more people got on shortly after I got on. They were all white as I remember. When the bus was nearly filled, my sister, who had never gotten on, came to the rear window and said to me? 'Get off sister, the driver say, non niggers ride this bus'. What's the matter I can't ride this bus, I replied. Suddenly the driver was in the rear near me. The driver said: 'No, no niggers ride this bus'. When I spoke up to the driver, he said: 'shut up and don't you sass me'. "Well driver, why didn't you tell me before I got on here." 'You didn't ask me', he said.

"As I was making my way to the front, I said: Its embarrassing to me to get on this bus and be taken off. I got off.

"A very stout white man who helped in loading the bus houted at me: "Get over there; get out of the way. You'll have to catch that other bus (to Athens)'.

"It was some time before I could get to the door of the other bus. While waiting a white lady said to me: 'I have been all day trying to get a bus out of here; they could speak to us like human beings, not dogs'. I think so too.

"When I got to the door of the second bus, the driver punched my ticket the second time. When I got on that one (bus), I found the rear seat full. Three Negroes occupied the two seats (for 2 each) just in front of the rear seat. I took the one vacant seat next to a Negro.

white	white		white	white
Negro	vacant		Negro	Negro
Negro	Negro	Negro	Negro	Negro

Rear of second bus (boarded) seating arrangement when Mrs. Neely entered the bus. Mrs. Neely took seat marked vacant.

,"The driver came to me shortly after I sat down and said:'Get off this bus; you have caused trouble. I am not going to let neither one of you nigger women ride this bus'.

"A moment later from the front the driver yelled 'come here officer'. The driver said further to the officer who was now on the scene: 'Arrest these women'. The officer came forward. We (my sister and I)were taken then to the dispatcher's office. There someone asked for our names. My sister gave her name as S. Grace Bradley, 1298 Booker St. When they asked for my name, I said, Mrs. Helen B. Neely. My sister at that time was crying aloud. The white man said to me,'Where did you get that damn Mrs, at?' I replied: I am married to a soldier and he is overseas fighting for our country.

"A white man then yelled out: 'I'll just let that nigger woman there cry.' (meaning Miss Bradley who had been crying for sometime).

"While at the dispatchers office under arrest, the driver of the first bus we tried to ride came up to us and said to me: 'Girl, gimme your ticket.' My reply to him was, what reason have I to give you my ticket?

"I want to fix it', he said. Well if you didn't fix it when you had it, a lawyer will help you fix it now.

"Then a big white man who had assisted in the loading came to the bus driver who was talking to me and they walked away together talking.

"When we were later taken to the station house we were first taken to the white matron.

"I asked the policeman who was called to take us upstairs,'what is your name?' He said, 'Duncan.' 'I thought I knew you, don't you remember me?' 'Say,' said the officer, 'what have they got you for?' I said, 'For being a nigger, that's all.

"The arresting officer jerked my sister Grace at the bus station and threatened to hit her. My, my, how she cried. Those men kept saying, 'Shut up that crying.'

"When the arresting officer drew back to hit Grace, she ducked and said to the officers: 'We are intelligent enough to know that we are under arrest. Please!'

"Oh, the colored matron at the jail was called from the white matron's office where we were first taken.

"A Mr. J. Reese who was called by my daughter and told we had been arrested came down about an hour later and asked, 'Where are the ladies who were arrested at the bus station a little while ago? Someone, he said, answered, 'Them two girls arrested at the bus station? Go and get them girls.'

No bond was made, Mr. Reese told us.

Miss Bradley's Statement

"We had called Mr. C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World. Mr. Scott sent Spike Washington down to the station and after we all got out we had a little session about 4:00 or 4:30 P.M.

"We all decided to postpone the case for a while with the hope that we could get justice.

"I had a case (Miss Bradley said) because I was a victim of false arrest. At the trial, I was not even called to make a statement. So, I said to the judge, 'May I say something?' The first thing I said when permitted to speak was, "Some of these people who have testified were not on the scene when the incident occurred. When the officer who arrested us interrupted me and made an incriminating statement, I said, "Officer, you were not there. How could you know all that happened?"

"During a brief interim at the trial a white man my sister (Mrs. Neely) knows, called her and told her that we were being framed. He also advised her not to pay a fine. 'Go back to jail,' he said, 'and I'll pay your bond.' Sister (Mrs. Neely), after the hearing, went back and I elected to pay the fines and get out of there. I paid her fine of $17 and mine, $12.

"A Mr. McWhorter who it seems is employed by the bus company in some capacity, appeared as a witness against us. When his time came to speak, Judge Callaway gave him a great build-up: 'We all know Mr. McWhorter, let's hear what he h s to say about this case.

"McWhorter knew, he claimed, everything that happened on the second bus, although he was on the first bus my sister got on. He said she(my sister) cursed, sat in the middle of the bus, and in fact, almost started a riot at the station.

"He (McWhorter) really clicked with the police court. After he spoke you could see that truth and justice didn't have a chance.

"And, by the way, that lawyer we had, Mr. Bellflower, stood there as if he never heard of law. He asked one or two witnesses for the bus company a question

or so. The only question he raised — and he did not follow that one through — was, "If Grace didn't do anything but cry, why was she arrested?"

"I thought Bellflower was working for the bus company too."

Mr. Howard's Statement on Bradley-Neely Case

"They (Helen Neely and S. Grace Bradley) came to me after they had had the police court trial. I went to work to see what I could do for them.

"I tried to find some witness for Helen and Grace, but everybody I contacted claimed he did not see the incident. They (Grace and Helen) were sure that a red cap at the station saw what happened, but they were unable to identify the red cap. There is just no witness I can find who will testify, but I know that those women (Grace and Helen) are telling the truth.

"The bus company got up a lot of witnesses who said that those women raised sand. Helen, they said, abused everybody connected with the bus line; almost started a riot down there.

"A lawyer who was at the trial told me that the only thing the bus company and its witnesses proved was that Grace cried.

"I know that that rough neck bus driver was just as abusive and uncouth in dealing with Helen as she said he was.

"The God's truth is: I represent more colored people than any lawyer in Georgia. I've suffered sometimes for doing it, but it doesn't make any difference to me; I believe in fairness and justice for everybody.

"Recently I had a call from some insurance agent for the bus company. I don't know who he is, but he offered to make some amicable settlement in this case.

"I'll see that something is done about this case."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Georgia Code Annual, 1935, Title 68 Motor Vehicles

Date:

Informant:

Reporter: James O. Slade

("Commission" - Georgia Public Service Commission)

68-504. Certificate of public convenience and necessity; terms and conditions; transfer; revocation; term; renewal.

(a) No motor carrier shall operate without first obtaining from the Commission, after hearing under the provisions of this Chapter, a dertificate of public convenience and necessity, pursuant to findings to the effect that the public interest requires such operation ....

68-509. Bonds of holders of certificates; indemnity insurance in lieu of bonds; self insurance. No certificate shall be issued or continued in operation unless the holder thereof shall give bond with adequate security for the protection, in case of passenger vehicles, of the passengers and baggage carried, and of the public against injury proximately caused by the negligence of such motor carrier, its servants or agents .... The Commission shall approve, determine, and fix the amount of such bonds, and shall prescribe the provisions and limitations thereof, and such bonds shall be for the benefit of, and subject to suit or action thereon by, any person who shall sustain actionable injury or loss protected thereby.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Motor Carriers, Georgia Code Annual, 1935 Date:

Informant:

Reporter: James O. Slade

68-513. Carriage of colored passengers. Motor carriers may confine themselves to carrying either white or colored passengers; or they may provide different motor vehicles for carrying white and colored passengers; and they may carry white and colored passengers in the same vehicle, but only under such conditions of separation of the races as the Commission may prescribe. (Acts, 1931)

Bu-G

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Georgia Code Annual, 1935, Title 68 Date:
~~Motor Vehicles~~

Informant:

Reporter: James O. Slade

~~("Commission" - Georgia Public Service Commission)~~
Chapter 68. Motor Carriers -

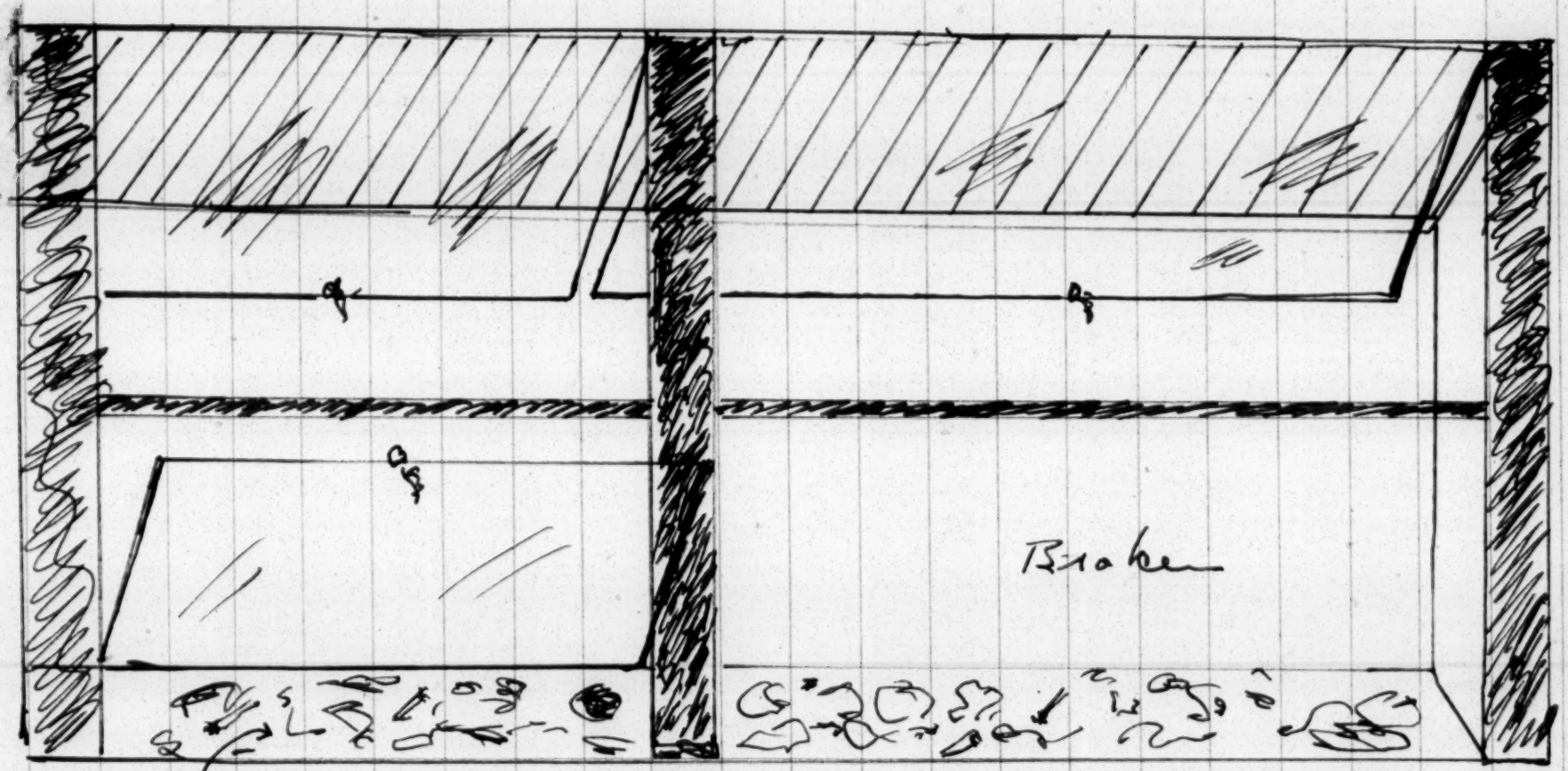
68-504. Certificate of public convenience and necessity; terms and conditions; transfer; revocation; term; renewal.

(a) No motor carrier shall operate without first obtaining from the Commission [Georgia Public Service Commission], after hearing under the provisions of this Chapter, a dertificate of public convenience and necessity, pursuant to findings to the effect that the public interest requires such operation ....

68-509. Bonds of holders of certificates; indemnity insurance in lieu of bonds; self insurance. No certificate shall be issued or continued in operation unless the holder thereof shall give bond with adequate security for the protection, in case of passenger vehicles, of the passengers and baggage carried, and of the public against injury proximately caused by the negligence of such motor carrier, its servants or agents .... The Commission shall approve, determine, and fix the amount of such bonds, and shall prescribe the provisions and limitations thereof, and such bonds shall be for the benefit of, and subject to suit or action thereon by, any person who shall sustain actionable injury or loss protected thereby.

68 Motor Carriers. (See insert page 21A at end of section I - The Georgia Code)

1. Greyhound Bus Terminal Facilities
2. Bus Station - Routine Observations
3. Bus Stations - General Observations and Incidents
4. Bus Travel
5. Company and Management Instructions to Employees
6 Cases
7. Laws



Sidewalk ventilator in men's toilet at Union Bus Station. Arrow points to filth collected from sidewalk above.

Driver refer N. to back seat, even though there were empty seats in front

Bus-Dis

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Trip to Macon, Georgia from Atlanta, Georgia Date: June 13, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

I boarded Greyhound Bus at Union Bus Terminal on above mentioned date at 9:30 E.S.T.

Bus capacity was 38 seats. There were 9 white persons on the bus, and two colored persons (one serviceman and one civilian.)

Two white soldiers boarded the bus and proceeded to the rear seats, behind us. The driver remarked. "Colored sit in back," "Colored sit in back." When the white soldiers refused to move, the bus driver said, "The colored will have to stand up, sit behind, or get off." Upon this the white soldiers got up and went toward the front, remarking that "America needed a bomb dropped on it."

The driver, still unsatisfied, said that we were to "get on back another seat or get off." Owing to the scarcity of passengers, it seemed the whites were very much out of sympathy with the bus driver for this unnecessary demonstration.

The two white soldiers had discharge buttons on their uniforms, and also the one Negro soldier. The Negro soldier had been away from Macon seven years, and had served three years in the South Pacific. After the battle of Iwo Jima he was discharged. His head, neck, and face showed the marks of shrapnel wounds.

On Thursday July 5, 1945, I waited at the corner of Broad and Alabama streets forty minutes for a West Hunter car. During this time at least four or five each of the Washington-Lakewood and Soldier's Home and about two McDaniel cars passed. Finally one West Hunter came but it was so packed that it could take no more passengers. After a while another one came and was equally as crowded but when the operator let a white passenger off he allowed about three of the fifteen or more Negro passengers waiting to squeeze in. After this no more stops were made to take on passengers until we had passed the terminal station. At Broad and Hunter the operator told the Inspector that he was loaded. Those of us who were the last to get on were really up front because it was humanly impossible to get back one inch. This particular car was actually packed from back to front.

Just before the Davis Street stop, an elderly man asked if he could get off the front because he could not get through to the back. The operator, in a very nast manner, told him 'No', and added that there was a sign telling him where he must leave the car. I involuntarily cried "why thats lousy mister!" He turned to me beligerently and snarled, "will you shut up!" Of course the man who wanted off was several stops beyond his when he finally made it to the back. When this stop was made several passengers got off and we could all move back just a wee bit. About two passengers got on and the operator and the operator yelled "Get back, Get back I say!" One man said in an unbelievably civil voice, "why, you don't have to talk to us like we were dogs!" The operator stopped the car, turned and demanded to know who said that. When the man told him, the operator took a pistol from his little black leather bag and ordered the man off the car at the point of this pistol. The man asked

for his car token and made his way to the back to get off while the operator still held the pointed gun. Of course many people became panicky and followed the man off the car for it was obvious that if one shot had been fired by the operator as he faced the entire car packed with people, many of them could have been killed instantly.

This was at Vine and Hunter and I rode as far as Hunter and Ashby where the car was stopped so close to a parked automobile that it was an awful squeeze for a person to get off. Someone called up front and asked the operator to move but he refused.

The number which the operator wore on his cap was 1193 and the West Hunter car left Broad and Alabama streets just about 6:25 p.m. on Thursday, July 5, 1945.

Bu-D-6

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Macon Greyhound Bus Station Date: August 3, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

I stood one solid hour by watch to get a ticket in this station. I missed my bus. There were two (white) women clerks and one man. They had no white customers, but continued to put on makeup and drink Coca Colas. We banged on the Jim Crow window without results. After a large crowd collected at the window, the man, who had been doing nothing, came and waited upon us in a very brusque and discourteous manner.

This station is very inadequate for the handling of Negro passengers. The colored waiting room is about one-fifth as large as the white one. People have to stand in line for toilets, as there is only one for each sex. Many must stand up in waiting room.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Bus Travel Date: August 4, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Margaret Price

From Atlanta, Georgia to Clarkesville, Georgia via National Trailways Bus to Asheville, approximately 90 miles, 11:30 EWT to 3:40 EWT on Saturday, August 4.

There were two sections leaving the Atlanta Station. Both were filled to capacity, with people even standing in the aisles to the door. I got on the second section. There were two or three Negroes; all were seated on the back row of seats. At Decatur two Negroes got on. One sat on the back row of seats, and the other either stood or crowded into the seat. At Lawrenceville one Negro got off, and all remaining Negroes were seated. When the bus left Lawrenceville, three whites were standing in the aisles, and four were seated at the front of the bus on the ledge by the driver's seat.

At Dacula two whites and three Negroes got off the bus, and one white man got on. A white man and his son sat in the long back seat in the empty seats. There were one or two Negroes seated then. At the next town (Auburn) four whites got on and stood. About ½ mile down the road, one Negro got on and sat at the back. About a mile further, two Negroes got on, and the white man and child got up from the back seats and the two Negroes sat down. One-half mile further, four whites got on.

At Winder a number of whites and Negroes got off, and the bus re-loaded past capacity with whites. After all whites had gotten on, one Negro got on and pushed to the back of the bus and sat. About four miles further down the road, one adult and two children got on. At Cornelia, 3 Negroes got off. After the bus had loaded, one Negro woman and her baby got on and stood by the door of the bus from Cornelia to Clarkesville. When the bus stopped to take on and discharge passengers, the woman, with her child in her arms, got off to let the passengers on and off. Finally the driver told her it was not necessary to get off. He said that she could stand out of the way, which she did.

Somewhere on the trip, before the bus reached Commerce, the driver passed up two Negroes who were at the side of the bus waiting to get on. The bus was crowded, but with a little more squeezing there would have been room for the Negroes. At Commerce, the second bus had made its run, and all passengers from Commerce to Asheville were crowded into one bus.

At Cornelia the bus station was in a filling station. I saw a Negro man go up to a white man and ask him where the rest room was. The white man pointed to the only one marked "Men," and the Negro went in.

B4-D-1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Bus Travel Date: August 5, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Margaret Price

From Clarkesville, Georgia to Atlanta, Georgia via National Trailways Bus, 4:10 P.M. EWT to 7:30 P.M. EWT Sunday, August 5, 1945.

At Clarkesville, about a dozen white passengers boarded the bus, filling the back row of seats and all other vacant places. There were still about six white people standing. The same Negro woman and her child who had ridden from Cornelia to Clarkesville the day before boarded the bus to go back to Cornelia. She came toward the back of the bus until she saw that the back seats were filled. She then stood in front of about three white people, about three others were standing in front of her. She remained there until the bus reached Cornelia. The interesting thing was that a policeman (in uniform) from Toccoa, Georgia was standing near her when she entered the bus, and he remarked that those white people would have to stand and let her sit down. The white people (who could not have heard him, since he spoke low (I was standing next to him and he seemed to be talking to me or to himself) and since he was not near them) did not get up, and the policeman made no further move. The woman continued to stand, with her baby in her arms.

At Cornelia a second bus was put on to make the run to Atlanta. After the Negro woman and her baby got off, there were no Negroes in the first section which I was on. At Commerce the bus was so loaded with whites that it stopped only in Winder on the way to Atlanta. The passengers were all white.

The bus station in Clarkesville is in connection with a drugstore. There were no Negroes waiting there while I was there. I asked a Clarkesville resident where the Negroes waited, and she said they loitered in the drugstore and on the sidewalk outside the store. They never sat at the tables in the drugstore, however. The drugstore only served ice-cream and drinks — no sandwiches or meals. The only restroom was across the street in the courthouse. I did not find out whether there was one there for Negroes too.

Form C
Number _____

Observer's Check Sheet

Description of Facilities For Services to Passengers In a Given Station

1. Name of Station Greyhound Bus Terminal 2. Year Built 1940
3. Date Aug. 8, 1945 4. Time 10:00 AM to 12:30
5. City and State Atlanta, Georgia
6. Observer Slade and Carter
7. Waiting Room: White _____ Colored ✓ (check one)

I General Description of Waiting Room

A. Entrances and Exits

1. To streets _____
   a. same _____
   b. Different ✓ entrance to driveway
2. To trains Busses
   a. same _____
   b. different ✓
3. Doors
   a. Number 2
   b. Type glass & wood
   c. Condition of doors
      (1) in repair ✓
      (2) need repair _____
   d. location facing walk and driveway

B. Signs: list, giving number, types, and wording, and location

Number _____

Type	wording	location
	Colored Waiting Room	At entrance to waiting room
Frame	General instructions in connection with baggage service	

C. Relative positions of waiting room in station
1. Front _____
2. Center _____
3. Rear _____
4. Side ✓

30 & 24

D. Seating

1. Number of seats 32
2. Type of seats
   a. Benches ✓ sections separated
      (1) cushioned ____ (2) non-cushioned ____ (3) wood ✓
      (4) metal ____ (5) in repair ____ (6) need repair ____
   b. Chairs ____
      (1) cushioned ____ (2) non-cushioned ____ (3) wood ____
      (4) metal ____ (5) in repair ____ (6) need repair ____

E. Ventilation

1. Windows
   a. Number None b. type ____ c. manipulation ____
   d. Condition
      (1) In repair ____ (2) need repair ____
2. Other types of ventilation
   a. Skylights 1 rectangular Number (1) type heavy glass
   b. Fans None electric ____ ceiling ____ portable ____ (Place number of each type after correct type)
   c. Air conditioning ____
   d. Other (indicate) None

F. Heating

1. Units
   a. Number 2
   b. Location near ceiling on wall to right from entrance
   c. Types ~~Cut~~ Built in wall rectangular
   d. Condition
      (1) efficient ✓ (2) inefficient ____

G. Lighting

1. Number	Types	Condition (adequate or inadequate)	Location
4	tube ceiling	adequate	Ceiling suspended
	suspended		
1	ceiling globe	adequate	ceiling

H. Size (approximate floor space or area) 30 by 24 ft. -

I. Walls

1. Type
   a. Tile ✓ and
   b. Plaster ✓ c. Other (list) ____
2. Condition
   a. Paint ____
   b. Plaster in repair
   c. Tile in repair
   d. Other ____

J. Telegraph: Facilities present_____; facilities not present ✓

1. Types of Service
   a. Station_____
      (Location_____
      (2)Hours service available_____
      (3)Number of employees on duty at a given time_____
   b. Direct line to telegraph office_____
      (1)Location_____
      (2)Hours service available_____

K. Telephone: Facilities present ✓; facilities not present_____
1. Types of Service
   a. Booth
      (1)Number 1 (2)location Rear center waiting room
   b. "Open"_____
      (1) Number None (2)location_____
   c. Counter at which operator places calls for patrons None
      (1)Location_____
      (2)Number employees on duty at a given time_____

L. Travelers' Aid: Facilities present_____; facilities not present ✓
1. Location_____
2. Designated hours for service_____
3. Personnel
   a. Number of employees on duty at given time_____
   b. Number of employees working part time_____
   c. Number of employees working full time_____
   d. Number of student workers_____

II. Ticket Office
A. General ticket office ✓
1. Location Left rear center from entrance
2. Type
   a. Counter_____; length_____
   b. Window ✓; number of windows 1
3. Personnel
   a. Number of employees on duty at given time: 4 male ✓ female___ race___

B. Pullman ticket office
1. Location_____
2. Type
   a. Counter None; length_____
   b. Window_____; number_____
3. Personnel
   a. Number of employees on duty at given time:___male___female___race___

C. Other types of ticket windows (indicate)_____
1. Location_____
2. Type
   a. Counter None; length_____
   b. Window_____; number_____
3. Personnel
   a. Number of employees on duty at given tim :__male___female___race___

III. Information
A. Location No special information facility
B. Facilities
1. Windows _____ 2. Counter _____
C. Personnel : Number _____ ; male _____ ; female _____ race _____
D. Public Address System
1. Number of speakers 1 2. Location of speakers left center wall
3. Description of speakers round metal from entrance

IV. Restaurant
A. Location In waiting room at the right from entrance
B. Facilities
1. Counter ✓
a. Type _____ b. Number of seats ✓ 10
2. Tables None
a. Types _____ b. Number _____
c. Seating capacity _____
C. Personnel
1. Number(total) 2 Waitresses ✓ ; waiters _____
General help _____.
2. Male _____ 3. Female ✓ 4. Race Negro
D. Appointments
1. Walls: Type tile + plaster Color Cream and tan ~~same as~~
2. Ornaments: List None in waiting room

3. Signs: Number _____

Type	Wording	Location
Cardboard	Please pay when served	over cash register

4. Lighting
a. Number of units Same lights for waiting room and counter b. Types of units _____
c. Location of units _____
d. Condition
(1) in repair _____ (2) need repair _____
5. Ventilation
a. Windows None
(1) number _____ (2) types _____ (3) Manipulation _____
(4) condition
(a) in repair _____ (b) need repair _____
b. List other types of ventilation None
6. Authorization
a. rating _____
(1) kind _____
b. ownership
(1) station _____ (2) concession ✓ Union News

V. Rest Rooms
A. Women's Rest Room
1. Location Basement
2. Divisions

2. Divisions

a. Lounge ne

(1) Size (approximate) _____

(2) Seats: total number of seats _____

(a) Types of seats _____ number _____

(3) Babies' beds: number _____; type _____; condition _____

(4) Ventilation

(a) Number of windows _____ types _____ Condition _____

(b) Air conditioned _____

(c) Electric fans _____ number _____ type _____ condition _____

(5) Lighting

(a) Number of units _____ types _____ condition _____

(6) Heating

(a) Number of units _____ types _____ condition _____

(7) List other facilities

b. Wash room

(1) Size (approximate) 9x15

(2) Number of wash basins 3

(3) Number of toilets (total) 3

(a) Number of free toilets 2 b. Number of pay toilets 1 (c) cost .05

(4) Number of mirrors 1

(5) Towel service: types _____ number _____

(6) List other facilities 1 trash box (Paste board)

No Towel container in evidence

(7) Ventilation

(a) Number of windows 2 type push out condition dirty

(b) Air conditioning none

(c) Electric fans ns number _____ type _____ condition _____

(d) Other (indicate type) _____

(8) Heating

(a) Number of units 1 (b) type of units (c) condition _____

1 Exposed bulb

3. Maid Service Available _____

a. Number of maids on duty at a given time _____

b. Hours at which service is available _____

B. Men's Rest Room

1. Location Basement

2. Divisions

a. Lounge none

(1) Size (approximate) 12 ft x 12 ft

(2) Seats: total number 2

(a) Types of seats _____ Number _____

Open front commode tops

(3) Ventilation
(a) Number of windows; 4 ; type push out condition need repair
(b) Air conditioned None
(c) Electric fans None number ____ type ____ condition ____
(4) Lighting
(a) number of units 1 (b) type regular exposed bulb (c) condition in repair
(5) Heating
(a) Number of units 1 type of units ceiling condition in repair
(6) List other facilities ____ & ____
3 urinals
2 wash basins
1 mirror (needs repair

b. Wash Room
(1) Size (approximate) ____
(2) Number of wash basins ____
(3) Number of toilets (total) ____ separate
(a) Number of free toilets No (b) number of pay toilets ____ cost ____ wash room
(4) Number of mirrors ____
(5) Towel service: types ____ number ____
(6) List other facilities ____

(7) Ventilation
(a) Number of windows: ____ type ____ condition ____
(b) Air conditioning ____
(c) Electric fans: ____ number ____ type ____ condition ____
(d) Other (indicate type) ____
(e) Heating
(a) number of units ____ (b) type of units ____ (c) condition ____

3. Porter service available None
a. Number of porters on duty at a given time ____.
b. Hours at which service is available. ____

VI. Baggage
A. Station Baggage Room
1. Location Near left rear from entrance
2. Divisions ____
3. Personnel (number on duty at a given time) 3 2 white 1 colored
B. Public lockers
1. Location ~~8~~ waiting room
2. Number 8
3. Types steel .10 service charge
C. Other checking services
1. List ____
2. Location ____
3. Types ____
4. Personnel (number on duty at a given time) ____

VII. Miscellaneous
A. Water Fountain ✓
1. Number 1
2. Location front left from entrance
3. Types ____
4. Conditions: in repair ✓ ; need repair ____

B. Clocks ✓
1. Number 1
2. Location left center wall from entrance
3. Types Electric

C. Commodities for sale (check those sold in waiting room):
1. Newspapers
2. Magazines
3. Funny books
4. Post cards
5. Fruit ✓
6. Smokes ✓
7. Candies ✓
8. Sodas, ice cream, etc. ✓
9. Souvenirs
10. List others regular meals at counter

D. Other facilities (check, giving number, location, whether in waiting room or general waiting area or in ante-room)
1. Photo booth
2. Juke boxes ✓ 1 waiting room
3. Scales 1 in waiting room
4. Soft drink machines
5. Candy machines
6. Shooting galleries
7. Chewing gum machines 1 in waiting room
8. Movie machines ✓ 1 waiting room
9. Trash containers
10. Others (list) 1 peep type sound in waiting room
2 peanut machines waiting room
40 public lockers in general area 1 popcorn stand general area
4 peanut machines ✓ 2 chewing gum machines in general area
2 scales in general area

VIII. General waiting area between waiting room and gates to carriers

A. Seating
1. Number No seating 2. Types
3. Signs relative to seating: wording:

B. Signs at gates: wording

IX. Carriers

A. Differences in distance from gates to carriers for each race
1. White—distance Same
2. Negro—distance

X. Public and private transportation facilities available to passengers to and from station

A. White
1. Distance to taxi
2. Distance to street cars and busses
3. Distance to station parking space

B. Negro
1. Distance to taxi Taxi stand diagonally across street from station
2. Distance to street cars and busses About the same.
3. Distance to station parking area No station parking area

C. List taxi rules and regulations

Form C
Number_____

Observer's Check Sheet

Description of Facilities For Services to Passengers In a Given Station

1. Name of Station Greyhound Bus Terminal 2. Year Built _____
3. Date August 8, 1945 4. Time 10:15 a.m. 12:00 a.m.
5. City and State Atlanta, Georgia
6. Observer Margaret Price
7. Waiting Room: White ✓ Colored _____ (check one)

I General Description of Waiting Room

A. Entrances and Exits

1. To streets
   a. same
   b. different ✓ (white opens directly on Cain Street)
2. To trains (busses)
   a. same ✓ (white waiting room has 4 gates, facilitating boarding busses)
   b. different
3. Doors
   a. Number 5 (1 to Cain Street, 4 to busses)
   b. Type glass & metal, double - one marked "in"; one marked "out"
   c. Condition of doors
      (1) in repair ✓
      (2) need repair
   d. Location 1 to Cain Street, 4 to busses

B. Signs: list, giving number, types, and wording, and location

Number

Type	Wording	Location
4 nailed to wall	check here	over 4 seats, lockers
4 " " "	gate -	over doors
4 raised above doors	to busses	" "
2 framed in glass	serving insurance	by doors
2 " "	conserve rubber	" "
raised letters	baggage	above baggage compartment
2 ~~tin~~ in wall - lighted	telegraph	" telegraph station
1 neon	Western Union	at " "
1 raised letters	information	above information desk
1 metal	Greyhound honor roll	back of waiting room
1 painted (on back)	" " "	" " " "

C. Relative positions of waiting room in station
1. Front ✓
2. Center
3. Rear
4. Side

D. Seating

1. Number of seats 10 seats & benches, 2 benches to seat, 8 seats to bench - 160
2. Type of seats
   a. Benches ✓
      (1) cushioned ____ (2) non-cushioned ✓ (3) wood ✓
      (4) metal ____ (5) in repair ✓ (6) need repair ____
   b. Chairs ____
      (1) cushioned ____ (2) non-cushioned ____ (3) wood ____
      (4) metal ____ (5) in repair ____ (6) need repair ____

E. Ventilation

1. Windows
   a. Number 26 b. type high-bottom panel opens c. manipulation opened by station attendant
   d. Condition
      (1) In repair ✓ (2) need repair ____
2. Other types of ventilation
   a. Skylights ____ Number ____ type ____
   b. Fans ____ electric ____ Ceiling ____ portable ____ (Place number of each type after correct type)
   c. Air conditioning (think so)
   d. Other (indicate) ____

F. Heating

1. Units
   a. Number 2
   b. Location 1 over ticket window & 1 over telegraph station
   c. Types hot air ventilators
   d. Condition
      (1) efficient — (2) inefficient ____

G. Lighting

1. Number	Types	Condition (adequate or inadequate)	Location
9	fluorescent	—	ceiling
1 (extends length of hall)	"	good	" of hall to waiting room

H. Size (approximate floor space or area) 30 X 30 ft

I. Walls

1. Type
   a. Tile ____
   b. Plaster ✓ c. Other (list) ____
2. Condition
   a. Paint not scaling; fairly clean
   b. Plaster fairly clean; not cracked
   c. Tile ____
   d. Other ____

J. Telegraph: Facilities present ✓ ; facilities not present _____

1. Types of Service
   a. Station ✓
      (1) Location first right of waiting room as enter station and in hallway & waiting room - 2 windows
      (2) Hours service available 8:30 a.m. - 11:30 p.m. - wk. days; 8:30 a.m. - 10:30 p.m. Sun.
      (3) Number of employees on duty at a given time 1
   b. Direct line to telegraph office ✓
      (1) Location at station
      (2) Hours service available 24

K. Telephone: Facilities present ✓ ; facilities not present _____

1. Types of service
   a. Booth
      (1) Number 8 (2) location at back of waiting room
   b. "Open" —
      (1) Number _____ (2) location _____
   c. Counter at which operator places calls for patrons —
      (1) Location _____
      (2) Number employees on duty at a given time _____

L. Travelers' Aid: Facilities present ✓ ; facilities not present _____

1. Location desk at center back of station
2. Designated hours for service not designated - not on duty at been station & sign saying that when no duty is on duty & traveler needs help, call M.A. 12/13
3. Personnel
   a. Number of employees on duty at given time _____
   b. Number of employees working part time _____
   c. Number of employees working full time _____
   d. Number of student workers _____

II. Ticket Office

A. General ticket office ✓
   1. Location in hallway to waiting room proper
   2. Type
      a. Counter _____ ; length _____
      b. Window ✓ ; number of windows 9 (3 permanently closed; 2 open at rush hours)
   3. Personnel
      a. Number of employees on duty at given time: ___ male 11 female 5 race W

B. Pullman ticket office
   1. Location —
   2. Type
      a. Counter _____ ; length _____
      b. Window _____ ; number _____
   3. Personnel
      a. Number of employees on duty at given time: ___ male ___ ; female ___ race ___

C. Other types of ticket windows (indicate) _____
   1. Location —
   2. Type
      a. Counter _____ ; length _____
      b. Window _____ ; number _____
   3. Personnel
      a. Number of employees on duty at given time: ___ male ___ ; female ___ race ___

III. Information

A. Location at front, ~~shot~~ waiting room, to right as enter station

B. Facilities

1. Windows _____ 2. Counter ✓

C. Personnel: Number 1 ; male _____ ; female 1 race w

D. 1 Public Address System

1. Number of speakers 1 2. Location of speakers over door leading

3. Description of speakers built into wall to entrance hall

IV. Restaurant

A. Location front, station on left as enter hallway

B. Facilities

1. Counter ✓

a. Type marble - 3 counter b. Number of seats 15 seats to counter — 45 total

2. Tables ✓

a. Types metal - disc topped b. Number 12

c. Seating capacity 48

C. Personnel

1. Number (total) 11 Waitresses 10 (Negro); Waiters _____

General help 1 superintendent (white)

D. Appointments

1. Walls: Type plaster color brown & tan

2. Ornaments: List 1 column covered with mirror; juke box + individual selection boxes; 2 loud speakers; 1 "open" phone; 1 easel; 1 mirror behind counter; 1 clock; 10 hat racks; venetian blinds at windows

3. Signs: Number 6

Type	Wording	Location
4 framed	advertising products	over counter
1 "	not responsible for patron's	over cashier's stand
~~[illegible]~~	baggage or parcels	
neon	cashier	over door pantry to cashier's stand

4. Lighting

a. Number of units 10 b. Types of units fluorescent

c. Location of units ceiling

d. Condition

(a) in repair ✓ (2) need repair _____

5. Ventilation

a. Windows ~~10~~ ✓

(1) number 12 (2) types open panel (3) manipulation —

(4) condition

(a) in repair ✓ (b) need repair _____

b. List other types of ventilation 1 stand fan ; 6 hot air ventilators

6. Authorization

a. rating —

(1) kind _____

b. ownership

(1) station _____ (2) concession Union News

V. Rest Rooms

A. Women's Rest Room

1. Location opens to hallway on right as enter station

2. Divisions

a. Lounge ✓

(1) Size (approximate) 12 x 15 ft

(2) Seats: total number of seats 8

(a) Types of seats — number

Alloader + metal sofas 2 (seat 2 people each)

" " " chairs 4

(3) Babies' beds: number none ; type ; condition

(4) Ventilation

(a) Number of windows 1 ; types open panel condition but pillow concession open to outside both shuts of air

(b) Air conditioner —

(c) Electric fans — number type condition

(5) Lighting

(a) Number of units 1 type ceiling plate condition fair

(6) Heating

(a) Number of units 1 type hot air ventilator condition —

(7) List other facilities

3 smoking stands; 4 pictures of geographical;

b. Wash room ~~22 x 22 ft~~

(1) Size (approximate) 22 x 15 ft

(2) Number of wash basins 5 free ; 5 in wash. room. toilet compartments

(3) Number of toilets (total) 8

(a) Number of free toilets 3 b. Number of pay toilets 5

(c) Cost 1 bathroom - 25¢ ; 4 washrooms - toilet compartments —

(4) Number of mirrors 1 long over two wash basins; 1 in each 'ooo washroom

(5) Towel service: types cloth towels number wash rooms; 1 paper towel contain in public use

(6) List other facilities no soap ; 1 ~~towel~~ ~~dispenser~~

(7) Ventilation

(a) Number of windows 4 type open panels condition good

(b) Air conditioning —

(c) Electric fans — number type condition

(d) Other (indicate type)

(8) Heating

(a) Number of units 1 (b) type of units hot air ventilator (c) condition —

(9) lighting

5 fluorescent lights over wash basins; only 2 in working condition; 2 ceiling plates

3. Maid Service Available (Sign says so, but none on duty at time of observation)

a. Number of maids on duty at a given time 0

b. Hours at which service is available

B. Men's Rest Room

1. Location Opens right of lobby, just inside entrance

2. Divisions

a. Lounge None (shoe shine room, 7' by 12' — 4 shine chairs)

(1) Size (approximate)

(2) Seats: total number

(a) Types of seats — Number

(3) Ventilation
(a) Number of windows; ____; type _____; condition _____
(b) Air conditioned —
(c) Electric fans _____ Number ____; type _____ condition _____
(4) Lighting
(a) number of units _____ (b) type _____ (c) condition _____
(5) Heating
(a) Number of units _____; type of units _____ condition _____
(6) List other facilities _____

b. Wash Room _____
(1) Size (approximate) 15' x 20'
(2) Number of wash basins 5 (with liquid soap) (Pay toilets have washstand, light, mirror
(3) Number of toilets (total) 8
(a) Number of free toilets 2 (b) number of pay toilets 6 cost 10¢
(4) Number of mirrors 1 equal to 5 (c) number of latrines 8
(5) Towel service: types Paper; number one
(6) List other facilities _____

(7) Ventilation
(a) Number of windows: 4 type frosted swinging condition good
(b) Air conditioning _____
(c) Electric fans: ____ number _____ type _____ condition _____
(d) Other (indicate type) _____
(e) Heating
(a) number of units 1 (b) type of units hot air (c) condition good

3. Porter service available _____
a. Number of porters on duty at a given time None on duty
b. Hours at which service is available. _____

VI. Baggage
A. Station Baggage Room
1. Location front left of waiting room as enter station
2. Divisions 1
3. Personnel (number on duty at a given time) 1 man
B. Public lockers
1. Location 2 sides of waiting room
2. Number 4 + 43 = 172
3. Types 10¢ key service
C. Other checking services
1. List: _____
2. Location _____
3. Types _____
4. Personnel (number on duty at a given time) _____

VII. Miscellaneous
A. Water Fountain 2
1. Number ~~at lock~~ 2
2. Location at lock, station
3. Types hand manipulation
4. Condition: in repair 1 in good; need repair _____;
repair; 1 does not squirt water high enough

B. Clocks ✓
1. Number 1
2. Location at center back of station
3. Types electric - E. W. T.

C. Commodities for sale (check those sold in waiting room):
(sold in hall to waiting room)
1. Newspapers
2. Magazines ✓
3. Funnybooks ✓
4. Post cards ✓
5. Fruit ✓
6. Smokes ✓
7. Candies ✓
8. Sodas, ice cream, etc.
9. Souvenirs ✓
10. List Others stamps, band aids, certain types of cosmetics

D. Other facilities (check, giving number) location, whether in waiting room or general waiting area or in ante-room)
1. Photo booth
2. Juke boxes
3. Scales
4. Soft drink machines
5. Candy machines
6. Shooting galleries
7. Chewing gum machines
8. Movie machines
9. Trash containers
10. Others (list) 5 cigarette stubbers; 3 pictures of scenes seen from bus lines; 1 magazine rack for literature called "Unity" & on Christian Science literature

VIII. General waiting area between waiting room and gates to carriers

A. Seating
1. Number none 2. Types
3. Signs relative to seating: wordings: none

B. Signs at gates: wording none

IX. Carriers

A. Differences in distance from gates to carriers for each race
1. White--distance
2. Negro--distance

X. Public and private transportation facilities available to passengers to and from station
A. White
1. Distance to taxi directly in front of entrance
2. Distance to street cars and busses 2 blocks
3. Distance to station parking space none
B. Negro
1. Distance to taxi
2. Distance to street cars and busses
3. Distance to station parking area
C. List taxi rules and regulations

Type	wording	location
lighted in wall	women	in hall to waiting room - over rest room
"	men	" "
"	barber shop	" " barber shop
"	showers	" - over stairs leading downstairs to showers
Nailed to wall	To Cain Street	over door to hall
neon	to restaurant	" door to Cain street - pointing to restaurant
framed	map of Atlanta showing U.S.O. and recreation facilities	by Gate 4
2 lighted in wall	Telephones	over 2 sets of 4 telephones
framed	all busses operate on Eastern War Time	under clock
framed	Baptist Service Center welcome + invitation to Service men	by information counter
"	Invitation to Servicemen of Greek descent to come to Greek service center	by Telegraph station
"	urgent notice	" information counter
3 lighted in walls	Tickets	over ticket windows in hall
1 "	Colored	" door in hall opening to colored waiting room
1 "	News	over news and print stand in hall
lighted on stand	telegrams	- over direct wire to Western Union in hall over restaurant
lighted in wall	restaurant	

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Bus Trip from Atlanta, Georgia to Tuskegee, Alabama. Date: August 10, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

Atlanta, Georgia to Tuskegee, Alabama from the Greyhound Bus Station, 143 miles.

The total number of seats in the bus were thirty-seven. When I got on the bus the driver stated the he could take four more colored passengers. There were five seats (the long back seat) reserved for Negroes. The five Negro passengers on the back seat made room for one of the Negro standers (a woman). At the beginning of the trip there were six Negroes seated and two standing.

The windows on either side of the long back seat would not open. They cannot be opened. It was very hot in the back and the Negroes complained. There were canvases on both sides back of the last side seats and in front of the last cross seat which were attached to the above baggage compartment. These served as partitions dividing the two races.

There were 36 white passengers on the bus and 8 Negroes. There were 32 whites seated and 4 standing. Six Negroes were seated and two standing when the bus left Atlanta.

The lady attendant selling pillows to the passengers refused to sell one to a Negro who had requested one. She paid no attention to him (the pillows sold for 15¢)

The bus pulled out of the station at 8:22 P. M., 22 minutes late. The driver had made announcement at the beginning of the trip, but the Negroes were unable to hear what he had said. The Negro passengers talked about it being hot. The white passengers seated beside the windows did not complain.

At 8:32 P. M., one of the Negro men seated stood up to make more room available for the other five passengers on the last row.

One of the Negroes standing got off in Granville, Georgia and another in Newnan, Georgia.

The bus arrived in LaGrange, Georgia at 10:30 P. M. The Negro waiting room was a little hole in the back of the main part of the building. Two toilets with "Gents" over one and "Ladies" over the other were in the waiting room. Both were dirty, without toilet tissues and towels. There was a single unit of light for both of the toilets (the partition between the two toilets did not go all the way to the ceiling). The bulb was out of this unit so the users of the toilets had to use light from the single unit in the waiting room. The "Ladies" toilet had a sign on it "Out of Order."

Flies were all over the walls and roaches ran on the floors and the walls. There wasn't a restaurant for Negroes. Negroes had to stand back of the baggage compartment (which was between the waiting room for whites and the one for Negroes) and give their orders to a Negro lad who would get the orders from the white restaurant in the white waiting room.

The walls and floors in the Negro waiting room and toilets were dirty. The entire waiting room for Negroes was about four feet wide and eight feet long. The benches seated about 10 people and were made our ot wooden lanses (very dirty). A radio could be heard in the white waiting room. The white waiting room was well lighted and clean. Nothing but benches were in the Negro waiting room. The waiting room for whites was about 6 times the size of the Negro waiting room.

When the driver got ready to leave LaGrange one of the Negro passengers (well over 21 years of age) was asked by the driver, "Are you going on this bus boy"? The Negro said,"yes" and the driver said, "well you'd better get on then." The bus left LaGrange at 10:49 P.M. Five Negroes left LaGrange and 37 whites.

The bus arrived in Opelika, Alabama at 12:01 A. M. August 11, 1945. The Negro waiting room was in the rear of the station. Negro passengers bought food directly from the Negro workers in the kitchen. White waitresses served the white passengers in the white waiting room.

The window for buying tickets and getting information (a sign indicated "Tickets and Information") was closed. A pay telephone was in the Negro waiting room. In the Negro men's toilet there were one wash basin, one latrine and one commode. Toilet tissues and paper towels were evident. The Negro waiting room was about 1/7th the size of the white waiting room. The waiting room and the toilet facilities were clean. The bus left Opelika at 12:25 A. M.

Three Negro soldiers who had gotten on the bus at Opelika to Tuskegee, Alabama, stood although there were two seats vacant in the front part of the bus. The soldiers used their suitcases and boxes to rest on for a time. The bus arrived in Tuskegee at 1:05 A. M. The bus station was closed. The waiting room for Negroes was just a small compartment in the extreme rear part of the building (a "stove-like" bus station). Two young Negro women had to wait until the bus driver checked the number of Negro passengers before they were allowed to get on at Tuskegee. Three Negroes and two white got off in Tuskegee.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Discrimination at Ticket Office Columbus, Ga. Date: August 11, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James O. Slade

"When the observer joined four soldiers in front of the ticket window (for colored), (Columbus, Georgia, Greyhound Bus Station), it was exactly 10:00 P.M. One white man and two white women, one person at each of the three windows provided for white ticket purchasers, were busy selling tickets to white passengers. Another white man, who later sold tickets, was seated on a stool placed in front of the one window provided for colored. He faced the windows provided for whites. Apparently this fourth ticket office employee was taking a rest period.

After twelve minutes had elapsed (10:12 P.M.), three minutes before the departure time for 10:15 bus for Atlanta, the last bus for Atlanta until the following day, the man seated on the stool arose and proceeded to one of the windows for whites. There he began selling tickets to white persons.

With two minutes left to catch the bus to Atlanta, one Negro soldier called to the male ticket seller: "Gimme a ticket, please; I want to catch that bus to Atlanta." The soldier was ignored. He was sold a ticket at 10:18, no comment being made. The seller served him with a snarl. (The bus moved out of the yard three minutes before the ticket was sold to the soldier.)

The soldier merely commented: "That ain't the first time this has happened to me; these d---ed peeks sho' give us hell around this place."

Note: The observer had intended to leave on the 10:15 bus also." (Bu-D-10)

Not in seats in front p.h.a.

BU-D-12

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Bus Trip from Columbus to Atlanta, Georgia Date: August 12, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James O. Slade

The bus was of rather late model and design.

The baggage section was beneath the seating section.

Seating capacity was 37. There were 16 seats for 2 persons each, arm rest separating each seat, except rear seat. There was one long seat at rear seating 5 persons.

The long seat was designated "COLORED" by a leather sign hanging from baggage or parcel section overhead.

Reclining seats.

Seat covers except on long seat provided for colored.

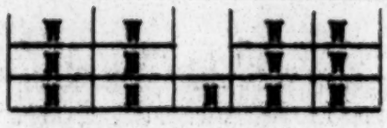
Bus rather clean.

At point of origin there were 6 vacant seats (individual).

There were 3 vacant seats (ind.) on rear seat, while 3 seats were occupied in front of long seat by colored. See diagram: (SEATING PATTERN AT REAR OF BUS)

W: white
N: Negro

Leaving Columbus



Leaving Manchester

Leaving Warm S prings

Leaving Greenville

Leaving Luthersville
Standers, two colored and some white from Luthersville to Atlanta.

There was relatively little overcrowding until bus reached Newnan.

There were two Negro standers leaving Luthersville, one white.

From Newnan to College Park there were 10 white standers and 3 colored. At the destination, Atlanta, there were 4 white and 3 Negro standers.

In observing the loading of three busses at different times in Columbus, Georgia, Negroes in each case elected to stand back until white passengers were loaded. In one case three minutes passed while 2 colored passengers pushed through to the rear as about 10 or 12 white passengers stood in the aisle.

The ticket seller at the Columbus bus station served the observer with a loud and curt: "All right, what do you want?"

Bus driver courteous in loading and unloading colored passengers along the route.

The heat from the motor at the rear of the bus made the rear seat uncomfortable. Four persons complained.

Main stops of bus from Columbus to Atlanta:

1. Manchester
2. Warm Springs
3. Greenville
4. Luthersville
5. Bus Stop at Intersection of Hiways U.S. 29 and 41
6. Newnan
7. Palmetto
8. Fairburn
9. College Park

Bu-D-12

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Greyhound Bus Terminal, Columbus, Georgia Date: August 12, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James O. Slade

The colored waiting room is located on the side facing the driveway where busses enter. No walkway is provided for entrance.

Facilities in waiting room:

1 ticket window
2 rest rooms (men and women)
1 small window, screened, through which passengers call for food service. No attendant on regular duty.
1 telephone booth
8 steel lockers
1 juke box

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Discrimination in Selling Tickets, Columbus, Ga. Date: August 12, 1945

Informant: Miss Mildred Allen

Reporter: James O. Slade

"At both of these stations, the train and bus stations, a Negro soldier has a devil of a time getting away from Columbus unless he gets down there an hour or so before departure time. Most times the ticket sellers are busy, and when they are very busy a Negro hasn't a chance.

I guess since the war began hundreds of Negro soldiers have been left at the station because near train time they (the ticket sellers) serve all the whites first."

Mrs a soldier sat side by side - Jerome not a soldier man

Form A.
Number _____

INCIDENT MEMORANDUM

Section I

1. Date of Interview 8/15/45 2. Time of Interview 2:00 P.M.
3. Place of Interview _____ 4. City Atlanta 5. State Georgia
6. Name of Informant Mrs. Mary D. Mitchell 7. Sex F. 8. Race Negro
10. Address of Informant 36 "C" St., S.W. 9. Age App. 27
11. Occupation of Informant Secretary
a. Company _____ b. Station _____
12. Interviewer J. O. Slade

Section II

INCIDENT:
Date Week before Xmas, 1943 Time Afternoon
Place Bus trip Line Southeastern Stages, Inc.

"I boarded the bus operated by the Southeastern Stages, Inc. in Atlanta en route to Athens, Georgia. Numerous white soldiers were on the bus. I sat on the rear seat for Negroes. There were not but five of us (Negroes). The double seat to my right was occupied by one soldier and the seat just in front of me to my left carried one soldier, both white. When we got to Decatur, Georgia, a Negro soldier got on and came to the rear. For one or two minutes he looked at both white soldiers as if he hoped they would team up and allow him to sit in a seat by himself. One white soldier stared out of the window, the other continued reading a paper. Instantlythe colored soldier sat down beside the white soldier who was reading. They rode side by side to Monroe, Georgia without exchanging words. When the bus unloaded some passengers in Monroe, the bus driver looked back and saw the white soldier and Negro soldier in the same seat. The driver rushed to the rear and ordered the Negro soldier to move. 'Where do you think you are, anyhow; where did you come from?' 'Huachuca', the Negro replied. 'Well, we don't have that stuff here; maybe you do out there.' 'Say, driver,' said the white soldier, 'what's this? this soldier may take me out of a pool of blood some day. Let him ride.' 'Amen,' commented a Negro preacher on the rear seat. 'Well,' said the driver to the white soldier. 'You'll have to come on up here; you ought to know we don't allow that stuff here.' The white soldier moved to the front without further comment."

N. stood at front - rear seat

Form A.
Number _____

INCIDENT MEMORANDUM

Section I

1. Date of Interview 8/15/45 2. Time of Interview 1:00 P.M.
3. Place of Interview 1298 Booker 4. City Atlanta 5. State Ga.
6. Name of Informant Helen B. Neely 7. Sex F 8. Race N
10. Address of Informant 1298 Booker, Atlanta 9. Age About 41
11. Occupation of Informant None
a. Company _____ b. Station _____
12. Interviewer Slade

Section II

INCIDENT:

Stood at

Date July, 1944 Time afternoon
Place Between Atlanta and Athens Line Southeastern Stages

"While the general practice is to pack Negroes on that rear seat whenever I go to Athens, I noticed on this trip something I had not seen before. The white people occupied all seats except the rear seat. At stops along the way we continued to pick up white passengers until something like eight or ten of them were standing near the rear. Two colored girls got on at a crossroad. They did not succeed immediately in pushing to the rear. As the bus started they fell against a seat occupied by white women(they made this statement to me later). The bus driver, upon seeing this, said: 'Hey, you girls, don't you know not to fall up against white ladies? Comehere and stand beside me.' They stood there until space was made in the rear for them some time later."

Form B
Number _____

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

1. Name of station Greyhound Bus Terminal
2. Waiting Room: white ✓ ; colored ✓
3. Date Aug 17, 1945 ; Time 3:30 pm EWT
4. City and State Atlanta Georgia
5. OBSERVER Carter v Slade

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

Yes

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? No. The only service provided is at the ticket window. Information service is necessarily slow because ticket service is slow. Only one ~~person~~ ticket agent observed on duty at the time

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous? No telegraphic service provided

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? ✓

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? No traveler's Aid

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous? Yes

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? No. Three and four agents serve white purchasers; one serves Negroes

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

No service

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

VI Restaurant

A. Is personnel courteous? Yes

B. What is minimum service time? _____

C. List menus (note changes) Menu attached to schedule

D. List food prices Prices accompany menu

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.) One in regular dress, another in uniform

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.) _____

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises? No

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises? No

I. What is the method of handling food? Food is "served up" from kitchen or outside area of counter for food service

J. Are the premises sanitary? Yes

VII Rest Room: Men ✓ Women _____ (Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant? No

B. Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis No porter

C. Is the place in sanitary condition? No

D. Are soap and towels available? Two small pieces of soap. No Towels

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions? No.

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous? Yes. A colored attendant often serves colored passengers

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? Service is very slow.

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order? Yes

Location? Left ~~rear~~ center of waiting room from entrance.

B. Counters

1. Are counters in sanitary condition? Yes. Food counter is the only counter

2. What are the methods of handling food? See restaurant

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? —

C. Do clocks have correct time? yes

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)? Yes. Juke box, Foundy, peep machine

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel

1. Is personnel courteous Drivers generally are not. When a colored passenger who had boarded ~~the~~ bus came back to the door, the driver yelled to him: "What do you want boy?" "Just some of that pop corn over there, please sir." "Hurry up" said the driver.

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers?

B. Note any acts of segregation in the area Colored passengers generally load last. Many seem to fear conflict if attempt is made to load otherwise. When 2 busses have same destination colored passengers are usually directed to load on the second bus.

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and helpfulness

1. Conductor Drivers tend to be curt and abrupt.

2. Porter Red caps are helpful to colored passengers. They are consulted for general information.

3. Other

Remarks: At entrance to colored waiting room were 8 garbage cans and ~~four~~ 4 wooden boxes. Some garbage and waste paper were being burned in front of entrance at 4:45 E.W.T.

GREYHOUND BUS DEPOT RESTAURANT ATLANTA, GA

Friday August 17, 1945

DINNER MENU

FRIED CHICKEN - Southern Style	.80
AMERICAN POT ROAST OF BEEF	.60
PORK BACKBONES w/Dumplings	.50
FRIED SNAPPER STEAK	.50

CHOICE OF TWO

Creamed Potatoes — Apple Sauce
Mixed Greens
Spaghetti w/Tom. Sauce — Cole Slaw
Great Northern Beans
Steamed Rice — Pickled Beets

Hot Rolls & Corn Muffins
VEGETABLE PLATE (Choice of 4 Vegetables) .40

CHOICE OF DESSERT

Butterscotch Pudding -
HOT CHOCOLATE 10¢
Coffee or Tea (Sweet Milk, Bottle 5¢ EXTRA)

All prices listed are our Ceiling Prices, unless otherwise indicated, in which case they are below Ceiling Prices By O.P.A. Regulations, our Ceiling Prices are our highest prices from April 4, to April 10, 1943. Records on file for your inspection.

STEAKS & CHOPS - TO ORDER

BROILED K. C. SIRLOIN STEAK 1.00
Broiled Pork Chops 65¢
Hot Roast Beef Sandwich 35¢

CHICKEN LIVER on Toast with Bacon .60

Above Orders Served with
French Fried Potatoes Cole Slaw Hot Rolls Coffee or Tea
(We Use Butter Substitue)

SUGGESTIONS

Lemon or Chocolate Meringue Pie .15
POSTUM 10¢

VEGETABLE SOUP ..... 15¢
CHICKEN NOODLE SOUP .... 20¢

****

NOTE: Kindly report to Cashier, any act of discourtey on the part of our employees.

Form B
Number _____

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

1. Name of station Greyhound Bus Terminal
2. Waiting Room: white _____ ;colored _____
3. Date Aug. 17, 1945 ;Time 2:30 - 4:00 P.M.
4. City and State Atlanta, Ga.
5. OBSERVER Margaret Bruce

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

B, Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? Service not available to negroes — no window to Negro waiting room. No negroes presented themselves at the information desk in the white waiting room during the time of observation.

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous? seemed to be

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? No negro presented themselves for service during time of observation. Station is in white waiting room with no window opening to Negro waiting room

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? None on duty at time of observation

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous? seemed to be - in a business like, curt way.

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? There were 5 agents to wait on white passengers and one agent to wait on Negro passengers.

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes?

1. At central or joint ticket office? /

2. At station? /

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?

1. At central or joint ticket office? /

2. At station? /

VI Restaurant

A. Is personnel courteous? Courteous, but the service is slow.

B. What is minimum service time? —

C. List menus (note changes) ~~Fried~~ - same in both restaurants - see menu attached to Schedule for Negro waiting room for same date - Aug. ~~18~~ 17 3:30-4:00 p.m.

D. List food prices

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.) each attendant had on a uniform of sorts, but none matched. They, the waitresses wore uniforms men dresses.

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.) paper napkins; straws available -

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises? a good many flies

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises? a few people were sitting in booths reading but were either waiting to be served or had been served and had finished.

I. What is the method of handling food? Food - regular meals - is prepared in the kitchen; drinks, ice-cream, etc., are prepared behind the counters and seems to be sanitarily handled - glasses are used instead of paper cups

J. Are the premises sanitary? The floor was not clean - there were cigarette stubs and paper there

VII Rest Room: Men_____ Women ✓ (Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant? There was not a maid in restroom during time of observation

B. Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis —

C. Is the place in sanitary condition? The wash basins seemed clean, but the floor was dirty.

D. Are soap and towels available? all but one; the soap dispensers were out of order, but there was one bar of soap provided. No towels in paper towel dispenser.

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions? —

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous? yes

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? There was one attendant for white passengers and one for Negro passengers.

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order? one was in good order; the other one ~~Location~~? did not shoot the water high enough so that one could drink sanitarily.

B. Counters

1. Are counters in sanitary condition?

2. What are the methods of handling food?

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

C. Do clocks have correct time? yes

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)?

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel

1. Is personnel courteous see back of page for boarding of carriers

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers?

B. Note any acts of segregation in the area

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and helpfulness

1. Conductor

2. Porter

3. Other

Carrollton, Ga. Bus @ 3:30 p.m. – E.W.T. – Greyhound –

There was segregation in boarding passengers. Whites and Negroes were crowded up to door, Negroes on one side and whites on the other. Both groups were equi-distant from the door, but the driver loaded all the white passengers before taking on any Negroes. About 5 Negroes got on and sat on the long back seat.

Macon, Ga. – 3:30 p.m. E.W.T. – Greyhound.

This bus took 8 passengers going to Macon and points beyond. When the driver began boarding the passengers, there were only white people waiting to get on. During the process, loading, 3 Negroes came up and stood at the back of the crowd and were boarded last. The seating arrangement at the back was this:

N	V		N	N
V	V	V	V	V

N – Negro
V – vacant

Columbus, Ga. 4:15 p.m. E.W.T.

About 30 white people and 2 Negroes - soldier and 1 civilian were waiting to get on a bus. The driver loaded all but about 12 people - the Negroes were included among those who got on. They sat on the long back seat. It appeared from where I was standing that a white civilian also sat on the long back seat.

After the driver had loaded all but about 12 people - all white - he checked his tickets and announced that he had standing room only, but that some of the passengers were supposed to get off before the bus reached Columbus. The remaining white passengers then boarded the bus and stood.

Form B
Number _____

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

Observation

1. Name of station Union Station (Bus)
2. Waiting Room: white _____ ; colored ✓
3. Date Sunday Aug. 19, 1945 ; Time 2:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.
4. City and State Atlanta, Ga.
5. OBSERVER Jno. D. Hadley

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

Yes

B, Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? no

Some colored must wait as long as fifteen minutes

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous? _____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? _____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous? Yes. gave me information courteously.

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? No. One clerk on duty at only (1) window for colored. 3 clerks on duty at 3 windows for white

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

VI Restaurant

A. Is personnel courteous? No. colored personnel — very discourteous and inefficient

B. What is minimum service time? 8 minutes

C. List menus (note changes) Fried chicken, Steak fish - all negatable

D. List food prices 50¢ to 1.00

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.)

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.) good

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises? no

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises? yes

I. What is the method of handling food? sanitary

J. Are the premises sanitary? no, papers on counter, floor, dirty dishes are not removed immediately

VII Rest Room: Men ✓ Women _____ (Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant? unknown

Clean

B .Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis _____

Two wash basins

C. Is the place in sanitary condition? yes Two comodes

3 latrines

1 mirror

D. Are soap and towels available? no, no toilet paper

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions? no

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous? _____

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order? _____

_____ Location? _____

B. Counters

1. Are counters in sanitary condition? _____

2. What are the methods of handling food? sanitary

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? yes

C. Do clocks have correct time? yes

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)? yes

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel

1. Is personnel courteous_____

_____

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers?_____

_____

_____

B. Note any acts of segregation in the area_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and helpfulness

1. Conductor_____

_____

_____

2. Porter_____

_____

_____

3. Other_____

_____

_____

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Transportation to Airport from Atlanta, Ga. Date: August 20, 1945

Informant: Woman, Delta Airline Reservation Department
Yellow Cab, worker in Claims Department
Reporter: Margaret Price

Informant says that a bus leaves from the Henry Grady and Piedmont Hotels for the airport. Service costs $1.00. It is available both to airline passengers and to anyone else wishing to go to the airport. When asked if Negroes were allowed to ride the bus, the informant said, "Yes, I'm sure they are."

As to the policy of Yellow Cab Company relative to transportation of Negro passengers to and from the airport, a telephone conversation with a worker in "Claims Department and other matters" revealed that Negroes were transported in Harlem Cabs only.

waiting facilities
& rest rooms

A.A

Ai-A-2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Colored waiting room facilities at Atlanta Airport Date: August 21, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

"COLORED MEN ONLY"

This room is approximately 5 feet square, with a three foot square offshoot cubicle for the commode. It contains 1 wash basin, 1 commode, a paper towel container, with towels, a broken mirror, and no soap is in evidence.

The room is clean, and the paint is good. (battleship grey).

"COLORED WOMEN ONLY"

This room is approximately 5 feet square, with 1 wash basin, i commode, soap, paper towels, and the floor is of tile. The room is clean.

4-4-1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Waiting Room Facilities at Atlanta Airport Date: August 20, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Margaret Price

There were no signs in the waiting room denoting separation of the races except signs over the restrooms. There were no Negroes sitting in the waiting room, however, nor did I observe any around the station who appeared to be passengers.

There were four restrooms, marked in this fashion:

"Colored women only"
"Colored men only"
"White women only"
"White men only"

There was a restaurant opening off the waiting room. There were no signs here denoting separation of the races, but there were no Negroes in the restaurant.

Report of telephone conversation with Miss Crowley, Reservations Department, Delta Air lines.

Question: What provisions are made for waiting facilities for Negroes at the Municipal Air Port?

Answer: Miss Crowley replied that both races waited in the same lobby; there are no separate provisions.

Question: Are Negroes served in a separate restaurant? What provisions are made for serving food to Negroes?

Answer: Miss Crowley replied that she thought that Negroes were served in the same restaurant provided for whites; there are no separate facilities, and she was pretty sure that Negroes are served in the Airport restaurant along with whites.

Description of rest room for white men:

Tile floor and walls
2 wash basins
1 soap dispenser
1 towel dispenser (paper towels)
1 mirror
6 toilets
4 free
2 pay (5¢)
1 chair
1 window (center panel open)
no porter on duty

General appearance - clean.
Size: approximately 8 X 12 feet

Description of rest room for white women:

Tile floor and walls
2 wash basins
1 soap dispenser
1 towel dispenser (paper towels)
1 mirror
3 toilets
  1 free toilet
  2 pay toilets (5¢)
1 chair
1 window - center panel open

The room seemed clean and sanitary in appearance. No maid was on duty, however.
Approximately 8 X 12 feet

Form B
Number _____

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

1. Name of station Greyhound Bus Terminal
2. Waiting Room: white ✓ ; colored _____
3. Date Aug. 24, 1945 ; Time 9:30-11:00 a.m.
4. City and State Atlanta, Georgia
5. OBSERVER Margaret Rose

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

—

B, Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? Negro passengers do not have access to the information bureau in the white waiting room - at any rate no Negroes presented themselves for service during the time of observation

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous? —

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? No Negro presented himself for service during the time of observation.

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? None on duty

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous? —

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? 4 agents were serving white passengers at 4 windows, + 1 agent was serving 1 window for Negroes. There appeared to be quite a crowd of Negroes gathered at their window.

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes? —

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

VI Restaurant

A. Is personnel courteous? — Rather non-committal; do not seem to care whether they wait on patrons or not

B. What is minimum service time? I had been in the restaurant about 8 min. before a waitress came to take my order, although there were 8 or 9 waitresses in the restaurant; about 6, there were standing to one side talking to themselves. It took 6 minutes after my order was given before I was served pancakes & coffee.

C. List menus (note changes)

D. List food prices

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.) Waitresses were dressed in uniforms which did not match each other; uniforms faded and not very clean.

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.) paper napkins; silver clean & in good condition

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises? flies

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises? no

I. What is the method of handling food? seems fairly sanitary

J. Are the premises sanitary? 2 maids were mopping the floor the general appearance is one of untidiness, however

VII Rest Room: Men_____ Women ✓ (Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant? There were 2 maids in attendance this morning.

B .Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis —

C. Is the place in sanitary condition? no; floor, ~~entry~~ lounge + wash rooms dirty; powder spilled on shelf beneath mirror, wash basins dirty; ~~soap dispensers out of order~~

D. Are soap and towels available? 4 soap dispensers out of order, but 2 small bars soap available; paper towels in dispensers

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions?

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous? —

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? There was only one attendant for both white + colored windows, although a red cap was helping out to some extent. The attendant was serving the white window, although several negroes were also lined up, waiting to be served.

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order?

Location?

B. Counters — in white waiting room —

1. Are counters in sanitary condition? yes

2. What are the methods of handling food? sanitary.

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? Not available to negroes

C. Do clocks have correct time? yes

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)? —

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel

1. Is personnel courteous see attached sheet

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers?

B. Note any acts of segregation in the area

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and helpfulness

1. Conductor

2. Porter

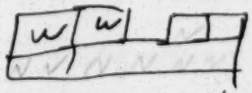
3. Other

Birmingham Bus – Southeastern Stages –
left about 11:15 E.W.T.

The driver boarded service men first, including 2 Negro soldiers – these 2 were boarded after most of the white service men got on, but they might have been last in line, in any case. I did not see the crowd before the driver began boarding the passengers. No other Negroes were in the crowd.

Charleston Bus – Southeastern Stages – about 11:15, E.W.T.

A huge crowd was gathered in front of the bus, with 7 Negroes – 2 service men, 4 adults, and 1 child – among them. The driver boarded ~~[illegible]~~ white passengers until the bus was full except for the long seat in the back and 2 seats on side just in front of long seat: Then he told the rest of the passengers, except the colored, to get on the bus marked "Augusta". He then boarded the Negroes, as shown in the diagram.



His manner seemed courteous and helpful.

Two Negro boys were approached by 2 white men — one in greyhound uniform and one in plainclothes. And asked if they were going to Columbus. Evidently the boys had asked the man in uniform some questions. The plain-clothesman (not a detective I don't think) asked if they didn't have a meal ticket. One of the boys nodded and pulled an envelope from his pocket and took out the ticket. The envelope, had the Selective Service return address on it, I think. The man told the boys they'd have about 25 minutes until bus time & would have time to eat there in the colored res-taurant, if they wished. He walked off & with them toward the colored waiting room, explaining about the meal ticket & the bus. He was quite courteous & helpful.

A driver, the Macon bus, asked the dispatcher if he should "stand" 2 Negroes & seat white people on the long back seat. I could not hear the dispatcher's reply, nor did I see but no Negro standing by the Macon bus. The driver motioned him over to the Jacksonville bus, & he got on & stood. Negroes were occupying the long back seat.

Form B
Number _____

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

1. Name of station Greyhound Bus Terminal
2. Waiting Room: white _____ ;colored t
3. Date Aug 24 1945 ;Time 10:00 AM E.W.T.
4. City and State Atlanta Georgia
5. OBSERVER Slade

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

Yes. Ticket agent, who gives information, was soft spoken and helpful

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? One agent served colored. From 10:30 to 11:15 the number of persons standing in line for tickets averaged 10.

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous? No service in waiting room

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? No service —

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous? Yes.

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? One agent served colored passengers

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

No service

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

VI ~~Restaurant~~ Counter food service

A. Is personnel courteous? Yes

B. What is minimum service time? unknown

C. List menus (note changes) No menus for the morning available. Short orders were taken by attendants.

D. List food prices

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.) Each of two attendants had on different attire (dresses) One wore a white cap.

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.) Of average quality

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises? None seen

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises? No

I. What is the method of handling food? "Served up" from the rear. Waitresses yell their order from counter provided for colored

J. Are the premises sanitary? Not very

VII Rest Room: Men ✓ Women _____ (Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant? No.

B. Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis No service

C. Is the place in sanitary condition? No

D. Are soap and towels available? Yes

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions? No.

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous? No observation made of baggage service

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order? Yes

Location? Left rear from entrance

B. Counters

1. Are counters in sanitary condition? No other counters than one already described

2. What are the methods of handling food?

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

C. Do clocks have correct time? Yes

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)? Yes. 1 juke box, 1 Soundy 1 peep box

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel

1. Is personnel courteous For drivers observed — yes. One man in dispatchers office discourteous to soldier (Negro) seeking information

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers? Generally during period of observation

B. ~~Note any wits of~~ segregation in the area Note: ~~E~~ Seven garbage cans, filled to capacity, some open, and 4 boxes, cardboard and wooden were placed just a few feet from entrance to colored waiting room. One can of garbage was being burned directly in front of the entrance the smoke from which was blown into the door of the colored waiting room.

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and Helpfulness

1. Conductor

2. Porter

3. Other

Note: ~~Three~~ Four direct exits to busses a provided for whites in their waiting room, while no sign or marker is placed near gates to direct colored passengers to their single exit (and entrance) which does not face any of more than 15 gates.

Note: The steps to the ~~bas~~ basement (to men's room and women's room) ~~seem not~~ are literally caked with garbage and other kinds of filth.

Form B
Number _____

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

1. Name of station Greyhound Bus Terminal
2. Waiting Room: white —; colored _____
3. Date Aug. 31, 1945; Time 11:30 a.m.-12:45 p.m.
4. City and State Atlanta, Ga.
5. OBSERVER Margaret Price

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

—

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? No ~~white~~ Negroes ~~people~~ presented themselves for service — not open to Negro waiting room

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous? —

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? No Negroes presented themselves for service during the time of observation — not open to negro waiting room.

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? None on duty.

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? _____

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous? seemed to be

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? 5 ticket sellers were ~~on duty~~ serving white passengers, and I was serving Negroes. There was quite a crowd outside the white window, but only a few people outside the Negro window -

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes? ——

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

VI Restaurant

A. Is personnel courteous? Not particularly - seemed disinterested in serving passengers - volunteered no information that wasn't asked for.

B. What is minimum service time? —

C. List menus (note changes) fried chicken - 80¢; roast turkey w/dressing - 75¢; ground beef w/potatoes - 60¢; baked breast, lamb / with peas, 50¢; fried snapper steak, 50¢; ~~these~~ with these meats are served

~~D. List food prices~~ choice, 2 vegetables: creamed potatoes, mixed greens, stewed corn + tomatoes; Great Northern beans, steamed rice, apple sauce, pickled beets; hot rolls - choice, dessert - lemon jello, bread pudding, coffee n tea - sweet milk 5¢ extra -- vegetable plate - 4 veg. - 40¢ -

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.)

uniforms didn't match each other and were worn over dresses; uniforms faded + dirty -

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.) —

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises? flies -

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises? no -

I. What is the method of handling food? seems o.k. - handled as "food".

J. Are the premises sanitary? floor dirty

VII Rest Room: Men_____ Women ✓ (Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant? no maid was present in room.

B. Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis —

C. Is the place in sanitary condition? floor dirty, powder scattered on shelf under mirror.

D. Are soap and towels available? soap dispensers out of order, but small bar of soap on each wash basin; paper towels ~~no~~ available.

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions? —

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous? ✓

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? 1 attendant & 2 red caps helping out. No negroes were waiting to be served during time of observation

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order? One doesn't shoot water high enough; one in good order — Location?

B. Counters

1. Are counters in sanitary condition? yes

2. What are the methods of handling food? o.k.

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? ~~not~~ no negroes presented themselves for service during time of observation - doesn't open to negro waiting room

C. Do clocks have correct time? yes

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)? ✓

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel (over)

1. Is personnel courteous _____

_____

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers? _____

_____

_____

B. Note any acts of segregation in the area _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and helpfulness

1. Conductor _____

_____

_____

2. Porter _____

_____

_____

3. Other _____

_____

_____

New Orleans bus - 12:45 E.W.T.
S.E. Greyhound.

The bus was already loaded with seated passengers when I arrived on the scene. About 8 white " and one Negro were still to be boarded. The driver boarded all the white people, who had to stand, and then the Negro woman, who had to push through the crowd, standing in order to reach the back of the bus.

There were curtains in the back of the bus - canvas with lattice work top - hung in front of row of seats in front of long back seat. The Negro woman who boarded last sat down on the long back seat, but ~~the~~ as far as I could tell, a white man was also sitting on that seat, next to the window.

Chicago - Greyhound - About 10 o'clock, E.W.T.

The driver boarded a number of passengers, among them 2 Negroes, who ~~was~~ sat on the long back seat. These passengers were evidently "through" passengers who had been on the bus before it ~~came~~ left to Atlanta. After boarding the "through" passengers, the driver boarded enough white passengers to fill all the seats except the long back one. He then called to the only Negro waiting to get on, and told her she could board. The helped her with her bags - She sat on the long back seat. Another bus arrived to be a double to the Chicago bus as far as Chattanooga. Only white people got on this bus.

Form B
Number _____

1

FACTORS TO BE OBSERVED RELATIVE TO
PERSONNEL SERVICES IN TRANSPORTATION

1. Name of station Greyhound Bus Terminal
2. Waiting Room: white ✓ ; colored ✓
3. Date Aug. 31, 1945 ; Time 12:10 to 1:10 P.m. EWT.
4. City and State Atlanta Georgia
5. OBSERVER J. O. Slade

I Information Service

A. Is personnel courteous? (Consider tone of voice, manner of speech, etc.)

No observation. Ticket agent gives information to colored

B, Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

II Telegraphic Service

A. Is personnel courteous?

No service

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

III Travelers' Aid

A. Is personnel courteous? No service

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

IV Ticket Office

A. Is personnel courteous? Yes

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? One agent served colored tickets purchasers

V Pullman Service

A. How are tickets purchased by Negroes?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

No service

B. How are tickets purchased by white people?

1. At central or joint ticket office?

2. At station?

VI Restaurant Counter

A. Is personnel courteous? No

B. What is minimum service time? No observation

C. List menus (note changes) See attached sheet

D. List food prices See attached sheet

E. Describe the types and conditions of attendants dress (uniform, etc.)
Untidy print dress

F. Describe the condition of the serviceware (linen, silver, etc.) No linen
Paper napkins with service. Ordinary serviceware (forks knives, etc. not silver)

G. Are pests (rodents, insects, etc.) on the premises? Many flies.

H. Are loiterers observed on the premises? No

I. What is the method of handling food? Plates, etc. served in kitchen or elsewhere.

J. Are the premises sanitary? No.

VII Rest Room: Men ✓ Women _____ (Check one observed)

A. Does room have a regular attendant? no attendant

B. Does maid or porter work on full-time or part-time basis No porter

C. Is the place in sanitary condition? No

D. Are soap and towels available? No towels. One small piece of soap.

E. Is provision made for emergencies, such as sickness? If so, what provisions? No.

Note: Steps to men's room very unsanitary.

VIII Baggage

A. Is personnel courteous? No observation

B. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn?

IX Miscellaneous

A. Are water fountains in working order? Yes

Location? Left center from entrance

B. Counters

1. Are counters in sanitary condition? See Restaurant (VI) for only counter service in waiting room.

2. What are the methods of handling food?

3. Are white and colored passengers served in due turn? (No whites served

C. Do clocks have correct time? Yes

D. Are automatic devices in working order (as coca-cola machines, juke boxes, etc.)? Juke box in need of repair

5

X General waiting area between waiting rooms and gates to carriers.

A. Gate personnel

1. Is personnel courteous For drivers observed, yes.

2. Does personnel strive to be helpful to passengers?
No discourtesy observed

B. Note: ~~any acts of segregation in the area~~ Three instances were ~~of~~ observed of the loading of white and Negro passengers together. The usual pattern is for Negroes to load last.

XI Boarding of carriers

A. Courtesy and helpfulness

1. Conductor

2. Porter

No observation

3. Other

Garbage: Garbage cans and filth in front of colored waiting room

GREYHOUND BUS DEPOT RESTAURANT ATLANTA, GA

Friday August 31, 1945

DINNER MENU

FRIED CHICKEN	.80
ROAST TURKEY w/Dressing	.75
GROUND BEEF w/Potatoes	.60
BAKED BREAST OF LAMB w/Peas	.50
FRIED SNAPPER STEAK	.50

CHOICE OF TWO

Creamed Potatoes — Apple Sauce
Mixed Greens
Stewed Okra & Tomatoes
Great Northern Beans
Steamed Rice — Pickled Beets

Hot Rolls

VEGETABLE PLATE (Choice of 4 Vegetables) .40

CHOICE OF DESSERT

Bread Pudding -
Lemon Jello 15¢
HOT CHOCOLATE 10¢
Coffee or Tea (Sweet Milk, Bottle 5¢ EXTRA)

All prices listed are our Ceiling Prices, unless otherwise indicated, in which case they are below Ceiling Prices By O.P.A. Regulations, our Ceiling Prices are our highest prices from April 4, to April 10, 1943. Records on file for your inspection.

STEAKS & CHOPS - TO ORDER

Hot Turkey Sandwich 45¢

CHICKEN LIVER on Toast with Bacon .60

Above Orders Served with
French Fried Potatoes Cole Slaw Hot Rolls Coffee or Tea
(We Use Butter Substitue)

SUGGESTIONS

Lemon or Chocolate Meringue Pie .15
POSTUM 10¢

VEGETABLE SOUP ..... 15¢
CHICKEN NOODLE SOUP .... 20¢

****

NOTE: Kindly report to Cashier, any act of discourtey on the part of our employees.

FORM P
Number __

SCHEDULE FOR OBSERVATION OF FACILITIES AND SERVICES ON BUSSES

1. Point of origin of carrier Columbus, Miss 2. Destination of carrier Birmingham, Ala.
3. Point of origin of observer Columbus, Miss. 4. Destination of observer Birmingham, Ala.
5. Name of company Tri-state Trailways 6. Carrier company, if any —
7. Date of trip Monday, Sept. 3, 1945 8. Trip mileage 120 miles
9. Hours in transit 4 hours — 8:a.m. — 12:00 noon 10. Name of observer Margaret Price

---

I. Method of boarding carriers

A. At station at which observer boarded carrier —(Do races board separately or together? If servicemen are boarded first, does this include Negro service men? Indicate also whether or not Negroes have to push to back of bus through a crowd of standers.)

White passengers boarded first — only 5 got on, and then 13 Negroes — 10 adults and 3 small children.

B. At stations other than one at which observer boarded carrier — (Designate each station; include points mentioned above.)

At points along the way — small towns, 100 ~~people~~ or less — whites usually boarded first, although in one town, a group, the white people boarded, then 2 Negroes, then some more white people. At Reform, Ala., the driver took only passengers bound for Bessemer and Birmingham; this included both races. He told the rest, the people that another bus would be along soon. Then he announced that he had room for white passengers, but no colored.

C. Along the road at undesignated stops — (Observer should be careful to note any instances when the bus driver does not stop to pick up passengers along the road who have signalled for the bus to stop. This applies to both Negro and white patrons. Degree of crowding in busses should be noted in this connection.)

One time I observed the driver pass up a Negro man who had flagged the bus. The Negro section was filled and one or two passengers were standing; there were one or two empty seats in the white section, however.

Negroes flagged the bus more often than white people, and except for that one time, I did not observe the driver pass any other potential passenger.

II. Seating

A. Number of seats on bus 29 - (6 double seats on each side of bus; 5 on long back seat.

1. Number designated for white passengers 5 double seats on each side - 20 seats
2. Number designated for Negro passengers 1 double " " " " " long back seat - 9

a. type of designation (describe) curtain of canvas, with lattice work top; hooked on to baggage rack and hung about half way down back of seat.

3. Number actually occupied by white passengers as carrier leaves station at which observer boarded 5

4. Number actually occupied by Negro passengers as carrier leaves station at which observer boarded 10 - ~~including~~ adults and children.

Only 5 white people got on, and 13 Negroes. The number of seats designated for Negroes was not sufficient, so the driver called the porter to come move the curtain to the next seat; thus when the bus left Columbus there were ~~16~~ 16 seats for white people and 13 for Negroes.

(see ~~[illegible]~~ page 3 for diagrams)

B. Condition of seats

1. Seats either designated for whites or usually occupied by white passengers

In good condition; seemed clean; reclining.

2. Seats either designated for Negroes or usually occupied by Negroes

Couldn't see for the curtain.

III. Overcrowding

A. Number of standers on bus as it leaves station at which observer boarded 0

1. Negro 0

2. White 0

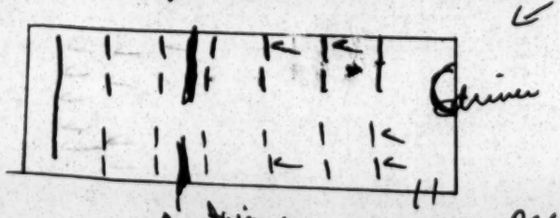
B. Number of passengers sitting in other than regular seats (indicate where seated).

1. White 0

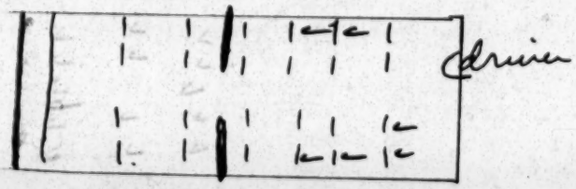
2. Negro 0

C. Number of standers along the way (indicate any changes; include name of station or station nearest to which stop is made. Indicate number of Negro and number of white standers; indicate also any changes in number of those seated in other than regular seats.

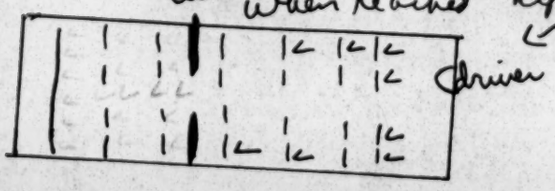
As here left station in Columbus:



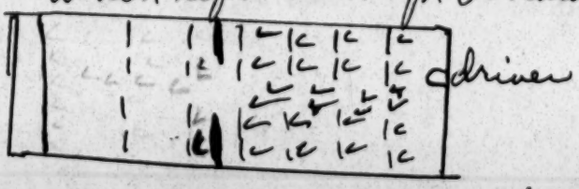
As others got on in the 1st 15 miles



Curtain when reached Reform:



when left Gordo for Tuscaloosa



Tuscaloosa to B'ham - No white & no Negro standers.

Over the Negro standers before Tuscaloosa was a soldier (one) The driver made no effort to readjust the seating arrangement.

← - white

IV. If Passengers board carriers without tickets, will driver accept cash fare? Indicate procedure at stations and along the road. Record any incidents.

Yes, along the road. The passengers who boarded the bus at points other than at stations bought their tickets after boarding the bus — both Negro and white passengers. The driver accepted it readily. The first such passenger to board was a Negro woman, just before the bus left the Columbus terminal. The driver asked: "Got a ticket?" "Nawsuh," replied the woman. "Where you goin'?" "Birmingham." "Shell out $2.30." The woman pais it, of course. The driver wasn't rugby — it just seemed to be part of the pattern. He didn't carry on the same way with white passengers.

V. When food is sold to passengers through carrier windows, are Negroes also served?

None served —

Note any methods of food service to whites and Negroes.

—

VI. What is the general decorum of the passengers?— Record any human interest stories. Cite incidents to support your conclusions.

The bus was quiet; no one seemed concerned about the fact that Negroes were standing, even though there were vacant seats. The Negroes ~~stage~~ talked among themselves, and the whites among themselves.

VII. What is the general manner of the driver toward the passengers? Cite incidents to support your statement (s).

Rather unconcerned, after he had adjusted the curtain at the beginning of the trip. He talked to 2 white women sitting on the front seat, and to an employee of the bus company from Bessemer to B'ham, but seemed fairly unconcerned about his passengers in general.

VIII. Describe waiting rooms for both races at stations along the road. Include particularly rest rooms and eating places.

Bus didn't stop for rest stops exept at Tuscaloosa. I couldn't see in the colored waiting room. The white waiting room had a coca-cola machine (out of order), a counter at which candy, cookies, patent goods, such as pencils, razor blades, etc., were sold -

IX. Record any incidents or observations not included elsewhere.

One, the man who was standing with the negroes was quite light-skinned, and appeared to me to be white. He stood with the negroes, though at the front of their section. He sat just behind the curtain, when a seat became available there, but not until he had asked the driver if it would be all right for him to sit there. About half an hour later he made his way to the front of the bus and evidently asked the driver how to signal for the bus to stop. The driver pointed to the bell cord, and the man returned to his seat. About 15 minutes later he rang for his stop and got off.

He was fairly well dressed and carried a brief case.

Eating facilities

A1-C-1

A1 - C - 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Atlanta Municipal Airport
Eating facilities available for Negroes

Date: September 7, 1945
12:45 P.M.

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

I walked into the restaurant at the Atlanta Municipal Airport and sat down at the food counter between two men (white). They turned and looked at me, but said nothing.

After waiting about ten minutes a waitress came to me and said that she couldn't serve colored in the restaurant but that I could get some food in the "back."

I got up and asked her just where in the back. She led me to the door of the kitchen and asked one of the Negro cooks to fix me some food. I then told her that it was unnecessary and that I would like to see the manager.

She then directed me to a Miss Williams who was behind the cigarette counter. Before I could say anything she said, "I am very sorry we can't serve you, but the city of Atlanta will not allow it." I then told her that the airport is not in the city of Atlanta, whereas she replied, "But the City owns the airport."

She then asked me what line I was riding on. I said, "Eastern." She then said that I could talk with the Eastern Airline people about it.

I then went to the Eastern Airline counter and asked the lady about the services available to Negroes on their line in getting food at the airport. She said that Eastern Airlines had nothing to do with the restaurant, but she would have the porter get me some food. I told her that it was unnecessary and left the counter.

MY MOST HUMILIATING JIM CROW EXPERIENCE

By Muriel Rahn

IF YOU asked about the ones up north, I might easily have told you about being turned out of the big Auditorium Hotel in Cleveland, Ohio, even though I had a reservation for a room there and a letter to prove it, signed by the manager, on the hotel stationery. I might also tell you that this experience was duplicated at the huge Gibson Hotel in Cincinnati, as well as the English Hotel in Indianapolis, and in each case I had a written letter from the managers, imploring me to please stop at their fine hotels, only to be turned away when they found I was colored.

Or, I might tell you about the kind white people in Lafayette, Indiana, who allowed me to live in the best hotel there but politely requested me to have my meals in my room. You see, I might have contaminated the other diners in the dining room.

But as far as Dixie, I imagine my most humiliating Jim Crow experience happened while I was en route to New Orleans from New York City on a plane trip sponsored by the U. S. Treasury Department during the Sixth War Loan Drive. I boarded the plane at LaGuardia Field in New York and the energetic public relations people of the Eastern Airlines and the U. S. Treasury Department had the photographers snap my picture together with the captain of the ship, waving a fond "farewell" to New York, which later appeared in the press with the caption, "Carmen Jones off on Bond Tour." The trip was without incident or interest other than the usual niceties exchanged by the passengers until we reached Atlanta, Georgia.

Arriving at the Atlanta Airport, naturally everyone was quick to alight and stretch his legs. The group of passengers, including myself, immediately made for the concessionaire where notions, novelties, coffee and sandwiches were sold.

For a moment I had forgotten I was in Dixie, everything had been so nice "above." I walked into the small concession and purchased a 10c comb. Then, innocently, went along with the rest of the passengers toward the lunch counter where coffee and sandwiches were being served.

Imagine my embarrassment when a loud voice with a heavy drawl yelled: "Hey, you can't eat in here!"

Twenty passengers, all white except me, turned around, halted by the remark and stared at the owner of the loud, raucous voice. He repeated, "You can't eat nothin' in here!" and pointed at me. It stunned my fellow travellers as much as it did me but I suddenly

MURIEL RAHN is a well-known Negro singer who played the lead in the Broadway musical, *Carmen Jones*.

September - 1946

realized that now I was back in Dixie.

I lost my appetite, I couldn't have eaten even if I had been starved. I almost lost my temper and started to yell back but I remembered I was in the south. I turned, and walked out of the place.

The rest of the passengers lost their appetites, too, I think, but none of them had the guts to do anything about it, insofar, as the owner of the concession was concerned. One kind lady offered to bring some coffee and a sandwich to me on the plane. I thanked her and refused.

A few minutes later the rest of the passengers boarded the plane. There was a sort of strange silence and all seemed to feel guilty. I went on to New Orleans and was instrumental in selling over $1,000-000 worth of War Bonds. I worked during the War Bond meeting with mixed emotion. I wondered whether it was worthwhile. . . . I guess it was!

Ellingtonia

IT IS an axiom in the Duke Ellington office that the Duke never fires a man; a man usually fires him. Of the five-piece band with which he launched his career 26 years ago, three men are still working for him; the fourth is the Duke himself; the fifth is dead.

David Ewen, This Month

DUKE ELLINGTON is an extraordinary eccentric and slightly on the genius side. Ellington has the largest collection of pills —all sizes, all colors—that you could find outside of the warehouse of Parke, Davis & Co. Ellington has pills for every purpose. Vitamin pills, sulfa pills, blood pills, digestion pills, sodamint tablets. He takes them at various times during the day and night. He can get along on less sleep than anybody who works as hard as he does, averaging three or four hours a night, about two hours less than Edison used to average.

Maurice Zolotow, Variety

DUKE ELLINGTON is a notorious late-riser. Recently, he's been obliged to get up earlier than usual in connection with a new music project. Walking into the Gateway restaurant the other afternoon at 3, the Duke stopped short at the sight of several familiar song pluggers and writers grouped around a table.

"You don't mean to say you people are up too?" he asked incredulously.

Metronome

DUKE ELLINGTON could do 62-hour-long airshows featuring only his own compositions without repeating a number. At least, this is the contention of a statistician (probably just a fancy name for press agent) who figures that Ellington's compositions if played end to end would last for 3,725 minutes.

Down-Beat

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observations at Greyhound Bus Terminal Date: September 10, 1945.

Informant:

Reporter: Margaret Price

Twelve o'clock noon to 5:45 P. M., C. W. T.
(Note) Reports of leaving time for busses are given in Eastern War Time, and are all P. M.

1:10 EWT: Southeastern Stages bus to Augusta. No Negro passengers; 24 white passengers, some vacant seats.

1:45,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound bus to Birmingham. The driver boarded servicemen first, among them one Negro soldier who sat in the corner of the long back seat. A white passenger sat beside him. The driver boarded 34 passengers-white-then checked seating arrangements through the back window. He told the rest of the passengers waiting to board the bus--5 or 6 white passengers and 2 Negroes--to wait for the second bus. There were about 35 seats on the first bus.

The second section of the Birmingham bus had a seating capacity of about 30 or 31. About 28 white passengers got on, and the two Negroes who had been waiting to board the first section. The driver boarded about 24 whites, then the two Negroes, then the rest of the whites.

2:00 EWT: National Trailways Bus to Copper Hill. No Negro passengers rode this bus. There were several vacant seats.

2:15,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound Bus to Jacksonville. The driver boarded the passengers who had come in on the bus--it stopped in Atlanta for a lunch stop. Three Negroes got on and sat in the first row of seats in front of the long back seat. White passengers were seated to the third row of seats in front of the long back seat, but they were not seated "solidly" --that is, there was only one person seated in some of the double seats. There were seven double seats on one side of the bus, and eight on the other, in addition to the long back row. Before the bus left, another Negro got on the bus. I don't know whether the driver told the Negroes to move back to the long back row, or whether the Negroes moved of their own accord; at any rate, when the bus left the station, the four Negroes were sitting on the long back row, but both double seats in front of the long back row were vacant.

2:15,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound to Chattanooga. The bus left with 8 or 10 white standers. Six Negroes--three soldiers, one with only one leg, and three women--were seated on the long back seat. The drived boarded the Negroes before he boarded all the white passengers. There were seven double seats on one side and eight on the other, in addition to the long back row.

2:30 EWT Smoky Mountain Trailways to Asheville. The bus left with about 12 standers. I couldn't see that any of the passengers were Negroes. White people were sitting on the long back seat.

2:45,EWT: National Trailways bus to Talahassee. Two sections of this bus loaded simultaneously. There were five double seats on both sides of both busses, in addition to the long back seat, One bus was completely loaded with white passengers, but there were no standers. The second bus had from 6 to 8 Negro passengers, seated as follows:

W	W	W	W
?	?	W	N
N	N	N	N

Picture of long back seat and two double seats just in front of long back seat.
w--white ?--Observer uncertain of color of
N--Negro persons.

There were one or two vacant seats in the white section

3:00,EWT: Trailways bus to Augusta. There were five double seats on each side of the bus, in addition to the long back seat. The driver boarded enough white passengers to fill alll seats except the long back row. Then he boarded the Negro passenters--only two-- and then the rest of the white passengers, who had to stand. There were about 9 standers--all white. The two Negroes sat on the long back seat, leaving three vacant seats there, but as the bus left the station, none of the white standers had seated themselves there.

3:00,EWT: Tennessee Coaches to Knoxville. There were eight double seats on one side of the bus and seven on the other, in addition to the long back seat. The driver boarded several white passengers, then 6 Negroes, then other whites. The Negroes sat on the long back seat. The bus was not at all crowded; there were scattered vacant seats in the white section.

3:30, EWT: Atlantic Greyhound to Charlotte. Four or five standers, but no Negroes observed on bus.

3:30,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound to Birmingham. Seven double seats on one side and eight on the other, in addition to the long back seat. There were no standers, but no empty seats, except possibly one or two on the long back seat. There was only one Negro on the bus--a woman--who sat on the long back seat. A white man also sat there.

3:45,EWT: Greyhound to Greenville. There were eight double seats on both sides of bus, in addition to the long back seat. The driver boarded white passengers first, and then one Negro man--the only one in the crowd. He sat on the long back seat, although several white passengers were already seated there. After the first crowd had boarded the bus, several other white passengers got on and stood.

3:45,EWT: Greyhound to Winston-Salem. There were eight double seats on both sides of the bus in addition to the long back seat. One or two Negroes were seated on the long back seat; one or two white passengers were seated there also. Four or five white passengers were standing. Just before the bus left the station, a Negro paratrooper--second lieutenant--got on. When the bus left the station, he was still standing in front of the group of white standers, although it looked as though he were trying to push to the back.

3:45,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound to Chattanooga--second section (I didn't observe the loading pattern of the first section). The white passengers were loaded first, occupying alll available seats, and standing in the aisles about six or seven standees. Only one Negro got on--a girl of about 20. She pushed to the back and stood.

4:00, EWT: National Trailways bus to Charleston--two sections loaded simultaneously. Three Negroes were on one bus--seated on long back seat--and 6 or 7 were on the other--five were seated on the long back seat and one or two were standing. The bus with the three Negroes was not crowded--there was a scattered empty seat or so. The other bus was filled, one or two white men in addition to the Negroes were standing. The busses had five double seats on each side in addition to the long back seat.

4:00,EWT: Calloway Coach Company--an interurban bus. Three Negro passengers boarded last and sat on the long back seat. There were no standers, either white or colored.

4:15,EWT: Greyhound to Birmingham. Eight double seats on both sides of bus, in addition to long back seat. The driver boarded white passengers first--31--then 5 Negroes, although the Negroes had been standing next to the driver, ready to board. As the bus left the station, one Negro man and one white man seemed to be standing.

4:15,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound to Savannah. There were only 12 or 14 passengers. Two Negro women presented themselves at the door of the bus after one or two white passengers had been boarded. The driver took their tickets immediately and they boarded the bus before the rest of the white passengers.

4:45,EWT: Southeastern Motor Lines to Milledgeville. Only 6 or 7 passengers were waiting to get on, one Negro girl among them. The driver boarded her before he did most of the white passengers--one or two white had already gotten on the bus. Later, two other Negroes got on. When the bus left the station, there were several scattered vacant seats. The seating arrangement of the Negroes was as follows:

		W	W
			N
		N	N

w--white
N--Negro

4:45.EWT: Service Stages to Gadsen. One or two Negro passengers boarded the bus--most of the white passengers had already boarded, although there were 5 or 6 still waiting to get on when the driver took the Negroes. After all the crowd waiting to get on had boarded, white passengers were standing to the door of the bus. Six Negroes then came to get on, and had to push to back of bus. All the Negroes seemed to have seats when the bus left the station, however--on the long back seat.

4:50,EWT: Greyhound to Jacksonville. Six Negroes boarded the bus last--sat on the long back seat.

5:00,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound to Chicago. The driver loaded the bus until there were no seats left—no Negroes were boarded. A large group of passengers were left, among them, two Negroes. Another bus was put on to act as a double to Chattanooga. The two Negroes were near the door when the second driver began to board his passengers. He took them in their turn—which was before the majority of the white passengers were loaded. The Negroes sat in the double seats just in front of the long back seat. Soon, however, they moved to the long back seat. It did not appear that the driver asked them to move, but it was apparent that enough white people would board the bus to fill all available seats. Later a Negro man got on and sat by the two Negro women on the long back seat. One man—white—was standing when the bus left the station.

5:20,EWT: A Negro soldier came through Gate 3 into the white waiting room. Someone was directing him as he entered the door, either to the ticket window or to the door that opens from the hall to the white waiting room to the colored waiting room. The soldier looked around him, then went to the ticket window in the white waiting room. None of the white people standing there appeared to say anything to him, but after he had stood there two or three minutes, two M. P.'s (white) went up to him and directed him to the Negro waiting room. He entered through the door from the hall. The Negro was an enlisted man, neat in appearance and nice in manner. He didn't seem embarrassed over the situation, but poised and easy in his manner.

5:30,EWT: Trailways Bus to Franklin. There were about six white standers when the bus left the station. The only Negro on the bus was seated on the long back seat.

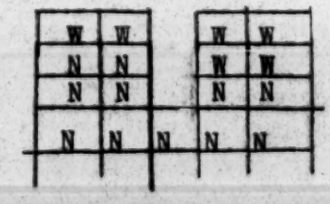
5:40,EWT: Trailways to Augusta. The driver boarded enough passengers so that all seats were taken—all white passengers. About five or six white people and one Negro man were waiting to get on. The driver boarded the whites, and then the Negro. Evidently the Negro asked the driver if he might sit at the front of the bus on the step. The driver pointed to a man standing there—not in uniform, but evidently a dispatcher or some official of the company. The man nodded, as if to say "o.k., sit there if you want to." At any rate, the Negro sat down.

5:45,EWT: Trailways to Fort Myers. Eight or ten people were waiting to board the bus, among them two Negroes, who boarded last. After this group had boarded, another group of white poeple came up to get on. Later two other Negroes boarded.

6:00,EWT: Southeastern Stages to Birmingham. The driver boarded servicemen first, including two Negroes. The two sat on the long back seat. Tehy seemed to be the only Negroes on the bus.

6:00,EWT: Greyhound to Winston-Salem. No Negro passengers.

6:10,EWT: Southeastern States to Moore's Junction. Negro and white passengers loaded together. There were not many passengers, and a few scattered seats were vacant when the bus left the station. It seemed to be a local bus. The seating arrangement of the back rows was as follows:



6:20,EWT: Greyhound to Gainesville. There was only one Negro in group of people waiting to board bus. He got on before all the white passengers had boarded, and sat on the long back seat. I could not tell whether or not any white passengers were also seated there.

6:45,EWT: Southeastern Greyhound to Chattanooga. About 50 or 60 people were waiting to board the bus, two Negro women and a child among them. The driver boarded enough white people so that all seats were taken, then announced that a 2nd bus would be put on. When it arrived, the driver filled it with white passengers; there were 4 or 5 white passengers standing. The two Negro women had been standing at the back of the crowd. When all the white passengers had boarded, the two women asked the driver if they could get on. Every seat was already taken by white people. The driver evidently said "wait a minute", pr "I'll ask the dispatcher," or something. Anyway, he left for about five minutes. The women were upset and a little bit mad. When he came back, it looked as though he was just going to ignore them and go on off without them. The women asked him again if they could get on. Finally he said yes, and the women and child boarded the bus and stood at the back.

White took all seats in back section - Negroes had to stand

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observation Greyhound Bus Station Date: September 11, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

Time: 12:04 A. M. to 3:45 A.M (C.W.T.)

At 12:04 A. M. a Greyhound Bus going to Macon, Georgia left with white passengers only. There were a number of seats vacant. Few Negroes were riding at this time. The number of this bus was 367.

At 12:08 A.M. a Greyhound Bus (No. 111) going to Savannah, Georgia left with one Negro passenger and the rest were white. There were a number of seats vacant on this bus.

At 12:25 A.M. a Greyhound Bus (No. 532) going to Macon, Georgia left with one Negro passenger and the rest were white. There were a number of seats on this bus vacant.

At 12:30 a Greyhound Bus (No. 475) going to New Orleans, Louisiana, left with five Negro passengers and the rest of the bus was completely filled with whites. There were no Negroes left behind however.

At 12:30 A.M. a Greyhound Bus (No.367) going to Birmingham, Alabama left with t three Negroes. The rest of the passengers were white. There were at least two seats available to Negroes left vacant.

At 1:40 A .M. a Greyhound Bus (No. 725) going to Winston-Salem, North Carolina left with white passengers only. The driver would not let any Negroes on this bus telling them to go and get on the Charlotte, North Carolina bus. Several seats were vacant.

At 1:40 A.M. an "old type" Greyhound Bus (NO.392) going to Charlotte, North Carolina left with four Negro passengers. There was one seat vacant and all other seats were taken by whites.

At 1:45 A.M. a Southeastern Stages Bus (No. 90) going to Charleston, South Carolina left with one Negro passenger and the rest of the bus was filled with whites except the back seat.

At 2:25 A.M. a Greyhound Bus (No.385) going to Chicago left with white passengers only. There were several seats vacant on this bus.

At 2:25 A.M. a Greyhound Bus (No.959) goint to Chattanooga, Tennessee left with one Negro on the back seat. There was one white woman on the back seat also. Each sat in the extremeends of this seat. Other seats were taken by white people.

At 2:35 A. M. a Greyhound Bus (No. 1151) going to Chattanooga, Tennessee left with one Negro on the back seat. Several seats were vacant. White people sat in the other filled seats.

At 2:37 A.M. a white City of Atlanta policeman walked up to me and asked, "Boy are you going on a bus?" I said "yes" and then he said, "you'll have to go around on the colored side."

I started around through the "general waiting area when he stopped me and said "you'll go this was"-meaning I would go down Cain Street and go up the side way to the Negro waiting room.

I walked down Cain Street (being a little mad) and walked into the front entrance of the Bus Station. When I got inside of the station I saw a sign, "Colored", in lights. This sign was over a door and I walked through it into the Negro waiting room. No one said anything --they just looked hard.

I then walked on through the Negro waiting room on around in the "general waiting area outside of the "white" waiting room.

At 2:45 A.M. a Greyhound Bus (No.565) going to Birmingham, Alabama left with four Negro passengers. There was one vacant seat (on the back) and the rest of the seats were taken by white people.

A short time after this the same policeman came up from behind (I saw him behind me) for a time he said nothing and then he said, "I thought I told you to stay around on the colored side, you'd better get back there until your bus comes." I then went back to the Negro waiting room and sat down.

This policeman came through the Negro waiting room several times and looked at me but said nothing. I left the Bus station at 3:45 A. M.

Note: At 12:35 a white man drank a cup of coffee in the Negro waiting room at the food counter.

At 12:45 a white man stood inside of the Negro waiting room to look at the ten cents movie.

Bus Stations

General Observations
and Incidents

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Greyhound Bus Terminal

Date: September 13, 1945
Time: 6:00 - 10:00 P.M.

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

The colored waiting room is a little over half-filled. The outsiders are in their usual places, hanging around the lunch counter and sitting on the stools. The two waitresses on duty are carryi g on more conversation than work. There is a great amount of frivolity between these loiterers and the hired personnel.

The men's toilet is clean, however, no improvement has been made on the passageway to the toilets -- they are still strewn with filth. The mirror in the men's room is still dirty and broken.

Baggage is blocking the entrance to the Negro waiting room.

Platform: Busses arriving usually are filled to capacity with Negroes on the rear long seat. From observation of the loading of several busses, I noticed that drivers would not take on any more Negroes after the rear long seat was filled. Also when two sections of the bus were being run, the driver will take only whites on the first section. Invariably the first section is a better bus.

In loading busses, Negroes and whites get on at random; however, there is a tendency on thepart of the Negroes to more back and let the whites get on first.

Waiting room:

At this time (p:00) the Negroes at the ticket window are getting fairly good service. There are three in line.

The waiting room is clean, and the patrons look comfortable. Many white people pass through the colored waiting room. White soldiers are seen in here frequently. I have not seen the station policeman enter the room at all during this period of observation.

Not a red cap has shown up in the colored waiting room to assist passengers with their baggage.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation- Segregation Study

Subject: Greyhound Bus Station | Date: September 2, 1945

Informant: | Time: 4:00 P.M.-8:00P.M.

Reporter: Douglas Carter

All deliveries are made to the restaurant in the Bus Station just outside of the entrance to the Negro waiting room.

The same pattern for loading busses was in evidence.

One Negro waitress (plainly dressed) was behind the food counter.

Floor in waiting room very dirty with paper and other trash all around.

Negroes had to stand on the outside as there were no seats vacant in the waiting room.

Garbage cans were just outside of the Negro entrance.

The ticket line averaged ten individuals during the entire evening. Only one employee served the Negro patrons. As usual the room was very "stuffy." Patrons were using newspapers for fanning purposes.

Negroes had to stand and wait until the baggage room attendants were ready to get their baggage.

At 7:10 P. M. Negroes were all on the outside of the station. Negro soldiers had plates of food (from food counter) and glasses of milk on the outside of the building using their bags as tables.

Trash was being burned outside of the Negro waiting room and the smoke was blown into the waiting room.

In the men's rest room filth was in evidence as always. There was no soap or towels. The stairs leading down to the various rest rooms were filthy as usual.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation- Segregation Study

Subject: General Observations at the Greyhound Bus Terminal (colored)

Informant: Date: September 1, 1945

Observer: J. O. Slade

When the bus terminal was approached at seven thirty, approximately 25 soldiers and 5 civilians sat on or stood alongside the rail to the left of the entrance driveway for busses. A similar number of colored persons stood in front of the waiting room. About 15 or 20 persons stood by and sat on the rail enclosing the narrow passageway leading from the street to the colored waiting room. The standers in front of the waiting room occupied an area extending from the rear entrance to the station kitchen to the rear entrance (and exit) to the baggage room. The entrance to the waiting room is located between the kitchen and baggage entrances. The setting in front of the waiting room presented the following "ornaments" for those who stood or sat there: There were six garbage cans, four filled to capacity and open, a few wooden boxes, which had been unloaded of their wares, trucks which convey baggage to and from busses, on which three persons sat, and a big fire which was consuming waste paper and some garbage. The fire, the smoke from which winds its way into the colored waiting room, had been observed during other observation visits at approximately the same place.

Inside the waiting room about seven forty five there stood in line at the ticket window about sixty persons. By eight thirty the number of persons waiting for tickets had increased to approximately ninety persons. This line extended in a sort of circle almost to the entrance door. At eight fifty the line extended outside the door. In it must have been more than one hundred (100) persons. It appeared that only one ticket agent served colored passengers. One man who finally purchased his ticket explained that he had stood in line for one hour and forty minutes. Another man who asked a little boy to hold his place in the line, and who was behind at least twenty five persons, said that he had been in the line for more than forty five minutes.

In the waiting room every seat, including those at the restaurant counter, was taken. Ten to fifteen people stood inside the waiting room near the juke box (out of order) during the period of observation.

At the baggage window one man stood waiting to be served for fifteen minutes.

A civilian policeman who entered the waiting room apprehended a soldier who was about eighth in line for ticket service. The soldier was apparently intoxicated. The policeman retired from the room and returned in about three minutes with two military policemen. The M. P.'s after this soldier was pointed out to them by the civilian policeman asked no questions; hastily whisked him out of the room.

Enroute from the waiting room to track 9 where passengers were to be loaded for Columbus, Georgia, the observer paused briefly in front of the waiting room at which time he saw a colored soldier who was perspiring profusely pause before the aforementioned fire to warm his "freezing" hands. (The temperature during the afternoon had been about 90 degrees).

At track 9, the last of the white passengers were loading when the observer arrived. They took every seat on the bus. When three Negro soldiers followed by six or eight Negro civilians presented their tickets to the bus driver, the driver suggested that they wait until he checked his seats. The driver soon returned and advised the colored soldiers to go to track 5 where another bus would accommodate them later. No colored passengers boarded the bus at track 9. The bus which later came to track 5 was much smaller than the first bus and obviously of an earlier year and model.

The only busses entering or seen on the premises with curtains separating the rear seat for colored from the rest of the seats were Teche Greyhound vehicles. A porter had previously explained that all Teche Greyhound busses carry these curtains.

One bus entered the terminal with two whites standing while only two Negroes occupied the rear seat which accommodates five passengers.

A young white girl playfully chased a uniformed police officer (on duty) past the colored waiting room. A few minutes later they played "hide and seek" behind cars parked there to unload baggage. A moment later a white woman apparently intoxicated, casually entered the colored waiting room and got into the long line of persons waiting for tickets. She stood there fully three minutes before she seemed to have sensed the fact that "I'm in the wrong place", then she turned and sauntered out of the room in the direction of the gates to busses.

A man who stood outside the waiting room awaiting the return of his wife with tickets commented: " A Negro has a hell of a time when he decides to ride a bus anywhere."

Near the end of the observation period slightly less than sixty persons stood in the line leading to the ticket window.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation- Segregation Study

Subject: Observation Greyhound Bus Terminal Date: September 1, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

I did not observe any red caps handling colored passengers bags. The waiting room is very crowded at this time. There are from 12 to fifteen people in line at the ticket window. There are four sellers on duty, but only 1 is handling colored customers. It takes about 10 minutes by the clock for one person to be waited on. There are 8 persons standing in the waiting room. There are no vacant seats available. At the lunch counter, 2 waitresses are on duty. One has on a clean uniform, the other has on a street dress. At this time there are fifteen in line at the ticket window. The restaurant counter is almost filled with outsiders and loiterers who are using the seats.

A well-dressed white woman is standing in the waiting room for 10 minutes. She has said nothing to anyone, just standing and looking . Around the lunch counter, the floor is filthy with paper wrappers, bread ends, etc.

The waitress does not remove dirty dishes immediately after use. The customers must eat over them. There are 37 seats in this waiting room and 52 people are present. The baggage clerks are excessively slow in waiting upon colored customers. I have observed two servicemen standing at the window for twenty minutes withour being waited upon.

One disadvantage of this room is that the only ventilation comes out of 1 set of double doors. It is very hot, stuffy and smelly in the room. These doors are at least 10 feet from the nearest bench.

Is is unsanitary for so many people to be jailed up in such a close public room.

In 30 minutes the ticket line has been reduced from 15-18 persons.

Most of the people in the room at this time seem to be of the rural type. They have many babies and pasteboard boxes. The people are orderly, most of them are sitting and just looking. Some are trying to sleep. Only one girl is reading. They all have a tired expression on their faces.

The one telephone booth is inadequate for such a large room. There have been 3 or 4 persons lined up to use it all this morning. The lights have been on all morning.

<u>Men's Toilet</u> This toilet is located below the street, in the basement. Its only ventilation is through a sidewalk grill. (See diagram) There is hot and cold running water in both basins which are clean. There are no paper towels in the containers. There are two rolls of toilet tissue for each commode. The cracked mirrors over the wash basins are very dirty. There are 3 latrines, which are very dirty. The tile floor is smeared and needs scouring. There is one double window, partly broken and very dirty. It seems that it has never been cleaned since the building has been built. There is only one naked bulb in the room, which is lit.

The passageway to the men's and women's toilets (in the basement) is strewn with garbage. It passes by the rear door of the kitchen. Both men and women use this same entrance.

Platform

Drivers of Busses check seats at loading and only allow the number of Negroes that can be packed on the rear long seat to board the bus. The others are told "there is no room."

Bu-Cost

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observations of Conditions at the Greyhound Bus Terminal.

Informant: Date: August 30, 1945

2 45 - 3 40 p.m.

Reporters: Douglas Carter and J. O. Slade.

From 2:45 to 3:40 there was considerable activity at the Bus Terminal. Most seats in the waiting room for colored were occupied. Eight of ten seats at the food counter were taken at 3:05. Some persons were eating. Service was refused observers with the statement, "we have closed". Twenty minutes later colored bus company workers were seen eating at the food counters. Apparently they were waitresses, kitchen help, etc. The ticket window was open. Only one agent was seen on duty. Ticket windows at both train stations were closed at this hour.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observation, Greyhound Union Bus Station, Atlanta, Ga. Date: August 26, 1945
1:45 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

A group of Negroes missed their bus as they were late getting to the station. As they came into the Negro waiting room they were arguing about riding busses.. One said that he'd rather ride trains anytime than to ride busses.

Two Negro red caps were seated in the waiting room talking. They overheard the argument and one said to the other, "They can walk if they want to -- the road is never crowded for walking. Negroes are crazy as hell to ride a bus anyway."

The waiting room was dirty. Flies were all around. The food counter was covered with flies. One waitress plainly dressed.

Men's rest room was very dirty. There weren't any towels and there were two small pieces of soap. (3:00 P.M.)

B-1-C-5

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observation, Union Bus Station, Atlanta, Ga. Date: August 25, 1945
12 noon to 6 P.M.

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

At 12:15 there were 16 Negroes in the ticket line.

At 12:25 two busses left for Columbus, Georgia, #438 (a local bus) and number 553 going direct to Columbus.

There were a number of Negroes going to points between Atlanta and Columbus. They were given seats on number 438. Only one Negro was going to Columbus and he was standing in front of number 553. The dispatcher came over the told him to stand in front of 438. When the Negro got up to the driver, the driver told him that his bus was a local one and that he would have to ride in No. 553.

At this time 553 was filled with all white people, and the driver would not let him on. The Negro then had to wait until the next bus scheduled to Columbus. (Greyhound Busses)

At 12:45 13 Negroes were in the ticket line. The food counter was clean. All seats were taken at the counter. One employee with a smock over a dress waited on the patron.

The Negro waiting room was packed -- all seats were taken. Negroes were standing, seated on their luggage and standing on the outside of the waiting room. Four garbage cans were on the outside of the entrance.

At 12:55 two white MP's came in the Negro waiting room and looked at the papers of the Negro soldiers. A red cap waited on the Negroes at the baggage window.

During the entire afternoon the men's rest room was dirty. There was no soap and paper towels. Trash which had been thrown from the outside was in the windows.

Bus number 70 of the Southeastern Stages would let only 5 Negroes on. A Negro army man had to wait on the next bus. (They would not let Negroes stand on the busses, although whites did stand.) This bus was going to Augusta, Georgia.

At 2:10 P.M., number 247 of the Tennessee Coach Lines, going to Knoxville, Tennessee loaded two Negroes. The rest of the bus was loaded with white people. Whites were standing. Three Negroes were waiting to get on the bus. The driver told them that he had all of the passengers he could take. The other three seats were taken by white people. The Negroes had to wait.

A white Navy SP was very courteous to Negro army personnel. He told them when certain busses were supposed to leave.

At 2:17 white MP's were in the Negro waiting room again -- looking at servicemen's papers.

The Greyhound Bus, number 729, to Greenville, S.C. (2:30 P.M.) was loaded with four Negroes and the rest whites. The driver said that he had room for one more colored and four more whites. One Negro was loaded and seven whites. He allowed the whites to stand, but refused to allow the Negroes who were waiting standing room.

About 15 Negroes wanting to go to Monroe, Georgia had the busses at 2:30 and at 5:30 P.M. These people were told to stand back each time the busses came in. All of the white people were taken each time. Only the back seats were given to the Negroes.

One Negro lady (very mad) said that, "this is the Negroes' country, too. Negroes have died in the war and yet they got only the back seats. I'm going North where I can live." A Negro man said, "We might as well wait, we can't get a train now to Monroe."

In the ticket office at 4:55 P.M. five white employees served the white people and one served Negroes. There were 15 Negroes in the ticket line.

At 5:10 P.M., two busses, numbers 548 and 549 were going to Columbus, Georgia. 548 let 5 Negroes on and 549 let 6 Negroes on. The Negroes on 549 were let on before the white people. The driver told the six Negroes that they would have to crowd on the long back seat because the other seats were for white people. No other Negroes were let on either of the busses.

Bus number 39, Southeastern Motor Lines to Carrollton, Georgia was loaded entirely with white people.

Four Negroes trying to go to Calhoun missed their bus four times. All of them were arguing about the type of service given Negroes. One Negro woman said, "Everytime they say no more Negroes. Negroes ought to leave this place. Hot damn when I get into that damn crowd I'm going to push everytime."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Greyhound Bus Terminal Date: August 25, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Margaret Price

When I entered the station at 8:30 A.M. there were only a few people, comparatively speaking, about the station. By the time I left at 10:30 A.M., the place was beginning to be quite crowded. An attendant was sweeping the floor of the white waiting room. Four ticket agents were serving white passengers and one agent was serving Negro passengers. One attendant was on duty in the baggage room, and a red cap was helping out once in a while. Each time I checked, the attendant seemed to be serving white passengers only, although one or two Negroes were also waiting for service.

There were about 8 or 10 waitresses and attendants in the white restaurant, but only one seemed to be serving Negro passengers. Those in the white restaurant were talking among themselves and seemed to be little interested in serving customers, however.

One maid was on duty in the rest room for white women, but she was reading and not serving passengers. The wash room and lounge were crowded; the floor was dirty.

In the general waiting area, white and Negro passengers were gathered in separate groups to await busses. There was no crowd until about 10 o'clock.

Two Negro men got off an incoming bus and began looking around for the colored waiting room. The bus came in on the far side of the station from the colored waiting room and there were no signs to direct passengers to the room. The men began to look around, going in the wrong direction. Finally they found it.

There was a huge crowd gathered around the bus marked "Jacksonville" - 11 o'clock EWT, Southeastern Greyhound. Negro and white passengers were mixed, but in general the Negroes were toward the back of the crowd. A second bus drove up, marked "Macon" and was to transport passengers who otherwise would have been on the Jacksonville bus. When the busses began to load, both drivers boarded enough Negro passengers to fill the long back seat; the Jacksonville driver also boarded 4 more Negroes, who sat in the seats just in front of the long seat. When both busses were loaded with seated passengers, the drivers refused to take standers, but tried to get a third bus, [illegible] The Macon driver then took standers, but refused to take bus two Negroes. The Jacksonville driver took no standers. He announced that the next bus would run at 1:00 EWT. About six Negro passengers and one or two white passengers were left behind. One Negro woman was quite angry about it. Three Negro women and one Negro man went to the ticket office to try to get their tickets cashed in so that they could go on the train. I couldn't find out whether they were able to exchange the tickets or not.

B-1-C-3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Movie and Juke Box Numbers in Greyhound Bus Station, Atlanta

Date: August 14, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

(Inside Negro waiting room)

Movie (Mills Panoram Movies) (Peep) - 10¢

1. Buss Me
2. I'm Making Believe
3. Fats Waller Medley
4. Dixie Rhythm
5. Ration Blues
6. Low Down Dog
7. Faust
8. Dance Your Old Age Away

Movie (Mills Panoram Movies) (Open Faced) - 10¢

1. Dance Mama
2. Mr. Jackson from Jacksonville
3. My My Ain't That Something
4. Ten Thousand Years Ago
5. Shoqualoni Jo Jo
6. Buss Me
7. Your Feets Too Big
8. Dixie Rhythm

Rock Ola - 5¢

1. Miss Mattie Left Me by Jimmy McGracklin
2. Go Back To the Country
3. Somebody Changed the Lock by Louis Jordan
4. Fascinating Rhythm by Hazel Scott
5. My Honey Chile by Flennoy Trio
6. Your Money Can't Buy Me
7. If I Were You by Four Vagabonds
8. Strange Woman by St. Louis Jimmy
9. I Want A Little Doggie by Lena Horne
10. Caledonia Boogie by Louis Jordan
11. Hey Lawdy Mama by Flennoy Trio
12. Big D Blues by Hot Lips Page
13. Before This Time Another Year by the Jubalaries
14. No, Baby, Nobody But You by Erskine Hawkins
15. Who Threw the Whiskey in the Well by Lucky Millender
16. That's the Stuff You Gotta Watch
17. Five Feet Four Blues
18. Mean Mistreated Lover by Jimmy McGrocklin

19. Fifteen Years by Erskine Hawkins
20. How Long Has This Been Going On by Phil M. and Lena Horne

Four Peep Movies in the General Waiting Area (listed from street in order) - 10¢

First:

1. San Antonio Rose
2. Bend Down Sister
3. Sports A la Mode
4. Let's Get Away from It All
5. The Dance of Shame
6. That Gal Salomey
7. Hawaiian War Chant
8. Pickle Puss
9. A String of Pearls
10. Hilo-Hattie

Second:

1. Pistol Packing Mama
2. Beautiful Clothes
3. Golly, I Did It Again
4. Hilo Hattie
5. My Sweet Eloise
6. Sleighride
7. Cave Man
8. Changes Made
9. Mable Lee
10. A Lady with Fans

Third:

1. The Cuban Hell
2. Bottoms Up
3. Take It Off
4. Jungle Drums
5. The Fan Dance
6. Nan McGrew
7. The Perfect Powers Girl
8. We Go Together
9. Babalu
10. Tea On the Terrace

Fourth:

1. The Havana Madrid Show
2. I'd Like To Know You Better
3. Hats Off
4. Jungle Jig
5. The Bubble Dance
6. Can Can Capers
7. Delightful Dimple Doesie
8. The Better Half
9. The Turkish Jerk
10. I Got Her In the Mail

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observations at the Greyhound Bus Station, Atlanta, Georgia Date: Aug.10,1945

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

At the ticket windows there were four employees. Three women served the white people and the male employee was stationed at the Negro window. The man served the Negrces in a courteous manner.

At the food counter there were two employees. One, a man (Negro) and the other, a woman (Negro). The man did not wear a uniform.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observations on the Greyhound Bus Station, Atlanta, Georgia
Date: August 18, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: Douglas Carter

There were 22 Negroes in the ticket line at 11:30 A. M. One employee waited on the Negroes while there were five employees waiting on the whites. (There were two women and three men waiting on the whites and a man waiting on the Negroes.)

The waiting room for Negroes was completely crowded. People were standing and many were seated on suitcases and boxes. Negroes were standing all on the outside of the building as there were no seats available. The white waiting room at this time seated all of its patrons comfortably.

At 11:40 A. M. a city policeman walked around to the side of the building, where Negro women were standing, and told them in a rough manner that they would have to move, as that place was made for walking (as yet there wasn't any seating facilities available for all of the Negro patrons).

At 12:20 P. M. there were 18 Negroes in the ticket line. At this time a number of Negroes missed their busses waiting to buy tickets.

The food counter at this time was very dirty. There was one waitress plainly dressed. Dirty dishes were all over the counter and under the counter. The floor had paper and other scraps all over it.

The water fountain in the waiting room was clean, but under it a water bucket, without a top, was stationed to take care of the trash and garbage.

For a period, I filled out an application for a Negro who is now working for the Bell Bomber Plant, and who wishes to go to Seattle, Washington and work.

Negroes were not being waited on at the baggage window at 12:30 P. M. From three to four Negroes stood at this window from 15 to 20 minutes each. There were 22 Negroes in the ticket line at this time.

Mac Wilburn, a Negro living in Cartersville, Georgia had planned to catch the one o'clock bus going through Cartersville to Chattanooga and points north. He had his ticket but the busses (two) were filled with white people in Atlanta (The first bus had the long back seat filled with Negroes before getting to Atlanta and the second bus was filled with whites in the Atlanta station.

Mr. Wilburn stated that in riding busses he had noticed that the white people go to the back seats when they get on. He stated that some of the drivers get them off the back seats and sometime they don't.

Bus No. 385, going to Jacksonville, Florida had a sign on it stating, "When possible white people will seat from front toward rear and colored seat from rear toward front."

After the driver of this bus had seated all of the white people in the regular seats and two Negroes on the last back seat, he came to the front door and stated that there was room for three more colored.

There were 4 employees selling tickets to the white patrons at 3:45 P. M. At this time no service was available to the Negro patrons, although there were 28 Negroes in the ticket line.

Negroes were in all available seats, seated on baggage and standing . All of the seats at the food counter were taken and there was only one employee there.

The men's rest room was very dirty at 3:55 P. M. There were one or two pieces of used soap and the wash basins were very dirty. There were no paper towels and a garbage can was being used for a trash can. Toilet paper was in its place.

In the rest room a Negro civilian and a Negro soldier were talking. The civilian said that he was from Detroit and that time you get across the Mason-Dixon line they wanted you to get into a "God dam hole". Both of them talked about the God dam South."

There were 30 Negroes in the ticket line at 4:00 P. M. The entire room was crowded. Even the hall leading into the waiting room was crowded. The waiting room was very stuffy, as there are no air-conditioning facilities.

Negroes were seated all out in the baggage area on trunks and boxes. They were standing and leaning all over the general waiting area.

At 4:10 P. M. I got in the ticket line and at 4:47 P. M. I arrived at the window.

Flies were all over the food and the food counter at this time (4:50 P. M.)

It can be noted that the ticket line in the Negro waiting room was orderly during the entire period under observation. No one tried to get ahead of others.

At 5:00 P. M. a Negro woman put a dime in the movie machine. When the movie began showing she said, "thatIs Louis Jerdin" (meaning Louis Jordan).

<u>Important</u>

Important

All of the Busses leaving the bus station had a limited number of seats for Negroes or none at all. In many instances there were no seats available for Negroes.

A bus going to Birmingham, Alabama was not called and the bus was loaded with whites. The Negro waiting room was on the other side of the building and there weren't any Negroes on that side to even try to get on.

At 4:50 P. M. 32 Negroes were in the ticket line.

At 5:05 P. M. 4 Negro service men were seated in the last 4 rugular seats. The bus driver went to the back and asked them to move on the long back seat. A colored lady who was next in line at the bus door was told that the bus was loaded, but other white people were taken on.

At 6:15 P. M. outside of the Negro waiting room garbage cans were stationed and Negro children were leaning against them. The waiting room was packed and Negroes were all around the outside wall and baggage area.

Form A.
Number _____

INCIDENT MEMORANDUM

Section I

1. Date of Interview Aug. 8, 1945 2. Time of Interview 11:45 A.M.
3. Place of Interview Union Terminal 4. City Atlanta 5. State Georgia
6. Name of Informant "Speedy" 7. Sex M 8. Race Negro
10. Address of Informant _____ 9. Age App. 36
11. Occupation of Informant Red Cap
a. Company Greyhound b. Station Bus Station
12. Interviewer James O. Slade

Section II

INCIDENT:
Date August 8, 1945 Time App. 11:30 A.M.
Place Bus Station Line _____

When a colored woman who was pregnant attempted to be seated on a bus to Birmingham, Alabama at which place she was to immediately proceed to New Orleans, she found all seats (including the rear seat) taken by white passengers, most of whom were soldiers. She elected to stand in the rear with other civilians (white) who were standing. The driver of the bus scheduled to leave at 11:30 A.M., Eastern War Time, for Birmingham observed the situation and ordered the woman off the bus. He commented that we cannot let one Negro passenger stand backthere with the white people.

A red cap arranged transportation for the woman later in the day on a through bus to New Orleans.

"Speedy", the informant, commented: "They usually save only the rear seat for colored, but the company allows the drivers to handle this thing anyway the drivers want to."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Interview, Greyhound Bus Station Date: August 6, 1945

Informant: Porter

Reporter: James S. Hadley

The porter admits that the janitorial service on the colored side is not as good as that on the white side.

He says that most of the time the colored must wait long beyond their turn before they are able to purchase their tickets.

They also place baggage and other articles around the entrance to the colored waiting room.

His boss does not give him instructions to make any difference in his service.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Observation-Greyhound Bus Terminal Date: July 7, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

The Greyhound Bus Terminal is a very modern streamlined station. The facilities for both races seem to be adequate. In the colored side, as well as in the white, they have a modern restaurant and good comfortable seats.

There is only one small ticket window inconveniently placed, but the clerks seem to give good service.

The waiting room is clean, and the seats seem to be sufficient in number.

On the outside the bus drivers line up or take the white passengers' tickets first. If too many colored are to go on one bus, they usually run a second one.

Very few of the redcaps handle colored passengers' baggage.

Company v Management
Instructions to Em-
ployees

Bu. E-

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Policies of Greyhound Bus Terminal in Regard to Segregation of the Races

Date: September 17, 1945

Informant; Mr. Smith, Manager of Terminal for Terminal Corporation

Reporter: Margaret Price

I first went to see Mr. Myer, of the Atlantic Greyhound Corporation. After I had stated my business, he told me that the person I should see was Mr. Smith, manager of the Terminal. Before I knew what was happening, we were in Mr. Smith's office. I don't know whether Mr. Myer just didn't want to tak about the whole thing or whether he honestly felt that Mr. Smith had the information I needed. As it turned out, he told me the basic things that I wanted to know and promised me that if I'd come by tomorrow he would give me a copy of the instructions each national office issues to the local offices in regard to segregation, as well as copies of instructions issued to each driver by the companies.

At the beginning of the interview, Mr. Smith was a bit reserved in expressing his opinions and in talking of company policies, but by the end of the interview, he had relaxed and wasdiscussing labor problems in general!

After reading my letter of introduction, he said immediately: "We don't have any problems here about friction." I explained that the Council was interested in the policies of the bus companies which averted friction -- how they handled situations which otherwise might have developed into problems. Mr. Smith said that the terminal maintains a separate waiting room, restrooms, and restaurant for Negroes -- the waiting room is one of the largest in this area for Negroes. He instructs all his personnel to treat Negro patrons with kindness, believing that Negroes respond to kindness as to no other policy. Many of the Negroes who travel are uninformed and misunderstand many things, but kindness can usually smooth the situation over and get at the bottom of misunderstandings. I told him that I had noticed that he had only one ticket window for serving Negroes, but several for serving whites. He said that the reason for that was that the volume of Negro traffic was not great enough to warrant other windows. He pointed out that an agent now serves the window at all times -- there is always one agent whose job it is to serve Negro patrons. My inference was that this was a fairly new policy. He said that many Atlanta societies of Negroes, as well as his own checkers, had reported that Negroes had to wait in line a long time and were not getting adequate service, so he had put on a full-time agent at the Negro ticket window. He talked at great length at this point about individual employees who found it hard to be courteous to any patrons, either Negro or white, indicating that this was one of his chief problems.

I asked him about loading busses -- whether when two busses are run to the same town Negroes are allowed on both busses. He said that it was the policy of the companies using the terminal to reserve the back seat for Negroes. Drivers were supposed to look over the crowd, determine the number of Negroes, and load them accordingly. The drivers usually fill the bus with white people, saving the long back seat for Negroes. This policy is used on every section, no matter how many sections there are.

He said that the other day a lawyer whom he knew by sight was fussing because the driver refused to let him sit on the long back seat which was empty, or which had one or two empty seats left. The driver refused, saying that his instructions were to save the seat for Negroes. He had several regular Negro riders who got on at Hapeville, and if the white man sat on the long seat he'd be mad if a Negro sat next to him. The instructions to the driver had come from the headquarters of Southeastern Greyhound. Mr. Smith confirmed this statement with the manager of the Southeastern office. He said that oftentimes Negroes stand at the back of the crowd, not coming forward until the bus has already loaded with white people.

Mr. Smith rambled a great deal in his talk, discussing the increased load of travel as a result of the war, baggage facilities, and the fact that any problems that ever arose from Negroes usually came from Negroes from other parts of the country. At the beginning of the war there were a few flare-ups from Negro soldiers who didn't seem to know their place, but there was not very much of that sort of thing now. The situation was pretty well under control. Of course policemen and detectives around the station reported a run-in every now and then, but it wasn't serious and that sort of thing is to be expected.

In the course of the interview I told him that I had observed that the terminal was using white waitresses where they had been using Negroes just a week or so ago. He said that he had nothing to do with the restaurants -- they were leased to Union News. He thought, however, that the change had probably come about because the Negroes weren't satisfactory. Many complaints had come to his office from people who thought that he was connected with the restaurants. The girls seemed to be slow, to misunderstand orders, to get mixed up when customers asked them questions. The white girls were faster, he said.

The Terminal Company often gives parties for its employees. Whenever it does so, it gives one party for white employees and another -- usually a fish fry -- for colored employees. Several of the white officials usually attend the colored parties, too.

Mr. Smith said that he issued instructions to all his employees that there should be no discrimination between the races. He said that he would give me a copy of the instructions tomorrow when I came to get the instructions from the bus companies. Each of the companies using the terminal have in general the same policy of reserving the back seat for Negroes and of loading white people to fill seats except those at the back, then of loading colored people and then standers, white and black.

Mr. Smith's general manner was one of benevolence -- "In the pattern." He wanted to know a little more about the Council and I explained that we were interested in better opportunities for all people in the South, white and colored. He said that he felt that the most oppressed and down-trodden of all peoples of the South were the poor whites. He told a few stories of their ignorance and troubles and of how the terminal company had handled them -- with kindness and benevolence. This part of our conversation was off the record, Mr. Smith said. He feels that Negroes do not really want to be with white people -- they prefer separate facilities. He said he didn't know how I felt about the matter; some white people liked to associate with Negroes. I replied that I thought most Negroes might prefer separate facilities provided that they were equal to those of white people. He agreed that that was true. You have to handle Negroes differently, he said. Mullattoes have no respect for dark Negroes. One of the employees at the terminal is a Negro who is a college graduate of one of the colleges here in Atlanta - holds an A. B. Degree.

He lords it over the other colored employees and tries to tell them what to do. You have to deal with him quite differently from uneducated Negroes, Mr. Smith observed. (Note: I am reporting this part of the interview, but it really is off the record.)

NOTE: It seems to me that the problem of discrimination is further complicated by the fact that three different agencies are concerned with handling traffic in one station: The Terminal Corporation; various bus companies, of whom Southeastern Greyhound handles by far the greatest amount of business out of the Atlanta Terminal, according to Mr. Smith; and Union News Company, who handles restaurant facilities. It is true, of course, that stock-holders in the three types of agencies are one and the same in many instances, and that policies "jive" in most cases, but the fact remains that it might be hard at times to fix responsibility for acts of discrimination.

18-101.

The City of Atlanta is hereby authorized and empowered to purchase, own and operate municipal landing fields for the reception, storage and operation of airplanes; also for the use of the gov't in the air mail service; and such fields may be located either within or without the limits of said city, and when so purchased and defined, the City of Atlanta is given police jurisdiction over the land so acquired, except as to any part thereof which may be located in some municipality. (Acts 1929 pp. 779, 780)

TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY

Atlanta 3, Georgia

COPY

Schedules at present are as follows:

IN THE WHITE WAITING ROOM AT TERMINAL STATION

6:30 A.M. to 11:00 P.M. seven days a week with the exception of 1:30 P.M. to 2:30 P.M. Saturday and Sunday.

IN THE NEGRO WAITING ROOM AT THE TERMINAL STATION

6:30 A.M. to 11:00 P.M. Monday through Friday. Saturday 6:30 A.M. to 12:00 noon. 4:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M. on Sundays.

IN THE WHITE WAITING ROOM AT THE UNION STATION

6:30 A.M. to 11:30 A.M. Tuesday through Friday. 6:30 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. Saturday. 6:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M. Tuesday through Saturday.

IN THE NEGRO WAITING ROOM AT THE UNION STATION

8:30 A.M. to 12:00 noon Monday through Friday.

These schedules change frequently not only according to need but availability of staff. You will note that at present we have no regular schedule of service at Bus Station. Volume of requests for service have some bearing on length of schedules. There are certain of Travelers Aid services available on call at any time for anyone during the twenty four hours.

Way of handling certain case work service is arranged entirely without reference to schedules. Actually for this information to have meaning the total set up and program of the Atlanta Travelers Aid Society must be fully understood. If you have need for it, I shall be glad to elaborate on that further which might be done better by conference than through letter.

At the present time, which again changes almost from day to day, there are on the professional staff three negro workers and five and one-half white workers, exclusive of supervisory staff.

Sincerely yours,

TRAVELERS AID SOCIETY OF ATLANTA

Mrs. F. F. Athearn
Executive Secretary

MWA:bsc

TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

EXTRACT OF HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. R. 3986, H. R. 4004
AND H. R. 4005

TESTIMONY OF DR. SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT

Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1944

(Not printed at Government expense)

DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF
THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
297 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

612213

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TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. Mary T. Norton (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Our first witness is Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. We shall be glad to hear you at this time, Doctor.

TESTIMONY OF DR. SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT, GENERAL SECRETARY, FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Dr. CAVERT. Madam Chairman, my name is Samuel McCrea Cavert. I am general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and appear to express its views, as stated in official action of its executive committee.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is a federation of 25 national denominations, with a membership in excess of 25,000,000, in 150,000 local congregations in all parts of the Nation. These churches of the federal council have long had a keen interest in the welfare of minority groups in our population and are now deeply concerned over the issue of full justice for them in our economic life. The right of every citizen to work is so fundamental to human welfare and social justice that any discrimination against any worker on account of race, creed, color, or national origin, seems to us a matter of high moral and spiritual significance and a great concern of the churches. That is why I speak in favor of the proposed legislation on this subject, as a representative of the Protestant churches cooperating in the federal council.

The Federal Council of Churches has gone on record officially on three different occasions in support of the principle of governmental action to remove discrimination in the opportunity for employment.

On June 13, 1941, the executive committee of the council defined its position in part in the following words:

> The executive committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has great concern about the grievous discriminations shown in the exclusion of Negro workers and workers of other minority groups from defense industries, with a few creditable exceptions, and from opportunities and facilities for training for employment in such industries. We consider this question of such paramount importance that we ask for the largest and fullest cooperation on the part of the churches in order that we may prevent a continuance of this injustice against Negroes and other minorities in defense industries and that the relations of these workers and employers may be improved.

Again, on September 16, 1943, in a message to the churches of the Nation, the executive committee of the council asserted that—

As Christians each of us should give active support to the Fair Employment Practice Committee against discrimination in employment in industry.

Finally, at its meeting on March 21, 1944, the executive committee passed the following resolution, definitely urging their Government to establish some permanent procedure for securing fair employment practice and against discrimination, as follows:

Discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or national origin is one of the great moral issues before our Nation today. The right of a worker to be employed and paid solely on the basis of this character and ability is so clear, just, and Christian that it should be protected by law. This right should be safeguarded by appropriate legislative and administrative provisions: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the Federal Council of Churches urge our Government to establish permanent procedures for securing the objectives which have been sought by the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

A resolution of similar tenor has recently been adopted by the executive committee of the Home Missions Council of North America, as follows:

The right and opportunity for any worker to be employed without discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin are so just and so in harmony with Christian ethics that all Christians and church agencies have a deep responsibility to stand for that clear Christian and democratic principle. We believe that government should take such necessary legislative and administrative action as will protect the right to work from any such dsicrimination.

The positions thus set forth by action of these two interdenominational bodies, the Federal Council of Churches and the Home Missions Council, have been strongly supported by many of the major denominations meeting individually in their official plenary sessions. As typical of these denominational actions, I wish to put into the record the following resolutions.

First, the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Kansas City, Mo., last month, voted as follows:

We stand for equal opportunity in employment, upgrading and conditions of work, in exercise of the full rights of citizenship; in access to professional and business careers, in housing, in transportation, and in educational facilities. We endorse the principles underlying the Fair Employment Practice Committee and urge all agencies involved in the administration of the act to improve that administration.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America only last week passed the following resolution after full consideration:

That the General Assembly commend the essential purpose of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee as being in keeping with Christian principles, and favor its receiving legislative sanction rather than remaining in its present status as an Executive order.

This resolution of the Presbyterian General Assembly is supported by a letter from Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, the moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly during the past year, which I should like to read.

JUNE 6, 1944.

Dr. GEORGE E. HAYNES,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR DR. HAYNES: I greatly regret my inability to appear in person before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives on Wednesday to testify in favor of Federal legislation in line with House bill 3986.

I believe that the principles of justice that are a part both of our Christian ethic and our democratic way of life make such legislation a moral necessity as an aid in removing the discriminations in industrial employment. Such discriminations should have been outlawed long ago.

With all the emphasis I can, I wish to add my voice in urging the Congress to enact such a law and remove the uncertainty that has hung over the very effective work now being done by Executive order under the President's war powers.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY SLOANE COFFIN.

There are several other resolutions along the same general line which I might read, but instead of quoting from them I will simply say for the record that such resolutions have been adopted by the Northern Baptist Convention meeting at Atlantic City last month; by the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; by the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and by a considerable number of local councils of churches and diocesan and other regional bodies in various denominations. Also the Social Action Council of the National Council of the Congregational Churches has specifically endorsed the principles underlying the bill which your committee is now considering.

Madam Chairman, in summary, I should like to emphasize the fact that there is an awakening conscience in the churches on the whole question of justice for minority peoples in our national life. When we are asking Negroes and other minorities equally with white to fight and die in defense of democracy on the battlefields of the world, we cannot, in good conscience, be indifferent to any denial of democratic rights in our life at home. And one of the most elementary aspects of interracial justice seems to us to be equal opportunity for all workers to earn their daily bread. That is why there is a widespread support throughout the churches for the objectives sought by the bill which you are now considering.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Dr. Cavert. It is very encouraging to this committee to find that the Federal Council of Churches is so deeply interested in this problem. We have also found that all the other churches are interested in the problem; the Catholic Church and the Jewish congregations that we have heard from. In fact, I think everybody who believes in God is interested in this very serious problem and we hope that there will be some way found to bring about greater equity.

Certainly we must all admit that every man, regardless of his color or his creed, has the right to find a job. If we do not feel that way, Doctor, it seems to me that this whole war effort would be in vain. We are fighting for democracy—for equal opportunity to work and live—yet here in our own country we have certainly a great deal of discrimination. From all that you have said I gather that you do believe absolutely in equal economic opportunity, for all minority peoples, do you not?

Dr. CAVERT. That is the main point which I have been trying to emphasize in the testimony which I have brought here and which has been very effectively expressed, I think, in many actions by different church bodies.

The CHAIRMAN. You have done a splendid job. Do you not think, too, that when this war is over, there is going to be a very much greater need of this legislation?

Dr. CAVERT. I am sure that will be the case; that is when the real test will come, and that is one of the reasons why we, in the churches, are so much concerned. Because we want to be prepared for that situation we are in favor of legislation which will go as far as legislation can go in safeguarding these principles.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, are you willing to answer questions?

Dr. CAVERT. Yes, indeed; thank you.

Mr. FISHER. Dr. Cavert, you represent the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, as I understand it.

Dr. CAVERT. Yes.

Mr. FISHER. Just for the purpose of the record, how do you function at your conventions? Do you have one representative of each church in America that meets in convention? Or how do you arrive at your resolutions?

Dr. CAVERT. The council, as a whole, meets biennially in plenary session, made up of approximately 450 official delegates appointed by the 25 denominations in proportion to their numerical strength. In the interim, between the biennial meetings, an executive committee meets bimonthly. It is made up of approximately 90 members also representing the 25 denominations. Each denomination, whether large or small, has 2 members, and the larger ones have a proportionately greater number of representatives.

Mr. FISHER. That would be an average of about 2 for each State in the Union, representing all of the churches that you referred to?

Dr. CAVERT. That is right.

Mr. FISHER. But in your general assembly that you have referred to, you have 450 delegates.

Dr. CAVERT. Perhaps I ought to make clear that I am speaking in part for the Federal Council of Churches, which is the official organization for cooperative work among the churches, and in part I am speaking for certain major denominations as national bodies which have taken independent action quite regardless of the Federal Council. The Methodist General Conference, to which I have referred, for example, and whose resolution I read, when it met in Kansas City for 2 weeks at the end of April and beginning of May, had official delegates numbering 762, appointed by every local conference of the Methodist Church in every State of the Union.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, whose resolution I read, when it met in Chicago only last week and the week before, had approximately 600 members representing all of the presbyteries of that national body, from every State in the Union.

The Northern Baptist Convention had approximately 2,400 registered delegates. It is a much larger body.

I think when you consider that what I have reported to you is not actions of the Federal Council's Executive Committee alone, but reinforced by official resolutions during the last few months of the great national denominations—the Methodist Church alone, for example, has 8,000,000 members—you will see that I am reporting to you, as a matter of objective fact, a very widespread concern, expressing itself in a score of different ways and as more or less a spontaneous welling up of opinion on this subject. I would not ask you to take this very seriously if it were merely one resolution of an executive committee. It is not that. It is a great body of actions.

Mr. FISHER. I will ask you this question, then. Do you know of any particular church, of any local congregation, that has passed a resolution with reference to any one of the three bills now pending?

Dr. CAVERT. Local churches do not ordinarily pass resolutions on national legislation. They expert that to be done by the national representative bodies of their church.

Mr. FISHER. Then, as I understand your testimony, there is no local congregation in America that has had before it, or before the people of the congregation, the three bills that are now before this committee and with respect to which any action by that congregation alone has been taken?

Dr. CAVERT. I have no way of knowing how many such congregations there may be.

Mr. FISHER. Well, do you know of any?

Dr. CAVERT. I would not know of them probably, because local actions are not reported to us. We are a federation of 25 national bodies.

Mr. FISHER. Then if there has been any action by any local congregation in America, you do not know anything about it; is that correct?

Dr. CAVERT. I will reply, if I may, by taking as an illustration of local interest and action——

Mr. FISHER. I mean action of a local congregation meeting in one church house.

Dr. CAVERT. As I have already said, I would not know of them, because we make no effort to secure them. They would be reported to their national denominational bodies.

Mr. FISHER. I understand then, that if there has been anything of that kind, you do not know anything about it, or you have no information about it?

Dr. CAVERT. I have no information about it. But I would like to add that that really is rather irrelevant, because that is not the way in which churches express themselves on national legislation. They express themselves through their national bodies which, like the Methodist General Conference, are made up of local representatives from every State and every local conference throughout the Nation.

Mr. FISHER. I understand that. You mentioned 8,000,000 members of a church that you represent here indirectly, but I am wanting to know whether those 8,000,000 you are talking about have ever taken any formal action with reference to any of these bills before us.

Dr. CAVERT. Yes; they have, through the action of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, which is the body duly authorized to deal with such matters for the Methodist Church.

Mr. FISHER. In other words, every member of the Methodist Church, in every local congregation, is bound by the action taken by the national conference, is that correct?

Dr. CAVERT. Within our Protestant bodies nobody is bound by any formal authority. These statements are expressions of the considered judgment of these representatives of the church. They have no coercive authority over any member of the church.

Mr. FISHER. I understand. Then you do not know whether they represent the views of the majority of their individual congregations or not.

Dr. CAVERT. When the Congress of the United States votes unanimously for a measure, I assume there is good reason for believing that that action represents the people of the United States. When the Methodist General Conference, which is equally a delegated body representing all areas of this great denomination, votes for a proposal, I assume that action also represents that body.

Mr. FISHER. I see your analogy. In other words, you feel that it is a basis of representation.

Dr. CAVERT. It is a basis of representative government on which we have to go.

Mr. FISHER. Of course, you understand that in our political system we have issues that are presented to the people from time to time, and men are elected or defeated because they stand for this or for that; for the F. E. P. C., or against it, and so forth. That, of course, is not true with the delegates from the individual churches, is it?

Dr. CAVERT. I think that you have the equivalent in our delegated bodies, because a subsequent general conference can, and sometimes does, override the actions of preceding general conferences. You have the give and take of democratic procedures in our church bodies, as in our political bodies.

Mr. FISHER. Of course, the people elect their Representatives to Congress by individual vote on expressions of the public issues involved. But, as I understand in this case, the one that you have involved here, the people themselves never ratify and confirm the action of the delegates, never instruct them beforehand with reference to these issues?

Dr. CAVERT. They definitely elect those who are to represent them in these national governing bodies of the church.

Mr. FISHER. But, so far as you know, those local congregations have not taken formal action and conveyed their views directly and personally to the delegates that you have referred to, on an issue of this kind?

Dr. CAVERT. Normally they would not do so. They would send them uninstructed.

Mr. FISHER. Let them use their own judgment as to what they think is best?

Dr. CAVERT. Yes.

Mr. FISHER. Then they may or may not agree with what they do. That would naturally follow, would it not?

Dr. CAVERT. Yes. Of course, theoretically they may or may not agree, but when you find this action springing up in so many different bodies——

Mr. FISHER. I understand.

Dr. CAVERT. I think that it does not take any very great argument to persuade one that it represents a real current of public opinion.

Mr. FISHER. Dr. Cavert, do you believe that if an individual engaged in business, in which he has some money invested, and as a result of which he creates a few jobs—we will say five or more, to come within the scope of this bill—should have the right to select his employees, the employees who he believes would be the best to operate that business profitably? Do you believe in that?

Dr. CAVERT. He certainly should have the right to select those people who will be the most competent to fulfill the duties, but I do not think he should have the right to select people because they are white or black or Protestants or Catholics or Jews.

Mr. FISHER. You do not think he should have any choice; you think the Government should step in and tell him whom to hire?

Dr. CAVERT. I think that if we are going really to maintain a national life on a democratic basis, which permits us to pick up, let us say, Negroes out of their daily occupations and send them to Europe, or the Pacific islands, to fight for our Nation, we owe them something in the way of economic opportunity when they return; and that we ought to be ashamed of ourselves if we discriminate against them on account of their color or their religion, when we do not discriminate against them on that basis when it comes to asking people to fight and die for their country.

Mr. FISHER. I have heard that argument made several times.

Dr. CAVERT. Do you not feel that it is a pretty good argument?

The CHAIRMAN. It is an argument that cannot be answered.

Mr. FISHER. Do you believe in social equality of the races?

Dr. CAVERT. It seems to me that is, as the lawyers would say, irrelevant and immaterial to the question at hand.

Mr. SCANLON. Will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. FISHER. Yes.

Mr. SCANLON. There is nothing in my bill about social equality.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly; that is understood.

Mr. SCANLON. There is nothing in my bill that says that a man must hire certain people if he employs five or more. The provision has to do with discrimination against employment on account of race, color, creed, or national origin. That is the language of the bill.

Mr. FISHER. Madam Chairman, I shall not pursue the question, although I think it is relevant; because it is an indication of one's approach to the subject, whether you approach it from the standpoint of one who entertains that view, or otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is one of economic, not social, opportunity.

Dr. CAVERT. I would like to answer the question, if I may, in order not to seem to be evading it. One man may believe in what is ordinarily called social opportunity, and another man may not; but it seems to me that both Mr. A and Mr. B, in a country founded on our principles, must agree that, regardless of views about social equality, they should have equal opportunity to employment, and to lay the foundations of a decent life.

Mr. FISHER. Doctor, getting back to my question that I propounded to you a little while ago, do you believe that where a man has his own business and creates jobs as a result of his own investment—perhaps has borrowed money to do so—in the employment of five people, if he believes certain people would be most effective in that business and return him the most on his investment—do you believe that he should not be given the privilege of hiring all whites if he prefers that kind of employees, rather than mixing them with Negroes, or hiring all Negroes?

Dr. CAVERT. I think he must have the privilege of selecting people who, in his judgment, will be most competent to do the job. I do not think any American should be given the privilege of selecting people just because he happens to like the color of their skin, which has nothing to do whatever with their competence in the job.

Mr. FISHER. You would leave that up to the individual, then?

Dr. CAVERT. I am not willing to leave it up to the individual. I think we have to set a national pattern for such things.

Mr. FISHER. You think the Government should step in and tell him that he must hire Negroes even though he feels that in his particular business, if he did so, he would not make a profit in his business?

Dr. CAVERT. Certainly the Government must not tell him that he must hire Negroes. But I do think the Government has the right and the duty to set up certain safeguards to see to it that no minority group is deliberately discriminated against just because of the prejudice of an employer or a union.

Mr. FISHER. In other words, it is your view, as I understand it, that if a man goes into a business that comes within the scope of the provisions of these bills, and wants to hire 10 people to help operate that business—let us say it is a ladies' ready-to-wear establishment, and that it comes within the definition of interstate commerce, and within the scope of this bill—and let us assume that 10 Negro women apply, and 10 white women apply, and that he prefers whites because he feels that they would be best for his business, in the particular situation, knowing that from experience; and that he does not want Negroes because he does not want colored people for that particular work, he has that feeling about it—would you feel that he was discriminating against them because he arbitrarily refused to hire them, for that reason?

Dr. CAVERT. It seems to me so. I would only add that if all the other people took the same attitude, how would our Negro workers support themselves? They would be the victims of a prejudice which had nothing to do with their competence in the job, but a prejudice against the color of their skin which God gave them.

Mr. FISHER. In other words, if you were directing the matter, you would require them to hire either all or at least part of their employees from those who were Negroes; in this particular establishment, Negro women?

Dr. CAVERT. I would put it not quite that way. I would put it negatively. I would require him not to discriminate against any person merely because of race, creed, or color.

Mr. SCANLON. Madam Chairman, may I interpose this, that great stress is being laid on the Negro group, as though this bill were drawn specifically for them. It is not. There are many other races in this country who are being discriminated against when it comes to employment. The purpose of the bill is to prevent discrimination against any minority group, not the Negro group alone.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think Mr. Scanlon, everybody really knows that who has read the bill?

Mr. SCANLON. It would not seem so from the questions that are being asked.

Mr. FISHER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCANLON. Yes.

Mr. FISHER. Just for the information of the Chairman and Mr. Scanlon, the F. E. P. C. has reported that 78 percent of all the cases that they have handled have been cases involving Negroes. So that approximately 80 percent of the problem is a Negro problem.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the largest minority group and of necessity that must be so.

Mr. FISHER. Eight-tenths of the question before us has to do with Negroes. I will concede that the other 20 percent does not.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is time for the committee to lay down some rules governing the hearings. I think it would be fair to say

that no member should take more than 5 minutes of a witness' time in asking questions, for the reason that there are many members who may have questions to ask and it would not be fair for the witness not to be given an opportunity to answer all of the questions.

In the future, if it is agreeable to the committee, I would suggest that we allow each member of the committee not more than 5 minutes on questions.

Mr. FISHER. Madam Chairman, I do not want by my silence to seem to acquiesce in that suggestion.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Madam Chairman, I have not been privileged to hear the formal statement of the witness.

Do I understand, Doctor, that you represent the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America?

Dr. CAVERT. I am here officially representing the Federal Council of Churches and also, in connection with that assignment, reporting on the actions taken by several of the denominations in the council independently of the council's action.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I want to ask only one question; I do not want to be repetitious in what I am requesting, but is there any discrimination, as you understand it, in the over-all organization which you represent, against the colored people, from the standpoint of the usage of a church itself for the purposes of worship?

Dr. CAVERT. No. I know of no such discrimination. There are, of course, different patterns of procedure which vary according to customs of a community, but within the Federal Council I believe I can say without reservation there are no discriminations.

Mr. RANDOLPH. The reason I ask is that I think it is much more important theoretically, if not practically, that the churches living under the banner of Christ observe what you have been preaching, than that we do all at once in our economic system what you advocate.

Dr. CAVERT. Perhaps I ought to make it clear, if I have not already done so, that of the 25 national denominations comprised within the council, 4 of them are Negro bodies, on the same basis of membership and representation and service on committees as the 21 white denominations.

Mr. RANDOLPH. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Cavert, you have made a very fine contribution to this hearing and we are very grateful to you for coming here today. We expected you would take the position you have taken, and are glad we were not disappointed.

Dr. CAVERT. Thank you very much for the courtesy of the hearing, Madam Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Mr. Hubert Wyckoff, Assistant Deputy Administrator for Labor Relations, War Shipping Administration. Mr. Wyckoff, we will be pleased to hear from you at this time.

○

Episcopalian

Find clippings on Synod action.

THE HOUSTON PRESS
January 28, 1947

Church Leaders Vote to Create Biracial Council

(Continued From Page One)

for a cross, Talmadge for a god and Bilbo for a bishop."

Disagree on Intent

Spokesmen and delegates disagreed on whether the question was concerned primarily with Christian principles and the right of Negro delegates to eat with others at a diocesan banquet, or whether it was a veiled question of social equality and a matter to be decided solely by the state.

The question arose when the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, bishop coadjutor of the diocese, in his opening address admonished the group to cancel diocesan banquets if Negro delegates could not be seated and served at them.

Hines Takes Floor

Bishop Hines took the floor again today after A. J. Dow of Galveston declared the issue was "a keg of dynamite" and that he wanted to see the commission idea voted down.

"I am distressed," Bishop Hines said, "that you passed a resolution commending the upholding of the municipal laws. It is one thing to abide by laws, and quite another to go on record as approving those laws.

"We are sitting on a keg of dynamite of our own creation, one which will either explode and blow the church to bits or one from which the fuse can be removed by men who seek the Gospel of Christ. There is one thing you cannot do with a keg of dynamite—you cannot sit on it."

Opposes Commission

J. L. McFadden, a member of this city's bi-racial committee, gave the lengthiest address against formation of the commission and declared that in creating an inter-racial group "you are overlooking the welfare of the church as a whole, approaching the problem on a shallow basis, and overlooking the welfare of the Negro.

"I live my religion every day," he said. "What is it going to do to the Negro to sup with him at our banquets and turn him away from our homes?"

Several clergymen stood among the negative votes cast.

Three Negro Churches

There are three Negro Episcopal churches in this diocese, each of which sends representatives to the diocesan councils.

Two Negro laymen introduced by the Rt. Rev. Clinton S. Quin spoke at the joint session of the council yesterday. They expressed the Negro viewpoint as to why the council should insist on Negro representatives at the banquets.

They were Charles A. Shaw, executive vice-president of the Watchtower Life Insurance Co. and Carter Wesley, publisher of The Informer, both residents of Houston and members of St. Luke's Episcopal Church.

Introduced by Hines

The Negro issue was introduced by the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, bishop coadjutor in his opening address, when he asked "If Negro delegates are not allowed to be served at a diocesan banquet, or any other common meal, let us as Christians forego that meal."

"There is no reference in the prayer book which asks whether a 'colored' child of God or a 'white' child of God is brought to the altar," Shaw said. "Is it your belief that in the Kingdom in after life, the white, black, red and yellow peoples will be separated?"

Asks Calm Discussion

He asked that the parishoners

Episcopal Churchmen Vote To Create Bi-Racial Council

By MILDRED WHITEAKER
Press Staff Writer

BEAUMONT, Jan. 28.—The 98th Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Texas voted 77 to 68 today to create a bi-racial council to bring about closer co-operation between Negro and white communicants, after some 15 speakers took the floor to thrash out what should be done about the Negro segregation issue, termed "a keg of dynamite."

The council meeting in St. Mark's Episcopal Church was to close its three-day meeting this afternoon.

Host Church Commended

Delegates passed a resolution introduced by Duncan Baker of Waco, commending St. Mark's Episcopal Church, council host, for upholding the statutes of the state and the ordinances of the city.

A city segregation ordinance prohibited Negro delegates to the council from attending the diocesan banquet in the Hotel Beaumont last night.

Resolution Asks Study

The council followed this action with a second resolution calling for the creation of a bi-racial clergy, laymen and laywomen committee to study the Negro problem, and report to the council next year on what can be done to achieve closer co-operation between the two races.

At one point the youthful Rev. Richard Schoolmaster of Conroe rose and said, "If this group turns down this bi-racial commission I will no longer want to work as a clergyman in this diocese."

Following several addresses against the commission, M. C. Forbes, Texas City layman, walked to the front and declared with gestures toward the altar, "If you continue in this attack you will use the symbol of the Ku Kux Klan

(Turn to CHURCH, Page 7)

zenship --- DEADLINE FRIDA

From Alex Meiller
2-1-47

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Asks Calm Discussion

He asked that the parishoners discuss the matter without emotion, but think it through as Christians.

"As a host you would not invite someone to your home, then insult him by going where he could not go," Wesley said. "If you bring Negroes to this council, and then hold a banquet in a place where they cannot go you have violated a principle of Christianity.

"This is a matter of Christian principle. Let's cease to hide behind city ordinances which laymen make. If you lend your influence to these ordinances, I think you have fallen from the practice of Christian principle."

Many persons expressed the view that the issue will not come up for debate.

Much Comment Heard

"It is an issue we will have to face squarely one day," some of them said.

"Yes, but we are not ready for it," others answered.

No Negroes were present at last night's banquet meeting.

In other action today the Associated Women of the Diocese lost their "taxation without representation" fight to be allowed membership on church vestries.

The men, however, agreed to let a constitutional change calling for women delegates to the diocesan council be printed in the Diocesan Journal. This means that the matter of delegates may be voted on next year.

Three Officials Speak

Speakers at the banquet were the Rev. Franklin T. Osborn, for 30 years a missionary to Brazil, and the Rev. Theodore Wedel, canon of the Episcopal's National Cathedral in Washington, D. C., and warden of the College of Preachers there.

Rev. Osborn said that Brazil, larger than the United States, is beset with problems of illiteracy.

"Sixty-five per cent of the people are illiterate," he said, adding that "the Episcopal Church has 18 parochial schools in that country serving 1600 children." Mission schools are overflowing and have long waiting lists, he told his audience. He admonished churchmen to send their money and missionaries to Brazil and to "grow with that country."

'Hungry for Gospel'

The Rev. Wedel pictured America as a "country filled with pagans hungry for the Gospel of Christ."

"We Episcopalians are proud of our glorious church history," he said. "But, why not mix a little Christian fellowship and evangelism with our religion?"

The diocese includes 88 church congregations in East Texas.

From Alex Miller
2-1-47

Woman's Society of Christian Service, North Georgia Conference,
The Methodist Church, Seventh Annual Session, March 26-28, 1947.

RESOLUTIONS

We, the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church, in annual session, March 27, in Atlanta, Georgia:

1. Urge and will continue to expect full justice to be given in all our courts to all citizens, regardless of station in life, creed or color, and we urge all Methodist women to lift their voices both in support of good government and law enforcement and in protest against any acts of unfairness or brutality on the part of any officer of the law and against injustice wherever found.

2. We are aware that while Georgia law calls for separate facilities for the races in education, transportation etc., it specifically calls for separate but equal accommodations. In all decency and fairness we resolve to work to that end.

3. We resolve to intensify our program against the crime of lynching by: a. Wide distribution of the leaflet, "What One Woman Can Do Against Lynching." b. Securing pledges of church people and public officials to oppose lynching.

4. We also earnestly deplore the injection of Race as an issue in any political campaign because doing so,

a. provides a smoke screen to hide real issues.

b. foments fear and distrust on the part of both races.

c. breeds hatred, injustice and lynchings and encourages Hate organizations.

d. destroys good government.

e. undermines World Peace by causing other nations to doubt our sincerity.

5. We do affirm our unalterable opposition to a "white primary" because it is in direct violation of the constitution of the U. S. and the U. N., of the Discipline of the Methodist Church, of the Social Creed of the Churches and the principles of the Christian religion. We favor in its place educational requirements fairly and equally administered for all voters.

6. We urge our nation to accept its full share of responsibility in providing homes for displaced and homeless victims of totalitarian brutality and religious persecution and we pledge ourselves as Christians to respond liberally to the calls for World Relief as long as the need exists.

7. It is our conviction that peacetime universal military training by the U. S. would undermine the disarmament proposal being considered by the U. N. and is thus both unadvisable and useless in this atomic age.

8. Believing that the concept of "One World" is inherent in the gospel of Christ, we favor the strengthening of the U. N. O. by the early organization of a World police force and by working toward the formation of a World Government with limited powers adequate to prevent war.

Mrs. A. A. Hardy, Chairman

Episcopal

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

Lubbock (Tex.) Journal

MAR 11 1947

Date

Racial Study Is Conducted

34

A "Race Relations" forum was presented Monday afternoon for Asbury Methodist Woman's Society of Christian Service at Fellowship hall with the following speaking; Rev. James Noon of the Mexican Catholic church and Rev. Pablo Calderon of the Mexican Methodist church, discussed problems of the Mexican people; Rev. Williams of the Negro Seventh Day Adventist church spoke on overcoming prejudices among races; Lillian Struggs, primary teacher at Dunbar, spoke on Negro school problems; Dr. J. A. Chatman, of the Chatman hospital, discussed problems of the Negro race and conducted a question and answer period.

Song History Told

Mrs. A. N. Gamble, at a meeting of First Methodist W. S. C. S. at the church, told the history of the song "Take My Life and Let It Be" and sang it as a special number. Mrs. B. L. Cogdill continued a study of the subject, "Christian Motive and Method of Stewardship," and closed the meeting with a prayer.

"Dedication of the Christian Family" was topic of a Lenten study presented by Mrs. C. E. Merkt for St. Paul's Episcopal Woman's auxiliary at Seaman hall.

Members of First Christian Woman's council met in circles. Circle 1 had Mrs. Harry Sharp as teacher in the home of Mrs. Vera Salmon. Eight members and one guest attended and Mrs. Paul Barrier presented a devotion. The meeting of Circle 2 was held in the church parlor with the hostess, Mrs. R. G. Sears, bringing a devotion. The lesson was taught by Mrs. L. O. Armstrong and business was presided over by Mrs. C. M. Neel.

Lesson Taught

Mrs. R. A. Jordan taught for 19 members of Circle 3 who met with Mrs. J. M. Davis. A devotional message was by Mrs. D. N. Leaverton. Mrs. J. J. Park was hostess to eight members of Circle four. Mrs. Roxie Crausbay taught for the group. Circle 5 had a meeting with Mrs. Frank Haden.

Monthly missionary program presented for First Baptist Women's Missionary society at the church featured three musical numbers given by a Negro chorus from the Negro Baptist church under the direction of Minnie Gasper. They were "Steal Away," "Leaning on the Everlasting Arm" and "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot."

Mrs. W. H. Trice spoke on "Today's Challenge to Home Missions" and Mrs. Roy Bass was in charge of the program which was closed with a prayer by Dr. J. Ralph Grant. Approximately 75 persons attended. An Annie Armstrong mission offering of $125 was given.

Circle 2 of First Presbyterian Woman's auxiliary met for a luncheon in the home of Mrs. T. R. Prideaux with Mrs. Leroy Patton as co-hostess. Mrs. James Sampson is circle leader and 15 persons attended.

Mrs. John Essex discussed life in Haiti at a luncheon meeting of Circle 6 of the auxiliary in the home of Mrs. J. H. Murdough. A devotion was presented by Mrs F. A. Kleinschmidt and 23 persons were present.

SOUTHERN PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

(14)

19

New Orleans, La., Times-Picayune
April 12, 1947

sion home, Mrs. ~~C. D. Smith~~, New Orleans; the Margaret Fund, Mrs. Henry Mims, Baton Rouge; the Mary Lou Jenkins Scholarship Fund, Mrs. W. A. Peters, Alexandria.

RACE TOLERANCE URGED BY WSCS

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

Lake Charles, La., April 11.—The importance of racial tolerance was stressed by Dr. Margaret Applegarth, of New York, author and lecturer, at the final session of the Women's Society for Christian service Thursday in the First Methodist church. The speaker is a member of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, is national chairman of the World Day of Prayer Committee of the United Council of Church Women, a teacher in International Study Conferences, the author of about 30 books and editor of a monthly magazine for blind children in braille.

New Orleans was selected as the meeting place for the 1948 conference with the Rayne Memorial church as headquarters. A program on "Our Investments and Our Gifts," was also presented Thursday by Mrs. L. B. Kilpatrick of Shreveport, state treasurer.

A highlight of the youth program with "Going His Way" as the theme was the talk Wednesday night by Dr. J. N. Score, president of Southwestern university, Georgetown, Texas, at the final evening session.

The singing of the Centenary college choir of Shreveport was also a feature of the program.

Speaking on "Youth Must Lead," after an introduction by the Rev. J. Henry Bowdon, local pastor, Dr. Score said young people will lead only after careful preparation, and upon realization that they must depend on others for help.

Dr. Score asserted that preparation for leadership is three-fold: Realization of the "immediacy of the moment," the search for a purpose big enough to die for, and the search for friends to help along the way.

TEXAS
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
DALLAS

Denton (Tex.) Record-Chronicle

Date APR 16 1947

Baptist Women Plan Conference At Negro Church

34

An inter-racial institute will be held Friday from 1:30 to 5 p.m. at the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church, Wood street, sponsored by the Women's Missionary Union at the Highland Baptist Church and at the First Baptist Church.

The main address, carrying out the theme of "The Place of the Home In Today's World," will be by Mrs. Theron J. Fouts, district WMU president.

The devotional talk will be given by Mrs. Othello Hill and greetings will be extended by Mrs. Mamie Williams. Mrs. J. L. Roden will give the response. Mrs. Roger D. Hebard will speak on "Bible Study in the Home," Talks also will be made on "Handwork for the Home," arranged by Miss Nena Roberson, county home demonstration agent. Mrs. R. M. Barns and Mrs. W. M. Jost will preside at the meeting.

Special music will be presented by the choral club of the Fred Douglas School under the direction of Mrs Parthena Brooks.

Mrs. J. L. Wright is in charge of recreation. A refreshment course will be served, arranged by the community missions committee of which Mrs. T. R. Brooks, Jr., is chairman.

SOUTHERN
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ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ORDER NUMBER

This clipping from

Brunswick Ga. News
May 8, 1947

I 10

THE BRUNSWI

NEGROES GRANTED CHURCH RIGHTS

Augusta, Ga., May 8 —(AP)—The Episcopal Diocese of Georgia has voted to seat negro clergy and lay delegates with full rights at future diocesan conventions.

In voting negroes a voice in church affairs yesterday, the Diocese of Georgia became the next to last state group approving that amendment to the diocesan constitution. South Carolina remains the only state which has not taken similar action.

Earlier, the delegates heard the Rt. Rev. Middleton S. Barnwell, Bishop of Georgia, describe Communism as a "beautiful vision, but unworkable in this present imperfect world."

The Bridge

ISSUED BY
COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Vol. I | May, 1947 | No. 5

COMMITTEE SUBMITS VARIED REPORT TO ASSEMBLY

THE first annual report of the Committee on Christian Relations is now in the hands of the Assembly's Stated Clerk and will appear, for consideration by the 1947 commissioners, in the forthcoming Blue Book. Parts of the report will also appear in some of our church papers. Lack of space prevents our publishing this report in full in The Bridge.

The following excerpts from it, printed here partly for the information of our readers who may not have access to it otherwise, will serve also to indicate the sort of fields embraced by Christian Relations and what the Committee's general approach to these will be.

Introduction

AS every thoughtful Christian is aware, the social and moral problems of our modern world are not only complex and immense but are growing in many ways more baffling and acute. Although many of these problems may never be completely solved in our generation, the Christian people of our time cannot evade the challenge they present. These problems are pressing as never before on the minds of millions of people outside the Church of Christ, and groups that make no pretense of being Christian are clamoring to be allowed to solve them in pagan, vicious and subversive ways. Whether we like it or not, a war of ideas and principles is being waged today in which the very fate of our civilization is at stake, and every field of man's social life, as well as his personal life, has become a battlefield between the contending forces of paganism and Christianity.

This fact lays upon the Church and upon all Christian people, we believe, a tremendous spiritual and social obligation. The Church cannot afford to be unconcerned about any realm of man's common life, lest that field be given over by default to increasingly pagan ideas, policies and customs. Our home life, our business life, our race relations and our international relations—all these and many more are fields where materialistic and non-Christian forces are now aggressively at work to make our world the very opposite of the Kingdom of Christ. For Christian people to be uninformed about such matters, or to be content merely to keep themselves unspotted from the world, is to play into the hands of our adversaries. Only an awakened and aggressive church—a church alert to all the moral perils of our time, a church that brands evil *as* evil wherever it lifts its head, a church that lays upon the conscience of its people the implications of its ethical teachings for every aspect of their private and public life, and then through these members seeks to apply those principles to all the everyday affairs and relations to life—only a church so actively and practically concerned for the spiritual and moral welfare of our world can be the effective agency of God's redemptive power which our times demand.

Alcohol Education

GROWING numbers of people in our American churches are disturbed today over the personal and social effects of beverage alcohol. Just what ought to be done and what can be done to solve the many vexing problems in this field are questions on which Christian people sincerely differ. Despite the disagreements, however, there seems to be a wide field in which our convictions converge and where there is not only the possibility but also the urgent need of vital programs of education and action.

Reports put out by the Yale School of Alcohol Studies show that no less than half of all Americans over fifteen years of age are now indulging in the use of alcohol. In a recent year, say these same reports, American drinkers consumed 90 million gallons of wine for which they paid 325 million dollars, 2,400,000,000 gallons of beer for which they paid $2,915,000,000, and 165 million gallons of distilled spirits for which they paid out nearly four billion dollars. But as big a drain as all this is upon the American pocketbook, the deeper cost of this indulgence is not to be measured in terms of money. The supreme price that our people are paying is in the moral, spiritual and social havoc that is being wrought upon the lives of individuals and families. The situation would be bad enough if, as a recent motion picture implied, strong drink took its only toll in the creation of an occasional "lost week-end" for millions of people; but the worse of it is that by undermining character and wasting our human resources strong drink is taking an even deadlier toll in lost wealth, lost homes, lost opportunity and lost souls.

Among the Committee's recommendations in this field are these:

THAT the Assembly urge upon the members and leaders of our churches that they give all possible aid to those organizations which seek soundly and wisely to rehabilitate

the victims of alcohol, and that they give special aid and commendation to those groups that make use in their ministry of the resources of religion. . .

That the Assembly urge the leaders of our churches to give attention to the need for a thorough, scientific and consistent program of alcohol education in their local congregations and communities—a program that seeks to make clear the implications of Christian ethics for social relationships as well as for individual conduct . . .

That the Assembly call to the attention of the people of our church the deplorable and pernicious effects of uncontrolled and often misleading liquor advertising, and that it also call upon all our members to give careful consideration to the need for regulating such advertising by law in the interest of the national welfare. . .

That, realizing the importance of personal example, the Assembly urge its own members to abstain from all indulgence in intoxicating beverages, and to refrain from any type of participation in, or encouragement of, the alcohol traffic.

Overseas Relief and Rehabilitation

SINCE the end of the war the people of our American churches have given much material aid to suffering peoples around the world. Many Christian groups and organizations have been engaged in overseas relief, and in their work of binding up the world's wounds thousands of people in our Southern Presbyterian churches have generously joined.

These fine deeds, however, must not blind us to the grievous situation in which millions of our fellowmen still find themselves. Says a writer in a recent issue of the Christian Century: "Even a person blessed with a heart that goes out to his fellow men can hardly be blamed for failing to take into account the privations and suffering which, except in a few favored countries, has become the lot of humanity. . . . Continued misery is not news . . . yet the bitter reality is that two worlds [one of plenty and one of want] now exist and that chasm between them is constantly widening. The danger is that it may become unbridgeable."

Now such facts, among the Christian people of America, are being widely accepted as laying upon our nation a heavy and continuing responsibility. But they also present to us a rare spiritual opportunity. The political fate of our nation, as well as the peace of mankind, is being deeply influenced by the everyday practical generosity of our people. If in the hearts of all Americans there can be developed a sustained determination to relieve pressing human needs—a determination to use our economic resources to aid rather than hinder the rehabilitation of nations and to promote the material welfare of all mankind—there can be no doubt that we shall undergird and reinforce enormously the moral foundations on which any secure peace will have to be built.

Five years ago Mr. Wendell Willkie came back from a trip around the world saying that he had found a vast "reservoir of goodwill" among the nations toward the United States. This reservoir of goodwill we must not permit to run dry. Our wartime idealism and generosity must not be allowed to give way to peacetime indifference and self-absorption. For our own sakes as well as theirs, we cannot afford to furnish to the hungry and destitute peoples of the world the spectacle of a well-fed and complacent America going its own way indifferent to the fate of mankind. We believe that the people of our church, when the opportunities and needs of this situation are laid upon their hearts, will continue to respond with liberality and sacrifice.

★ ★

Soviet-American Relations

NO thoughtful American needs to be told that Russia poses for our nation today a gigantic and frightening political problem. A no less sobering fact, however, is that Russia presents also to the American people a tremendous and demanding spiritual challenge as well.

There is a way of dealing with Russia, we believe, that will foster the spirit of enmity and which in time may lead to war. But there is also a way of dealing with Russia that might be called the way of Christian realism—a realism which, if it has no place for blindness, sentimentality or appeasement, also leaves no room for cynicism or despair.

TO the end that our country may adopt and pursue this better and more realistic course, and to the end that peaceful relations between these two great powers may be maintained, we recommend:

(1) That the Assembly urge our people to become as fully informed as possible about Russia and the Russian people.

(2) That the Assembly urge our people to guard carefully what they say about Russia. The statement so often heard that war between America and Russia is "inevitable" is a conjecture based more on fears than on facts. The Christian citizen who wants to be honest and who believes in the power of friendship will examine carefully all rumors before passing them on, and in general will be scrupulous about what he says, remembering, as St. James declared, that while the tongue is a "little member" it can set ablaze tremendous fires.

(3) As perhaps our best defense against the spread and threat of Communism, we recommend that the Assembly call upon our people to take the lead, along with Christian people

(*Continued on page 3*)

★ ★

Pre-Assembly Conference Not To Be Held

Since the kind of leaders desired by the Committee for the pre-Assembly Conference could not be secured for the scheduled dates, this conference will be omitted this year. The Committee hopes, if the Assembly agrees, to make plans early this summer for a pre-Assembly Conference on Christian Relations in 1948.

★ ★

The Bridge

Issued monthly by the Committee on Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Editor: JOHN H. MARION, JR., Director, Committee on Christian Relations, 3809 Seminary Avenue, Richmond, Va. *Editorial Assistant:* HELEN C. JOHNSON. Subscription Price, 50¢ a Year. Second-class entry applied for at Richmond, Va.

of other churches, in demanding that our country prove its superiority to Russia by the positive practice of our Christian principles and the constructive extension of our democratic freedoms. We must wage a battle for justice and fair dealing for the common man in a Christian way no less vigorously than Russia now wages that battle in its way.

Presbyterian Church U.S.

Civil Rights

ONE cornerstone of our democracy is what we call our "civil rights." To safeguard the health of our body politic it is not enough that we defend the principle of majority rule, but that we also protect in practice the rights and opinions of our minorities. To fail in this basic obligation is to endanger in the end the liberties of all.

Yet if signs are to be believed, the civil rights of many people in our land today are being seriously threatened. Groups that have little or no respect for the rights of certain minorities are gaining strength in many quarters. Violence, intolerance, misrepresentation and falsehood are being employed as weapons of intimidation and suppression. Many of our Southern states and communities, to be sure, have been fairly free of the outrageous deeds of organizations that march under banners of bigotry and hatred. Yet we cannot rightly assume that all denials of civil rights are perpetrated by secret bands that parade in sheets by night; and the possibility of similar misdeeds in less spectacular fashion should keep us eternally vigilant.

AMONG the recommendations:

(1) *That the Assembly go on record as condemning all organizations and individuals in our country whose aim and purpose is to hinder any American minorities in the exercise of their civil rights, or that seek to deny such rights to any groups or individuals because of their race, creed, class or color.*

(2) *That since our American Congress has seen fit to maintain its Committee on un-American Activities, the Assembly call upon this Committee to be no less concerned to investigate and expose the un-Americanism of organizations like the Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan—which are definitely akin to fascism—than it is to expose organizations whose subversive activities stem from their Communist character.*

Federal Funds for Parochial Schools

SOUTHERN Presbyterians stand for the separation of church and state. For this reason we look with concern and apprehension upon a number of bills now before our national Congress that appear to threaten this historic principle by providing federal funds for sectarian church schools.

No one can doubt that American education is now in a desperate situation. Many of our schools are finding their efficiency gravely impaired because of inadequate funds. And since our nation as a whole has a vital stake in their improvement, we are in hearty accord with the wish to give help to our public schools by the judicious use of federal grants in aid.

But we believe that using federal tax money for sectarian religious schools would be a serious and tragic mistake. By violating the principle of the separation of church and state it would jeopardize, as we see it, many of our historic and priceless constitutional liberties; and our belief at this point is not based merely on the fact that most of the parochial schools involved are Roman Catholic. The violation of principle would occur *because they are religious and sectarian.*

Increasing danger would also lie in the still more drastic changes in our American way of life for which these bills might open the way. A substantial minority of the population of the United States under the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church is opposed to the principle of the separation of church and state as embodied in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and as embodied in the Constitutions of many of the states. The opponents of the principle are constantly seeking for ways to break down the separation which exists. They have met with some minor successes in the past. The passage of either of the Senate bills referred to would constitute for them a major victory and, unless the measure was held unconstitutional, there would result a drastic change in our American way of life. One of the bases of our freedom as the founders of this republic understood it and struggled to establish it would thereby be destroyed.

WE therefore recommend:

(1) *That the Assembly go on record as opposing the "non-public school" provisions of these bills, that it declare its opposition to all such legislation that tends to weaken the wall between church and state, and that it order a copy of this section of our report sent to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the Senate and to the senators of all the states covered by the Presbyterian Church in the United States.*

(Note: Copies of the Committee's report in full, as adopted by the General Assembly, will be available in pamphlet form around the middle of July. If you wish a supply we would appreciate your letting us know, as early as possible, how many copies you can use. Ed.)

★ ★

May 10 — An Anniversary

This is in memory. This is in remembrance.
This is for all the lies that have been told.
The innocent blood, the blood that cries from the ground.
Rise up and speak, you voices!
Voices of dead and living, past and present,
Voices of gagged men, whispering through sore lips,
Voices of children, robbed of their small songs,
Strong voices, chanting of the rights of man,
Rebel and fighter, men of the free heart,
We, too, shall build a fire, though not in fear,
Revenge or barren hate, but such a great
And cleansing fire it shall leap through the world
Like leaping flame!

Freedom to speak and pray,
Freedom from want, and fear, freedom for all;
Freedom of thought, freedom of man's bold mind!

Stephen Vincent Benét
From *"They Burned the Books"*

"UP FRONT" in Christian Relations Activities

HOLDING THEIR CONVENTION SOME WEEKS AGO WITHIN A FEW MILES of Arlington downs, once the center of Texas horse racing, the Presbyterian Men of the Synod of Texas (U. S. A.) adopted unanimously a resolution opposing pari-mutuel betting at horse races. The resolution read: "Whereas a bill has been introduced in the Legislature which, if passed, would legalize horse racing, we recommend that the Presbyterian men of the Synod of Texas go on record as being opposed to the return of legalized horse racing and that we authorize our convention leaders to so advise our legislators at Austin." Another speaker at the same convention drew attention to what he called "the need for laymen to help youth fight the menace of alcoholism."

★

WIDOWS OF CONFEDERATE GENERALS ARE USUALLY anything but challengers of Southern traditions. Their minds, like their shoulders, are supposed to be snugly wrapped in "lavender and old lace." But there is one such person, a frail little old lady in Georgia, whose ideas on one subject have come a long way from 1865. On the "white primary" bill Mrs. James H. Longstreet, widow of the famous general, volunteered a piece of her mind: "A race that can produce a George Washington Carver and a Booker T. Washington," she said, "already has paid the price in service to their country of the highest privilege of American citizenship, which is the ballot."

But the Legislature, it seems, was unimpressed.

★

MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA PASTORAL CONFERENCE, a group of Lutheran clergymen, recently went on record as protesting the "immoral and profane literature appearing as best sellers." The action followed the reading of a paper on the subject by the Rev. Roland Haase, pastor of St. John's Lutheran church, Conover. Modern novels, he said, carry realism to the point where it insults decency and threatens the moral fabric of Christian civilization.

★

TESTIFYING BEFORE A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, David Lilienthal, later confirmed as Director of the Commission on Atomic Energy, declared: "I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any trials that may lie ahead, provided only we practice it in our daily lives. And among the things we must practice is that, while we seek fervently to ferret out the subversive and anti-democratic forces in the country, we do not at the same time, by hysteria, by resort to innuendo and smears and other unfortunate tactics, besmirch the very cause that we believe in, and cause a separation among our people."

★

AN EDITORIAL IN "UNDERSTANDING," A PERIODICAL of the "Committee on Cooperation with Churches" of the National Association of Manufacturers, had this to say about the National Conference on Economic Life recently held in Pittsburgh:

"The National Association of Manufacturers wishes to extend its congratulations to the Federal Council of Churches for having convened this important study conference. We would also like to express a word of high commendation for the exceedingly efficient and just manner in which the meetings were conducted under Mr. Taft's chairmanship.

"During 1947 we look forward to a year in which businessmen, clergy and all other groups may go far along the road of a better understanding, through conscientious and sincere study of each other's problems. Then with a right good will and in new confidence and faith in one another, all groups can unite in achieving a greater measure of the good things of life for all."

LETTERS AND COMMENT

As a former member of the Stillman Institute faculty I am naturally very much interested in the Committee on Negro Work; but that concern carries over into the whole field of Christian Relations. May the work of your Committee meet with the response which its cause so greatly needs.

Ruth D. See
The Biblical Seminary
New York, N. Y.

★

To the Editor:

I have greatly enjoyed *The Bridge* and am confident that it will make an important contribution to the life and thought of our church.

Richard T. Gillespie
Candidate Secretary, Committee of Foreign Missions
Nashville, Tenn.

★

I rejoice in your Committee and in the start you have made. . . We're behind you.

Ben L. Rose
Central Church
Bristol, Va.

★

The April issue of *The Bridge* has just come to my attention. Let me thank you for this . . . issue and express the belief that it will give a great stimulus to the overseas relief program.

Eugene L. Daniel,
Princeton Seminary,
Princeton, N. J.

★

We like *The Bridge* very much and feel that it is material which should be in the hands of our Religious Education Committee. They are interested and concerned about the work of the church, and the first issues of *The Bridge* give promise of adding a much needed spark to the total program.

Herewith a check for seven subscriptions.

Louanna Roach, DRE.,
First Presbyterian Church,
Midland, Texas

Cont. 6-1-47 Fleming

Presbyterians Urged To Oppose Hate Groups

By LATHAN MIMS

MONTREAT, N. C., May 31—(AP)—An official group of the Presbyterian Church in the United States Saturday called on the Church's eighty-seventh General Assembly to take a positive stand on the civil rights of minority groups throughout the nation.

Without making direct reference to recent racial disturbances in Southern States, the Assembly's permanent Committee on Christian Relations asked the Assembly to go on record as:

1. Condemning all organizations and individuals whose aim and purpose is to hinder any American minorities in the exercise of their civil rights, or that seek to deny such rights to any groups or individuals because of their race, creed, class or color.

2. Directing the attention of the House Un-American Committee to "the un-Americanism of organizations like the Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan—which are definitely akin to fascism"—and that the House Committee be equally as concerned with these groups as it is with exposing "organizations whose subversive activities stem from their Communist character."

3. Urging all people to be on guard in their own communities and that "they throw their influence and the influence of their local churches on the side of those forces that seek to uphold for all kinds and classes of Americans their civil and constitutional liberties."

The report, submitted by Dr. McDowell Richards, of Decatur, Ga., was referred to the Assembly's standing Committee on Christian Relations.

It came after the Assembly had voted unanimously for the Moderator, Dr. John Rood Cunningham, of Davidson, N. C., to write President Truman reminding him of a promise which church officials said the President made in 1946 that Myron C. Taylor be withdrawn as representative at the Vatican. The President's assurance on this question, the Assembly was told, was conditioned on the signing of the peace treaties and "now that the treaty with Italy has been signed the termination of this official relationship might soon be brought to an end."

Dr. John H. Marion, Jr., of Richmond, Director of the Assembly's Christian Relations Committee, urged Presbyterians, using a "spiritual telescope," to concern themselves with problems of labor-management relationships and with minority racial groups, "keeping our moral and social conscience keenly on the alert."

"Social irresponsibility is not only un-Christian but it also is terribly dangerous," he declared, adding that the social irresponsibility of the church in Germany had contributed largely to the rise of Naziism.

The Christian Relations report, after appealing for emphasis on alcohol education and relief to people in war-torn countries, urged Presbyterians to become "as fully informed as possible about Russia" and "to guard carefully what they say about Russia."

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6-5-47

10TH YEAR—NO. 41

RESOLUTION IS PASSED BY LOCAL WSCS

Mrs. L. M. Spivey, president of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, of Ellaville Methodist Church, has issued for publication the following resolution passed by that organization.

"We, the members of the Ellaville W. S. C. S., having been engaged in the study of the Christian and Race,' wish to make this statement regarding our belief and purpose in regard to this vexing problem.

"First: We believe the race problem exists because men refuse the solution as given by Jesus of Nazareth, 'Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.'

"Second: We are in hearty accord with the pronouncement of the Social Creed of the Methodist Church as stated in our Discipline:

"The Methodist Church aims to view the perplexing problems which we face today in the light of the teachings of Jesus. Jesus taught us to love our neighbors; and because we love them, we seek justice for them. We believe that to be silent in the face of need, injustice, and exploitation would be to deny Him.

"We believe that God is Father of all races, Jesus Christ is His Son, that we and all men are brothers, and that every man is of infinite worth as a child of God.

"We stand for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

"We stand for the rights of racial groups, and insist that social, economic and spiritual principles apply to all races alike.

"Third: We believe that we, as professing Christians, are under obligation to work for these principles in the community where we live; that to keep silent where injustices exist is to share the guilt of the oppressor.

"And finally, we make this declaration: Because we believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man we dedicate ourselves, mind, heart and strength to the building of a society—here and now—where there shall be equal opportunity for all, equal rights before the law, decent living conditions for all, and the privilege of living, under God, the abundant life.

"To those organizations and individuals with similar aims we offer our cooperation; to those who seek to defeat these aims, our opposition."

(15)

Fleming

Preachers Called to Constructive Fellowship

A Practical Answer to a Challenging Appeal

"Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."
Psalms 133:1

Department of General Church School Work
810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee
Division of the Local Church
General Board of Education, The Methodist Church

898-B

June, '47—10M

Preachers Called to Constructive Fellowship

Shortly after the tragic interracial clash which took place last year in Columbia, Tennessee, Bishop R. R. Wright, of the African Methodist Church, addressed to one of our Board secretaries the following appeal:

I have been thinking seriously of what we can do toward promoting better interracial good will. We do not want to wait until something like the Columbia riot happens before we take action. I wonder what our religious leaders can do in this matter?

A layman said to me the other day that it seems that the people of the underworld get closer together than the people of the churches. I do not want to believe that. If, however, it is true, I thought maybe it is because many of the church leaders are timid in suggesting what the churches can do.

I have, therefore, ventured to overcome timidity on my own part to address you this letter, asking you what our churches can do to prevent race riots and build understanding, goodwill, and cooperation, in order that what happened in Columbia a few weeks ago may not happen tomorrow in our own communities. I should be very happy if you would honor me with a reply to this letter, indicating from your point of view what our Christian churches should do now to curb interracial hate and prevent future race riots.

A Challenge That Could Not Be Ignored

This appeal, it was felt, presented a challenge that our Church could not ignore. As a matter of fact, the challenge was more in the situation than in the letter. The letter only served to bring sharply into focus a condition that itself demanded an answer. But what should the answer be?

Obviously it would not suffice to respond merely in general terms of Christian affirmations. There was required also something more immediate and direct than the long-range educational efforts already in process. Action was called for *right now.*

But again, on the side of action it would avail nothing to offer revolutionary suggestions which could not be put into effect, or which if attempted might easily cause more trouble than they could cure. It was necessary to hit upon some step that would be sound and fundamental and yet at the same time realistic and practical.

A Simple Practical Answer

As that question was studied there emerged the suggestion of a simple technique—a device which in itself would answer some part of the need, and provide also an effective means of finding further answers that might be needed from time to time. In a single sentence the suggestion was this:

> IN EVERY COMMUNITY LET THE MINISTERS, WHITE AND COLORED, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF OUR UNITED METHODISM, MEET AT REGULAR INTERVALS FOR FELLOWSHIP, AND FOR CONSIDERATION OF THEIR COMMON RESPONSIBILITY TO CHURCH AND COMMUNITY.

Simple? Yes; nothing difficult about it, nothing revolutionary or even radical. It seemed, on the other hand, so natural, so logical as to be wholly beyond criticism. Who would dare find fault with the preachers of the community for conferring together about their Master's business? So logical is it, indeed, that one would even think it inevitable.

Great Possibilities for Good

Yet consider the great potential value of this simple expedient—to the ministers themselves, to the work of the Church, and to the community. Through such a bond of understanding and cooperation confidence would be promoted across a line too often marked by distrust. Mutual support and encouragement would be provided where they are sorely needed. Misunderstanding could be cleared up, inflammatory rumors scotched, fears allayed, tensions relieved, conflicts averted and the spirit of friendly cooperation in some degree mediated to the whole community. What limitless possibilities for good!

The Bishops Approve

From every standpoint it seemed that this simple procedure ought to be commended to all our Methodist ministers, especially in communities where the Central Jurisdiction is represented. Before proceeding further, however, the plan was laid before some of the bishops of the Southeastern and South Central Jurisdictions, where perhaps the need is greatest. Their responses were most reassuring. Wrote Bishop A. Frank Smith, of the Houston Area:

"I am happy to have your letter with enclosures relating to racial tensions, and shall be glad to cooperate in any way possible toward the end you suggest."

From the Charlotte Area of the Southeastern Jurisdiction Bishop Clare Purcell replied as follows:

"It has always been my policy to encourage frequent meetings of ministers of both races to cultivate a better understanding. This is being done in several cities in the Charlotte Area. I will be glad to cooperate in any way which gives hope of improving interracial good will."

Bishop Costen J. Harrell wrote from the Birmingham Area:

"I am very much interested and concerned in this whole racial problem. I am very sure that our Negro and white ministers should be better acquainted. I have endeavored to know the Negro ministers in the communities where I have lived since I first came into the ministry, and I have ever been on most cordial relations with them. I like the suggestion that they should meet together on occasions. I have participated in these joint meetings and find them successful."

Bishops Kern, Holt, and others have also given assurance of their approval.

Religious Bodies Commend

Meantime numerous religious groups have recognized the values inherent in this plan and are recommending it heartily. The North Carolina Council of Churches, for example, has recorded its purpose "to encourage ministers in communities to meet regularly in interracial fellowship." It recommended further that "in the formation of new ministerial associations due recognition be given to making them interracial," and that local councils of churches be encouraged to "provide opportunities for interracial fellowship and cooperation."

To the same purpose the North Carolina Baptist Convention, confronting the danger of postwar interracial friction, laid upon the church, and more specifically upon the ministry, primary responsibility for keeping the peace.

"The chief hope that we have of preventing such misunderstanding," said the convention, "is an aggressive leadership on the part of the Christian Church at this moment. Such aggressive leadership should have its initiative among the ministers of both races, who ought now, with frequency and with a sense of divine imperative, to come together to canvass local problems and to seek, humbly in the spirit of God, the solution which would prevent the deplorable violence which occurred after the last war."

The National Catholic Welfare Council strongly recommends "the establishment of Catholic Interracial Councils" as agencies of understanding and cooperation. Other groups might be quoted to the same end.

The Test of Experience

Experience, however, is the ultimate test; and there also the evidence is favorable. A few typical cases are mentioned below, some of them involving Methodist ministers alone, others interdenominational in membership:

In *Knoxville, Tennessee,* the ministers now have one Pastors' Association, instead of two. The idea was proposed to the white association by the Rev. I. P. Martin, veteran Methodist minister, and was approved without dissent. Accordingly an invitation to merge was extended to the Negro Pastors' Association and was unanimously accepted. Joint committees worked out the details and the plan promptly went into effect.

Writes Brother Martin concerning the results: "We have now had several meetings of the united Association and they have been altogether harmonious. We are very much pleased and encouraged by the way in which this step has been accepted on the part of both races."

Through their respective ministerial associations the white and Negro preachers of *Durham, North Carolina,* have initiated a cooperative program providing for quarterly meetings of all the ministers of both groups and appointment of two committees on race relations which hold joint meetings monthly. A similar plan is in operation in *Raleigh.*

At *Lumberton, North Carolina,* an interracial council has been organized made up of clergymen and laymen representing white and Negro churches. A white Episcopalian minister was elected chairman, and a Negro Presbyterian, vice-chairman. The new organization is expected to be a safeguard against recurrence of minor racial disturbances.

Rev. Bernie Hampton, pastor of Keith Memorial Church, *Athens, Tennessee,* writes as follows about the Ministers' Interdenominational Conference in that city:

> Two years ago I asked our white ministers' conference if it would not be wise to invite the Negro ministers to come into our group, since many of the problems that we discussed were citywide and we needed to present a united front if we were to meet the needs of our people. After considerable discussion it was agreed to invite them and two came into the group. They are faithful in attendance and take part freely in discussion and activity. I hope our experience will be an inspiration to others in the effort to bring all God's children into a closer and more harmonious relationship.

While pastor of the Methodist Church in *Williamsburg, Virginia,* the Rev. Lewis F. Havermale called a meeting of the clergy of the community, white and colored. Together with a layman from each church, they organized an interracial committee. "Our attempt," writes Brother Havermale, "was to anticipate and correct trends that might lead to trouble in the community. . . . The FBI gave us credit for service in reducing interracial friction to the lowest point in the Virginia area." The committee also performed numerous community services involving Negro welfare.

In *Richmond, Virginia,* the Protestant Ministers' Association includes all the city's Protestant evangelical pastors of both races. The Association meets quarterly. Writes the Rev. Theodore Adams, pastor of First Baptist Church, "The meetings have been very helpful and inspiring."

In *Little Rock, Arkansas,* the nineteen white and Negro Methodist preachers, including those of the C.M.E. Church, have set up a Methodist Council. Its committees are interracial and meet monthly.

In *St. Louis* the City Ministerial Association is interracial. Most of the denominational groups also hold periodic ministerial meetings on an interracial basis.

The All Church Council of *Hot Springs, Arkansas,* was organized in 1938 on an interracial and interfaith basis, and attained a membership of forty or more ministers and laymen. Its expressed object was "the promotion of fellowship among its members and the consideration of matters of general civic and religious interest." Meetings are held quarterly. The Rev. W. B. Slack, pastor of First Methodist Church, gives the Council large credit for the "fine spirit among the churches and races in Hot Springs."

Concerning the first meeting of an interracial Ministerial Association recently organized in *Anderson, South Carolina,* Rev. Samuel Wiley writes:

"It has been a great joy to us who are interested in bettering race relations to see the excellent spirit manifested in our first meeting. We feel that a bridge has been built between the religious leaders of the community and are very grateful that we have found this practical approach to the situation."

Of a similar first meeting in *Tallahassee, Florida,* Brother J. W. Blake, Methodist District Superintendent, says: "This experiment bids fair to be a good and successful venture in Christian cooperation."

From *Washington, D. C.,* where the two racial ministerial groups meet quarterly, Dr. John W. Rustin writes: "We have had very stimulating meetings, and furthermore have come to know each other."

Of similar quarterly get-togethers in *Mobile, Alabama,* the Rev. A. Carl Adkins says: "This relationship has proved to be extremely helpful."

Kansas City, Missouri, has an interdenominational Ministers' Association which is interracial. In addition, all the Methodist ministers of the city meet together monthly, "with perfect freedom of fellowship," according to Dr. H. H. Luetzow, pastor of Broadway Church.

The interdenominational Ministers' Alliance of *Kansas City, Kansas,* is completely interracial, as are also the Ministerial Association and the Council of Churches of *Topeka.*

In *Charleston, South Carolina,* the white and colored ministerial unions hold joint meetings twice a year. At these meetings, according to the Rev. J. C. Smiley, "the special problems of the Negro race are discussed, chief of which here are housing, schools and recreational facilities."

Early in 1944 it was discovered that our Central Jurisdiction preachers in *San Antonio, Texas,* were aggrieved because they had been ignored in local plans for a church-wide program. By way of healing the breach and forestalling further misunderstanding the Anglo-American Methodist preachers proposed that they, the Mexican and the Negro pastors constitute themselves a Methodist Ministerial Fellowship and meet monthly at one of the churches. The invitation was accepted and for two years the plan has been working happily.

District Superintendent I. B. Loud, of the Central Jurisdiction, writes of this fellowship: "It is a great step in the direction of interracial brotherhood." Rev. Frank Ramos, pastor of a Mexican church, says: "It has been most helpful to us as Latin-American ministers." Rev. John Deschner, pastor of McKinley Avenue Church, says of it: "The frankness with which we tackle race and other problems is most refreshing and leads to better understanding among us. It instills confidence, and the fellowship is real and elevating."

This is our case, Brother Preacher. We hope it makes sense to you and that, unless your local ministers already have some agency of interracial fellowship, you will take steps promptly to create one.

The News and Observer
Raleigh, N.C.
Sept. 28-47

CATHOLICS OPEN SESSIONS TODAY

Agricultural Problems To Be Discussed at Committee of the South Meet

Charlotte, Sept. 22.— (AP) —The eighth annual convention of the Catholic Committee of the South will bring representatives from 11 states here tomorrow to discuss such problems as "Agricultural Technology and the South's Displaced Persons" and the region's other rural and industrial problems.

The convention will continue through Thursday with clerical and lay representatives from North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, research professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina and former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, will receive a citation Wednesday evening as "the person who has accomplished the most for the advancement of the South during the past year." Dr. Johnson, a native of Caddo Mills, Texas, is a Methodist. Tomorrow evening a plaque will be presented to the "North Carolina Catholic Mother."

Taking part in the discussions will be the Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, archbishop of New Orleans, and Bishops Vincent S. Waters of the Diocese of Raleigh; Francis R. Cotton of Owensboro, Ky.; Peter L. Ireland of Richmond, Va.; Emmett D. Walsh of Charleston, S. C.; William T. Mulloy of Covington, Ky.; Charles P. Greco of Alexandria, Va.; Richard O. Gerrow of Natchez, Miss.; and William L. Adrian of Nashville, Tenn.

Labor in South.

Proceeding the opening of general sessions tomorrow afternoon will be a morning social action conference for priests and luncheons for the clergy and sisters. "Labor in the South" will be the theme of the social action meeting.

Dr. Arthur Raper, social science analyst of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, will speak at the opening session tomorrow on "The Impact of Agricultural Technology on the Economy of the South." He will be followed by Dr. Ira Reid, Atlanta sociologist, discussing "Agricultural Technology and the South's Displaced Persons."

"The South, Cradle of the Nation," will be the theme of the meeting tomorrow evening on family life.

Rural life in the South will be discussed Wednesday morning by Price McLemore of Waugh, Ala.; Dr. Frank J. Welsh, dean of the Mississippi State Colleeg of Agriculture; Neal McLean of Bricks, N. C.; Dr. George S. Mitchell of Atlanta, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, and I. O. Schaub, director of Extension Service of North Carolina State College.

"Can Management and Labor be Partners" will be the theme Wednesday afternoon of William L. Connolly, director of the Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor; the Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell of New Orleans and Francis Heazel of Asheville.

Thomas Reid, of the McCormick Co., Baltimore, will speak on "Human Relations in Industry" at a general public session Wednesday evening.

Bishop Gerrow will preside at a closed session of the Southern apostolate Thursday morning. Officers and members of the board of directors will be elected at the concluding convention session beginning at noon Thursday.

Interracial Cooperation

A Statement and a Plan adopted by the Commission on Cooperation and Counsel of the Methodist Church and the Colored Methodist Church at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, September, 1947.

Published by

COMMISSION ON COOPERATION AND COUNSEL

DR. C. W. LOKEY, Chairman

150 Fifth Ave. New York 11, N. Y.

INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

A Statement and a Plan

The Commission on Cooperation and Counsel, composed of representatives of The Methodist Church and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, has for many years worked for interracial cooperation and the strengthening of the historic traditions which bind together the two churches and their members. The meeting of the Commission at Paine College in the fall of 1947 was of unusual significance. It was held on soil made sacred by long fraternal association, mutual service, and the memory of great men of both races who worked together in Christian love. It was attended by the Bishops of the Colored Methodist Church and the Southeastern Jurisdiction of The Methodist Church, who met in joint session for the first time, by editors of papers published by the two denominations, and some distinguished visitors. At this meeting the beautiful Warren A. Candler Memorial Library was formally dedicated.

Among the actions taken was the adoption of a statement on interracial cooperation and some suggestions for implementing the same. It was felt that the present period and current events present an imperative challenge to all Americans of good will to work unceasingly for the improvement of race relations, and that this challenge comes with unusual force to the white and Negro Methodists who since 1870 have lived and worked together. The statement and plan, prepared and adopted without dissenting voice by Southern men and women of both races, officially appointed by their Churches, is therefore presented to the two denominations, with the hope and prayer that congregations and groups everywhere will carefully study them and use them for the further strengthening of the ties between us and the development of even better relations between our two groups and races.

CHANNING H. TOBIAS
THELMA STEVENS
ELMER T. CLARK
Committee

INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
A Statement and a Plan

This meeting of the Commission on Cooperation and Counsel, composed of representatives of The Methodist Church and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, is being held at a time in the history of our nation and of the world when it seems important to consider anew the basic principles upon which our Government was founded. These principles have been brought recently to the attention of the nation by the President of the United States in a memorable address delivered before fifty thousand people in a public park of the District of Columbia. Speaking to the citizens of the United States with regard to the basic freedoms that should be enjoyed by all people, the President said, among other things, the following:

"As Americans, we believe that every man should be free to live his life as he wishes. He should be limited only by his responsibility to his fellow countrymen. If this freedom is to be more than a dream, each man should be guaranteed equality of opportunity. The only limit to an American's achievement should be his ability, his industry, and his character. The rewards of his effort should be determined only by these truly relevant qualities.

"Our immedite task is to remove the last remnants of the barriers which stand between millions of our citizens and their birthright. There

is no justifiable reason for discrimination because of ancestry, or religion, or race, or color.

"We must not tolerate such limitations on the freedom of any of our people and on their enjoyment of the basic rights which every citizen in a truly democratic society must possess.

"Every man should have the right to a decent home, the right of an education, the right to adequate medical care, the right to a worthwhile job, the right to an equal share in the making of public decisions through the ballot, and the right to a fair trial in a fair court.

"We must insure that these rights—on equal terms—are enjoyed by every citizen."

The history of cooperative effort between the two religious communions represented here, as illustrated in the work of the institution on whose grounds we meet today and in similar cooperative religious and educational enterprises throughout the South, is such that it will not be difficult to secure a reaffirmation by our Churches of their loyalty to the principles enunciated by the President in his address. But it is not enough merely to give assent to these high principles. The Churches, in the spirit of our Lord and Master, should move forward more vigorously than ever before to translate these principles into action. To that end we call upon the leaders and the communicants of both Churches to work on all possible fronts to achieve larger interracial understanding and cooperation. The Commission therefore recommends to the Churches the following immediate next steps:

1. That the leaders in both Churches call attention to interracial and intercultural practices in the Churches themselves in order to determine the extent to which they accord with Christian ideals.

2. That the Churches give their backing to the findings of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and help to implement the working out of the same by making these findings known to the constituency of the Churches, and encouraging the widest possible discussion of them.

3. That local Churches be encouraged to undertake specific programs of action in interracial cooperation. To this end the Commission submits the following suggestions for use in the Churches:

(1). That Sunday Schools, Epworth Leagues, Young Peoples Societies and Adult Study Clubs of the Churches be encouraged to improve their knowledge of other racial groups by the following means:

a. Making occasional use of carefully selected representatives of other groups as speakers for group or public meetings.

b. Promoting reading courses in the history of minority groups, especially the history of the American Negro.

c. Making use of the courses of study on race relationships prepared by the Home Missions Council, the Missionary Education Movement, and the Mission Boards of the Churches.

d. Having noted authorities in the field of anthropology give occasional lectures on the races of mankind so as to present the facts on inherited and acquired characteristics of the races.

(2). That the Churches be encouraged to promote interracial and intercultural participation in projects of common interest to the racial groups concerned.

a. By inviting representatives of different racial groups to participate in interracial and intercultural Institutes or Conferences.

b. By gathering and presenting facts through interracial, cooperative surveys of community life.

c. By studying successful experiences in interracial group exchanges such as those provided through work camps sponsored by the Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

d. By holding interracial ministerial meetings.

(3). That Church members, particularly the youth, be encouraged to develop an attitude of critical-mindedness in order to distinguish between truth and falsehood in interracial matters.

a. Listing and frankly studying unfavorable stereotypes associated with certain racial groups.

b. By a frank facing of the characteristics and behavior of one group that may be offensive to the other.

(4). That interracial discussion and conferences be encouraged in order to resolve local differences so that interracial conflicts may be prevented.

a. By supporting and participating in interracial meetings for the study and discussion of current local problems.

b. By considering techniques which have been successfully used in resolving conflict situations.

c. By endeavoring to influence the newspapers

to avoid all discriminatory references in their presentation of the news and the undue "playing up" of crime news having racial involvments.

(5). That stress be placed upon similarities among groups of different ethnic and cultural origins.

a. By engaging interracial and intercultural groups in activities in which the main emphasis is not upon racial matters.

b. By studying literature in which the main emphasis is upon the common needs and ambitions of humanity.

(6). That the idea be disseminated that democracy is realized only if minority groups share in constitutional rights, including the right to organize, be represented and actively participate in government.

a. By studying the effects of restrictive covenants in real estate contracts upon democracy and Christian fellowship.

b. By studying residential zoning laws, election procedures and government practices in general.

c. By studying and practicing democratic law making procedures in local, community, state and national law-making bodies. For example, participating in mock legislatures, either in schools, churches or court houses.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
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This Clipping from
Atlanta, Ga., Constitution
October 16, 1947

I-10

Episcopal Synod Bans Racial Discrimination

By KATHERINE BARNWELL

Episcopal clergy and laymen attending the Twenty-First Synod in Atlanta passed a resolution late Wednesday providing that all future synods be planned in such a manner that there would be no discrimination against Negro delegates.

Bishop John Moore Walker, of Atlanta, who introduced the resolution, pointed out that Negro priests and laymen at the current Synod had not been able to attend dinner meetings held in hotels here because of State segregation laws.

The Synod also passed a resolution recommending that the next Synod allocate $1,000 to the Bishop Payne Divinity School for the training of Negro clergymen.

One of the highlights of Wednesday's meetings was an address by 19-year-old Philip Zabriskie, of Alexandria, Va., who discussed the value and significance of the recent World Conference of Christian Youth in Oslo, Norway.

Zabriskie said the conference brought into focus the extent and power of the Church by assembling Christian young people from nearly every spot on the globe. He said through personal relationships there, American delegates were able to realize "the abysmal depths of human suffering abroad."

Americans were able to infuse "some hope into the hopeless lives" of Europe's downtrodden peoples, he added.

The Rev. Harry Tisdale, Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Decatur, was appointed to a volunteer post in the Department of Education to co-ordinate the work of the Department with youth throughout the Southeast.

Robert G. Cook, Department of Promotion of the National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, was speaker at the provincial banquet Wednesday night at the Biltmore Hotel. His subject was "Radio and the Church."

The Synod and the Woman's Auxiliary will conclude their meetings here today. Today's program will begin with Holy Communion at 7:30 a. m. at All Saint's Church, with the Rt. Rev. James M. Maxon, retired Bishop of Tennessee, as Celebrant. Officers will be elected this morning.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ORDER NUMBER

This Clipping from

Columbia, S. C., State
October 16, 1947

Episcopal Bishop Urges That Negro Members Be Treated as a Special Minority Group, Giving More Voice

Atlanta, Oct. 15 — (AP) — The Synod of the Episcopal province of Sewanee approached the problem of racial discrimination in church affairs today and Bishop John Moore Walker urged that the problem be resolved by treating Negroes as a special minority group.

The Right Reverend Walker said Negroes all over the country had asked that within the church there be no discrimination by reason of race and that they be treated on the level of human beings.

At the same time, Bishop Walker explained, the Negroes complained that they were inadequately represented on committees within the church.

The two positions, Bishop Walker continued, are contradictory in that if the Negroes were treated as all others they would not be entitled to commtitee representation on a numerical basis; i. e., Negro communicants number only 10,000 of the 1,583,000 members.

Hence said the bishop, he had recommended that they be treated as a special minority group, an act which should give them a more active voice in church affairs.

In last night's session, the synod heard Bishop Thomas Neely Curruthers of Charleston, S. C., deplore the failure of the church to influence world affairs.

Bishop Curruthers declared that Christianity must be a religion distinctive in itself and with implicit and concrete beliefs if the world is to prevent another world conflagration.

Delegates will elect new officers Thursday.

New officers of the Daughters of the Kings announced today were: Mrs. Arthur T. Lovett of New Orleans, president; Mrs. Linton Smith of Atlanta, first vice president; Mrs. E. I. Hulbert of Savannah, second vice president, and Mrs. Gloria Anna Bayly of Key West, Fla., secretary-treasurer.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
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ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from

Tennessee Baptist Reflector
October 20, 1947

Baptist World Alliance Denies Racial Segregation At Copenhagen

Washington, D. C.—(BP)—The administration committee of the Baptist World Alliance has unanimously adopted a statement denying the existence of racial discrimination at the recent Baptist World Congress in Copenhagen and pointing to inability of complaining parties to furnish substantiating evidence to support the stories they circulated.

The statement, consisting of four and a half legal size pages of single spaced typewritten matter, recounted details of an intensive investigation by Dr. Louie D. Newton, Atlanta, into sources of newspaper reports and other rumors that had been circulated internationally to the effect certain white Baptists of America in the South had asked Danish hotels to segregate Negro visitors.

"Insofar as we were able to observe," the report concluded, "there was no race discrimination suggested or practiced at Copenhagen on the part of the hotels, public conveyances, boarding houses, private homes, or in the Congress.

"There was no discrimination with reference to Negroes or any other race on the program of the Congress, nor in the worship services in the Copenhagen churches on Congress Sunday. Three Negroes were elected to official positions in the Alliance."

The statement expressed "regret that the papers were willing to publish such serious charges without now being able to produce the evidence upon which the charges were based."

After the administration committee had adopted the statement unanimously, members of the committee and others present personally signed the paper. Those signing were Dr. C. Oscar Johnson, president of the Alliance, Dr. Newton, Roland Smith (Negro), Stanley I. Stuber, Theodore F. Adams, W. H. Jernigan (Negro), Frank H. Leavell, Mrs. Edgar Bates, Mrs. George R. Martin, George B. Fraser, Ellis A. Fuller, and G. L. Prince (Negro) of the United States; A. T. Ohrn of Norway; Bredahl Peterson of Denmark, and C. J. Tinsley of Australia.

Const. 10-16-47

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FROM: The Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

RESOLUTION ON REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Adopted by the Executive Committee, November 18, 1947

On December 5, 1946 the President created, by Executive Order, a Committee to be known as "The President's Committee on Civil Rights". After nearly a year's study this Committee made its report to the President on Wednesday, Oct. 29,1947.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America views the report on Civil Rights, made by the President's Committee, as a notable contribution to our progress toward a working democracy. It commends the statement to all church people, as a document worthy of study.

The Christian concern of the churches for every individual in society is central in the Committee's report. In several respects the report lifts into prominence certain positions taken by the Federal Council, at a Special Meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in March 1946. It is now the especial responsibility and opportunity of the churches to promote discussion of the Committee's report within the framework of the Christian understanding of our faith in God as revealed through Jesus Christ, as it is related to our social living.

We note with approval that the Committee was sensitive not only to the rights of our largest minority group, the Negro, but also to other racial and religious minority groups within our society.

Recognizing the legitimate concern of our Government with the loyalty of those who serve it in the interest of national security, we share the anxiety of the Committee for proper safeguards for the rights of the individual. It should be possible to accomplish all that is needed in the way of security without jeopardizing rights that in our Constitution are held to be inviolable.

We recognize that several of the recommendations concern specific procedures upon which there may be honest differences of opinion. The Federal Council, having already laid down what it regards as basic Christian principles, is especially interested in what may now be done to work out the implications of these principles in practical procedures. Among the objectives in the report of the President's Committee which seem to call for special attention from the churches in view of the Christian principles involved are the protection of human life against mob violence; equal opportunity for employment, regardless of race, religion or national origin; the elimination of segregation in all its aspects, including the outlawing of restrictive covenants in real estate contracts; and the right of every adult citizen to a vote.

The concern for civil rights in our own country is particularly important from the standpoint of our leadership in the world. Our national struggle toward true democracy cannot be isolated from the world scene. We cannot hope to influence other peoples to accept the Christian way of life, or other nations to accept the democratic principles we proclaim unless we can demonstrate in our own community living that we take them seriously and are striving to translate them into effective practice.

We earnestly hope that the membership of our churches will take seriously the challenge issued by the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Office as Second Class Mail matter

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1947.

Women's Organization Votes To Abolish Race Segregation

The woman's division of Christian service for the Methodist church has recommended that the general conference at its meeting in Boston next April abolish the principle of racial segregation in the church.

At Duncan, Miss., Oscar Wolfe, president pro tem. of the Mississippi State Senate and a prominent member of the Methodist church in that state, said a plan to abolish the principle of racial segregation in the church would "mean a splitting up of the church again."

The division, a policy making group for 1,303,452 Methodist women, reported its action Monday of last week at the opening session of the board of missions and church extension of the Methodist church at Buckhill Falls, Pa.

The recommendation is aimed at the organization of the church which set up a separate jurisdiction for Negroes when the Northern and Southern groups were unified in 1939.

Following the announcement, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of Atlanta, warned, "There's no greater danger confronting us today than the hasty adoption of immature and ill-considered plans for remaking the world."

COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

At its meeting in May, 1946, the Convention appointed a committee on race relations assigning to it a threefold task: (1) to review the service now being rendered by Southern Baptists to the Negro race; (2) to study the whole race situation, in its moral and religious aspects, and with special reference to the responsibility of Baptists in the problems of racial adjustment; and (3) to recommend to the Convention a procedure looking toward a better fulfillment of that responsibility.

That committee wishes to make the following report.

I

Our first task was to review the work now being done by Southern Baptists among the Negroes of the South. In order that an accurate and fairly complete picture might be drawn, the committee engaged the services of Mr. N. P. Howington, a graduate student at Louisville who by visitation and interview and correspondence gathered an amount of information too great to be included in this report. It can only be summarized and evaluated.

Frequently, it has been said that Southern Baptists are doing "little or nothing" in this field. That is because much has been unreported and much has lain unnoticed in the reports of various agencies and groups. When put together, the total effort of Southern Baptists in interracial service and co-operation indicates a rather widespread consciousness of our task and obligation. One of the most significant facts that comes to light is the increase and the increasing acceleration of this work during the last fifteen years. Today there are many forms of service and service on a much larger scale than fifteen years ago.

The Home Mission Board has increased its expenditures for Negro work many times over, and to its co-operative work with the Negro Colleges and support of their Bible departments has been added its city mission work which reaches with social and religious service an increasing number of Negro homes and churches. The American Baptist Theological Seminary is today doing the best work of its history, with a greatly improved physical equipment, and an enlarged faculty and student body. The Sunday School Board through its literature which is furnished in large quantities to Negro churches and institutions, and through the services of its workers in the various states and associations, is lifting the level of religious education and leadership training over a large area of the South. The service through the Baptist Student's Union in its conferences and its extension to Negro schools is of incalculable worth in the creation of Christian social attitudes. All the work of these three agencies of the Convention is done co-operatively, and thus contributes also to an increasing understanding and goodwill between the races. The three theological seminaries of the Convention are also rendering valuable service to Negro ministers. Younger teachers of the Southern Seminary go to Simmons University (a Negro school) twice a week to give regular seminary courses to members of the faculty of the school who are working toward a theological degree. Other members of the Seminary faculty are giving private guidance to one Negro minister working for his Th. D. degree. At the Southwestern Seminary, night classes are held every year for Negro ministers and also for Negro women preparing for religious work. The New Orleans Seminary cooperates with the Union Seminary (Negro) by furnishing teachers from its faculty and students, serving a student body of around 150 men and women. A most important service that means much for the future is that all our theological schools are offering strong courses dealing with race relations in the light of Christian ethical ideals.

In addition to these tangible services the Inter-Convention Committee on Negro Ministerial Education brings together annually members of the Northern and Southern Conventions and members of the National Baptist Conventions and of the faculties of the Negro Baptist colleges for conference and study looking toward the improvement of Negro ministerial leadership. And the Social Service Commission in its hitherto limited capacity seeks, by the distribution of its reports and through the Social Service Conference at Ridgecrest, to arouse our people to Christian action in harmony with the basic social principles of our religion.

Of greatest significance is the inter-racial work of the Woman's Missionary Union and its organizations in the several states. Its services include considerable and wisely expended financial contributions, the co-operation of many workers in missionary and stewardship education, and in joint meetings and

conferences between white and Negro women. A detailed record of this work would require many pages. The meaning of it in the improvement of women's work in the church and, more than that, in the promotion of mutual understanding and unprejudiced goodwill is beyond measure. It is not masculine flattery to say that no organization among us is doing a more direct and effective work of love than the Woman's Missionary Union.

To this work of southwide organization must be added that of the several state conventions which ranges all the way from voicing the ideals of Christian conscience in race relations by committees on public morals to well organized and well-supported departments of inter-racial cooperation. A number of State Conventions make financial contributions to Negro educational and charitable institutions; some assist the Negro Baptists in the support of religious workers among the churches; others cooperate in other ways in the promotion of Negro Baptist work. Here again the picture is one of expansion and improvement.

In so brief a time it has been impossible to get an over-all picture of the services of Baptist pastors and laymen in the field of race relations. Sampling here and there in the various states, however, reveals situations ranging from indifference to active interest and participation in inter-racial matters, and well planned programs of helpfulness. It is found that Baptist laymen and pastors in considerable numbers serve as trustees and advisors of Negro institutions and co-operate in inter-racial committees and organizations for the improvement of race relations. In increasing numbers white pastors are establishing brotherly and helpful relationships with Negro pastors in the community; inter-racial pastoral conferences are found helpful, both personally and denominationally. A number of white pastors conduct annually classes in Bible and sermon preparation for local Negro ministers, and supply Negro churches with teachers for Sunday School training courses.

An exact report on financial contributions for Negro work we are unable to give, but the following is an approximation, based on reports from the various agencies and institutions: State Conventions, $82,338.68; State W.M.U. Organizations, $25,053.40; Home Mission Board, $65,000 (besides the Annie Armstrong fund, $25,000); Sunday School Board, $900.00; Woman's Missionary Union, $32,300.00 (including the Annie Armstrong fund expenditure by Home Mission Board). Total, $205,592.08.

The total picture is one of growing interest in various forms of service; and out of the programs and projects there are emerging certain patterns of effective ministry that might well be employed throughout the territory of the Convention.

II

We were asked to study also the whole racial situation in its moral and religious aspects and to face the question of Baptist responsibility in the solution of the problems which it presents. This we have tried to do in the light of the principles of our Baptist faith and our position as a major element in the population of the southern region of the nation where the problems are most acute.

We see the problem as one for which there is no easy or immediately final solution. In the nation as a whole the race problem centers in those minority racial groups which are sharply distinguished from the rest of the population, principally Jews, Japanese, Indians and Negroes. By reason of religious and racial traditions of separateness (as in the case of the Jews), or of racial and physical characteristics and social histories (as in the case of the Negro race), these groups remain and for a long time to come will remain distinct groups. Intermarriage and complete assimilation are so remote a possibility that they afford no hope to those who would thus solve the race problem, and no real ground of fear for those who abhor the idea of amalgamation. The problem as we face it in our time is that of different races finding principles and methods of procedure that will insure justice to all and establish attitudes of mutual helpfulness and good-will.

Here lies the responsibility of Baptists, especially in the South, in the relations of the white and Negro races. There are in the South six million white Baptists and three and a half million Negro Baptists—nine and one-half millions, who believe together in the Lordship of Christ and the authority of his teachings, in the freedom of every soul to find and follow and champion the will of Christ, and in the principles of democracy in church and state. Surely people who believe these things together have a responsibility to God and to one another to face together their common problems of life. And surely the initiative and leadership in the solution of these problems belongs to those who have the greater advantage.

Our responsibility is the more pressing because the problem of race relations

is primarily a moral and religious problem. Political action, even at its best, cannot do what must be done. Laws create a measure of restraint against injustice and mark out certain procedures under the sanction of governmental power. But we are seeing the truth today that law, even the Constitution of our Nation, cannot relax tensions and resentments, nor banish the prejudices and injustices that spring from fallacious thinking and racial feeling. These things require the strong inward grip of religious faith and the inward demand of moral understanding and conviction.

In facing this responsibility as citizens and Christians we should not overlook the peril of delay. The tides are moving fact. Within the last two years there has been a revival of lawless organizations that fan racial hatred. Radical white leaders on the one hand have become more insistent that the progress of the Negro as a citizen shall be blocked, and radical Negro leaders on the other are more insistent that all discriminations shall be removed immediately by law. Aspects of the problem that have hitherto been regional have now attracted national interest and become national problems, as for example, lynchings, the poll tax, and the disfranchisement of Negroes in some Southern states because of their racial inheritance. And we Baptists, living in the midst of these tensions, must accept our responsibility. We cannot dismiss the problems of race relations as a side issue. We must be willing to shoulder the difficult and continuing task.

III

The time is upon us when we must consult our faith and bring ourselves to lay fresh hold upon those principles that are embedded in our Baptist faith and polity, and make them the basis of Christian action. And your committee would suggest to all our people and churches a charter of what we believe to be Christian and Baptist principles and tneir necessary consequences in racial attitudes:

1. We believe in the Lordship of Christ: in order to act in his name in social relations we must love our neighbors, including our Negro neighbors, as ourselves.
2. We believe in the Holy Spirit: since the day of Pentecost he has been breaking down middle walls of partition between races and alien groups and teaching men of open heart to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace.
3. We believe in the Bible as the word of God: in it is our authoritative summons to practice justice towards all people of all races.
4. We believe in the dignity and worth of the individual man: irrespective of his race or position he has the right to develop in the measure of his divinely given capacity and to share in just measure the blessings of our Father's world.
5. We believe in the fellowship of believers: a relationship which forbids us to allow worldly patterns of prejudice to drive a wedge between us and our Christian brothers of other races.
6. We believe in the principle of democracy in government: in application it entails the recognition and defense of the natural and constitutional rights of all citizens irrespective of their origin or racial inheritance.

IV

These doctrines which must commend themselves to every conscience impel us to the observance of the following principles of conduct:

1. We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.
2. We shall continually strive as individuals to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from our speech terms of contempt and from our conduct actions of ill-will.
3. We shall teach our children that prejudice is un-Christian and that goodwill and helpful deeds are the duty of every Christian toward all men of all races.
4. We shall protest against injustice and indignities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them.
5. We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits or educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences.
6. We shall be just in our dealing with the Negro as an individual. When-

ever he is in our employ we shall pay him an adequate wage and provide for him healthful working conditions.

7. We shall strive to promote community good-will between the races in every way possible.
8. We shall actively cooperate with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their ministers, and the promotion of their missions and evangelistic programs.

No doubt some will be conscious of limitations in these proposals, but they are realistic, practical, and constitute a definite basis of conduct that must appeal to all as being an advance in the direction of basic human justice. As they are achieved they will bear fruit in a general improvement of racial attitudes and therefore of racial adjustments at all points of racial contact.

V

Finally, your committee, in accordance with the instructions of the Convention, makes the following recommendations:

1. That the Convention recognize its responsibility for the promotion of inter-racial good-will, and urge upon our Baptist people and all Christians the duty of ordering our racial attitudes and actions in accordance with Christian truth and Christian love.
2. That the Convention express its approval of co-operative service, such as is being carried on by the Home Mission Board, the American Baptist Theological Seminary and the Convention Seminaries, in the field of Negro religious and theological education, and by the Woman's Missionary Union in its program education and missionary cooperation.
3. That the Convention approve a long range program of education among our own people looking toward racial understanding and Christian attitudes in the solution of race problems, and encourage Baptist agencies and institutions to promote such a program, including such particular services as the following: (1) the practice of the Sunday School Board of dealing with the race question in its literature; (2) the publication and distribution of tracts, study course books and other literature dealing with Christianity and race; (3) the publication of editorials and contributed articles on race relations in denominational papers; (4) the inclusion of the subject of race relations in the social service reports of all state conventions and district associations; (6) the introduction of courses in race, race relations and Negro life into the curricula of our Baptist colleges; (7) the publication from time to time of summaries of the work of Baptists in this field of service; (8) the co-operation of pastors in bringing to the attention of their people the basic Christian doctrines and principles of conduct that bear upon racial attitudes.
4. That the Convention assign to the Social Service Commission particularly the task of fostering such a program of education and promoting such practical services as the following: (1) supplying pastors with practical suggestions concerning ways in which they can help Negro pastors; (2) encouraging definite work by churches in behalf of the Negro Baptist people of their communities; (3) encouraging discussion of race relations under wise leadership in pastors' conferences, district associations, student conferences and brotherhood meetings, and furnishing constructive material for such discussions; (4) seeking the establishment of Departments of Interracial Cooperation by State Conventions (of the order of that in Texas); (5) counselling with Negro Baptist leaders annually concerning the common interests and tasks of white and Negro Baptists in the service of the Kingdom of God; (7) keeping informed about the work of other organizations in this field.
5. That the Convention assign to the Public Relations Committee the task of keeping informed concerning legislation and other governmental actions touching race relations, human rights and citizenship rights of minority groups; and also of expressing the Baptist principles of democratic freedom and justice in situations that call for their emphasis.
6. That the Convention recognize the value of the Inter-convention Committee on Negro Ministerial Education and continue it as a standing committee of the Convention.

J. B. WEATHERSPOON, Chairman
J. M. DAWSON
RYLAND KNIGHT
E. P. ALLDREDGE
S. A. NEWMAN
WASH WATTS
WALTER P. BINNS
E. A. MCDOWELL
K. O. WHITE

MACON TELEGRAPH reprinted in Const 1/3/48

How Free From Fear Are Georgians?

Just about this time last year the Freedom Train was making its tour of Georgia. It visited Macon 12 months ago. And all around the State, wherever this priceless, inspiring display of treasured documents went, the people were repeating the Freedom Pledge. From the lips of almost all of our citizens came the words:

"I am an American, a free American; free to speak—without fear; free to worship my own God; free to stand for what I think right; free to oppose what I believe wrong; free to choose those who govern my country. This heritage of freedom I pledge to uphold for myself and all mankind."

During the war we told our boys—those who sacrificed their lives, those who gave part of their physical bodies and returned to us handicapped, those who fought and bled and came back hoping for a better world—we told them they were fighting for the Four Freedoms:

"Freedom of speech and expression; freedom of worship; freedom from want and freedom from fear."

Many of those people who read and said that Freedom Pledge and many of those men who fought for the Four Freedoms are today wondering just how certain recent events in Georgia can be reconciled with this pledge and the quadruple ideals they visualized on the battlefield.

Freedom from fear, for example.

Here in Georgia crosses are fired, a flare is burned, hoods and white robes are donned—all as symbols of intimidation and lawlessness; all as methods of coercion; all in an effort to "put the fear of God and the KKK" into the heart of some victim who is just as much an American—a Free American, if you please—as those who perpetrate the deeds.

Not only is the Ku Klux Klan itself guilty of such misconduct. Now there can be placed upon the record of that organization the responsibility for having misled a group of Negroes into imitating Klan tactics and practices.

We are not fooled by the Klan's show of benvolence—its efforts to buy its way into respectability. Rather, we are ashamed, embarrassed and repulsed by the thought that the Klan could be so brazen as to attempt to claim a place in decent society.

Not until its sworn ideals of racial and religious intolerance are forgotten, its deeds of strife and lawlessness repented of, and its aims and objectives "to practice Klannishness" repudiated, will the KKK ever begin to remove the stigma from its own name. And it is not likely that any of these changes will ever be accomplished.

Today we know it is not possible for all Georgia citizens to be free from fear when voting their convictions, voicing their opinions and exercising their guaranteed rights as long as the Klan and similar organizations exist.

The people of Milledgeville realize this and are justified in their indignation over the burning of crosses there. We commend them for their efforts to stamp out such lawlessness. The American Veterans Committee is justified in its petition that Atty. Gen. Clark investigate the Association of Georgia Klans. The Christian Council of Atlanta is justified in its action condemning the Klan for misusing the symbol of the cross.

Now, let us—the people of Georgia—unite our efforts to rid our State of this serious menace to the real freedom of our citizens.

(18)

Year of Achievement

VIRGINIA'S CHURCHES
WORKING TOGETHER

Annual Report of the

REV. HENRY LEE ROBISON, JR., *Executive Secretary*

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

January 20-21, 1948, Richmond.

1444 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT

The record of activities of the Virginia Council of Churches during the past year is a tribute to the growing Christian cooperation among the Protestant churches and their people in the Old Dominion—they are practicing the principles of Christ by sharing their worldly goods with those less fortunate than they, by greater interracial and interdenominational cooperation, and by giving aid and comfort to their neighbors at home and abroad.

This third year in the life of the Council has been an eventful one. Every department of the organization has expanded its activities to embrace greater service to more people in the Commonwealth. In the cities, hamlets and in rural communities of the State, Christians have not only responded to the challenges these critical times have thrust upon them, but have sought to enlarge their benefactions to those in need and distress.

Overseas Relief Appeals Find Response

Responding to the acute need of the distressed peoples overseas, Virginia Christians contributed nearly a million pounds of food, clothing, shoes, bedding and other supplies to the Church World Service which shipped and distributed the goods abroad. In addition, the people gave $12,888.67 in cash in community and interdenominational offerings at Thanksgiving and other times, to be used in purchasing necessary supplies for overseas relief.

One of our small Virginia communities has established an enviable record in giving during the past year. With a population of only 1,600, Berryville gave 10,000 pounds of goods, establishing the highest per capita contribution yet recorded at New Windsor, Maryland, Church World Service Center.

In support of the overseas relief program sponsored by the Council, your executive secretary visited ten European countries last summer to observe first-hand how the people live there and how our contributions are distributed by CWS. Upon returning to Virginia, he was literally besieged with requests from numerous groups, including churches, clubs and communities to tell what he saw. Some 100 communities were visited, and the story of what he observed in Europe was told to eager listeners. All this has been of considerable help in awakening people to the needs of their brothers in the war-torn areas of the world. The response in giving has been most gratifying.

Because the need for essentials of living such as food and clothing and religious literature continues to be acute in Europe, Asia and Africa, the Council is continuing to sponsor collection of goods for shipment overseas. Mr. James Houff did a splendid job in directing promotional work. He has traveled to all parts of the State and the church people have responded in a most gratifying manner.

Youth Program Expands

In these confused times when man wants peace in the world, it is gratifying indeed to report that our Virginia youth through the United Christian Youth Council is alert to the problems of peace and cooperation at home and on the international front.

Representing city and county youth councils in Virginia, Robert Earl Houff, president of the State youth council, attended the World Conference of Christian Youth in Oslo, Norway, in July. Upon his return, he toured

Virginia, addressing nearly 60 youth groups, acquainting them with the attitudes of Christian youth toward world problems and man himself as expressed by the 1,500 delegates and leaders from 70 different nations who gathered in Oslo to worship, study, play, eat and talk together.

Our Christian youth is courageously addressing itself to home problems, too. Representatives of the UCYC have attended 27 denominational conferences last summer to tell of the youth council program in the State. This year they plan to attend at least 50 such meetings for promotional purposes. They sent a delegate to the UCYM annual conference, at Green Lake, Wisconsin, last summer and to its executive meeting in New York City.

Attending conferences and planning programs, however, are simply methods by which our Christian youth is learning how to do the work of our Lord in a more effective way. Their project of supporting religious workers at the Bon Air and Peakes industrial schools continues to command their attention. For this year they have added other projects, including a plan to have a part-time youth executive, a student at Lynchburg College, to work in the interest of youth cooperation. There are now eleven local youth councils in the State and the group plans to organize new city and county councils during the current year.

Education Program Since 1930 Shows Steady Growth

Perhaps nowhere else is evidence more tangible that people are hungry for and need religion in their daily lives than may be found in the work of the Department of Christian Education. Under the leadership of Minor C. Miller, one of the major projects of this department continues to be weekday religious education. The record speaks for itself. Weekday religious education was started in Virginia seventeen years ago with only two teachers instructing 1,411 children in four school divisions. The initial program cost $3,600.00 in 1930.

This year we have 102 teachers instructing in 52 school divisions embracing 436 communities where a total of 67,131 pupils are enrolled in religious classes. The approximate cost of the program is $160,000.00 for the current year, with an average per pupil cost of $2.38. It is significant that 97 per cent of all pupils enrolled in the public schools where weekday religious education is offered volunteered to enroll in these classes.

Amazing as this growth has been, it is even more impressive to note that for some years now the Department of Christian Education has exerted no particular effort to promote the extension of weekday religious education in Virginia communities. It has been busy responding to the numerous requests for guidance and assistance in organizing and conducting religious education classes in our schools throughout the Commonwealth. It may be truly said that the weekday religious education movement in the Old Dominion is a grass roots movement.

The growth and expansion of religious education program in Virginia has attracted considerable attention outside the confines of our State. During 1947, demands for textbooks and curriculum material prepared and used for our program have come from 33 states in the Union, Alaska and Canada. Curriculum material prepared under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Longwell, supervisor of Weekday Religious Education, has been appreciated and helpful outside Virginia according to the testimony that comes into the department office from church workers and educators.

During the past year, the high school text, "The Bible in our American Life," was revised and a new text for the high schools, "A Nation Under God" was completed by Miss Longwell. Textbooks for the fourth and fifth grades were also revised and enlarged.

In addition to supplying our own needs, the department has sold $3,727.68 worth of curriculum material to other states. The sale of this material outside Virginia is wholly incidental to the major program of providing good text for our own weekday religious education classes, but these sales have produced income which has helped reduce the cost of curriculum production for work in the State.

During the year new councils of churches have been organized in Montgomery, Roanoke and Nelson Counties and in the Cities of Roanoke, Blacksburg and Williamsburg.

Demand by our people for the type of program conducted by the Department of Christian Education indicates that weekday religious education is not only growing in Virginia, but is here to stay. And it is encouraging to note that many teachers now employed in this work are planning to make teaching of religion their profession and life work. Professional status of such instructors is being aided by the inauguration last year of a pension plan and of certification of teachers.

Six Areas of Human Need

The Department of Social Education and Action concentrated on six areas of human and social relations during the past year. Its most widespread activity and perhaps most visibly fruitful has been the program of overseas relief. Other areas outlined at the Council's annual convocation in Lynchburg included Soviet-American Relations, Civil Rights, Public Welfare in Virginia, Alcohol Education and Federal Funds and Parochial Schools.

Considerable groundwork was done by this department on the subject of public welfare in Virginia. The emphasis has been to acquaint the people in the Commonwealth with the problems and conditions in this area. Prior to the convening of the Virginia General Assembly which is now in session, the department under the chairmanship of Dr. John H. Marion, Jr., sent out a letter giving a resume of the welfare report as compiled by the Mitchell Commission which investigated the situation in Virginia and made its recommendations to Governor Tuck for an improved welfare program. Christian people and all thoughtful citizens were urged to study carefully the findings and recommendations of the Mitchell Commission and let their views and opinions be known to their various representatives now meeting in Richmond.

In conjunction with the Virginia State Conference on Social Work, meeting in Roanoke last May, the department sponsored a session on the theme: "The Church and the Care of Alcoholics." Outstanding speakers were secured for the session.

Alcohol Education to Begin

An Alcohol Education Committee has been set up in the department with Rev. Wayne W. Womer, secretary of the Virginia Church Temperance Council, as chairman. This committee has outlined its broad objectives to include the presentation of scientific information on alcohol in order to develop effective pattern of living for the individual and society; to dispel

prejudice, misunderstanding and superstition surrounding the alcoholics; to place alcoholism as a disease in the sphere of medicine and psychiatry; to develop responsible feeling in people for the welfare of others where the use of alcoholic beverages is concerned; to guide the thinking of youth and adults how to abstain from using alcoholic beverages; and to teach young people how to manage the increasing social pressure to use such beverages.

The Department of Interracial Cooperation continues to serve as a channel of communications, conferences and discussion in the area of human relations. The Richmond Committee of Interracial Cooperation, together with numerous other organizations and individuals in Richmond, contributed in securing permission for 65 Negro families in the Westwood Community to remain in their homes and have a minimum of sanitary facilities for healthful living. The story of these families fighting for their homes appeared in the magazine NEW SOUTH published by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Rev. Thomas C. Allen served on four occasions as a consultant in race relations in discussions outside Virginia, including race relations clinics in Ohio, Kansas, North and South Carolina. Members of the department served as discussion leaders in work shops on race relations conducted in August at the University of Richmond and the Virginia State College, sponsored by the State Department of Education. About 3,000 copies of an article ON THE WAY TO BROTHERHOOD, were prepared by the department and sent out to interested individuals throughout Virginia.

The Rural Church Department sponsored the 18th annual summer school for rural ministers at Blacksburg on the VPI campus. Coming from 40 counties, 110 ministers, church administrators and workers representing seven Protestant denominations attended the school. It was the largest attendance in the past five years.

More Rural Life Institutes

Inaugurated in 1946, Rural Life institutes were again held last year. The number increased from three held the first year, to eleven in 1947. Utilizing leaders in all fields of endeavor, the institutes conducted programs designed to show ways in which the social and spiritual interests of people can be served best when all work together for the common good. One of the promising developments of the rural life institutes has been the establishment of permanent committees in local communities to conduct annual institutes. Such plans were inaugurated in Hanover, Louisa and Nelson counties.

The Rural Life Sermon contest is being conducted for the second year, but the number of sermons submitted thus far has been only five. Greater interest is needed to make this program a success.

22 Local Councils of Women Reported

The Virginia Council of Church Women emphasized overseas relief through its 22 local councils in the State. Each local unit aided in the collection of money, food and clothing for the needy overseas. The World Day of Prayer was observed in 170 communities and May Fellowship Day was conducted by each council and by special committees in many other

communities. Boxes and bundles for children between six and twelve years of age were dedicated and sent overseas through the Church World Service. The church women are now concentrating on strengthening the organization interdenominationally and interracially. Negro co-chairmen of three committees ON "DAY" observances have been appointed. A committee on children's work and a committee on Spiriual Life have been added to the department.

The Department of Radio laid the ground work for its program in its first year since appointment. Better relations between the people in radio and church work have been established through conferences and contacts. A one-day conference was held in Richmond on THE CHURCH AND RADIO, to which radio and church leaders were invited. The session explored the possibilities of establishing some working relation with the radio stations and the church. The plan is to formulate a pattern of radio and church cooperation in Virginia that will enable the two institutions to work together for the mutual benefit of the spiritual life of Virginia residents.

The Department of Worship has purchased a pamphlet library of the Federal Council Commission on Worship which is now available for loan. Directed by Chairman James Sydnor, a number of hymn festivals are planned for the future.

Objectives of the Council

1. To manifest the essential oneness of the churches of Virginia in Jesus Christ as their Divine Savior and Lord, and to foster fellowship and mutual understanding among their members.

2. To provide an interdenominational agency for cooperation in comity, evangelism, worship, missions, education, moral and social action, and any other Christian service that may promote more effectively the objectives of the Christian religion.

3. To promote cooperation among local churches of member denominations, and to encourage the establishment of, and recognition of approved local councils of churches.

4. To study the religious needs of the people, the churches, and the communities of the state and to devise plans through which these needs can be met.

5. To promote week-day religious education in cooperation with the public schools.

6. To foster Christian fellowship and mutual understanding among racial groups.

7. To provide an interdenominational agency for the promotion of inter-faith cooperation.

OFFICERS
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F. D. Goodwin, Vice-President
U. G. Wilson, Vice-President
Mrs. J. Earl Moreland, Vice-President
J. A. Bosserman, Treasurer
W. A. Mann, Assistant Treasurer
Henry Lee Robison, Jr., Executive Secretary
Minor C. Miller, Associate Executive Secretary

DEPARTMENTS

Christian Education

A. L. Bennett, Chairman — Minor C. Miller, Director

Comity and Missions

E. T. Thompson, Chairman

Council of Church Women

Mrs. Donald W. Richardson, President

Evangelism

William F. Dunkle, Jr., Chairman

Interracial Cooperation

John M. Ellison, Chairman — Thomas C. Allen, Director

Radio

F. J. Warnecke, Chairman

Rural Church

B. L. Hummel, Chairman

Social Education and Action

John H. Marion, Jr., Chairman

Worship

James R. Sydnor, Chairman

United Christian Youth Council

Nelson M. Fox, Jr., President — Charles B. Matthias, Field Worker

Commission On Activities

Robert Lee House, Chairman

Commission On Finance

Roland P. Riddick, Chairman

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Richard H. Bowling
Earl M. Bowman
Lee O. Carbaugh
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J. J. Scherer, Jr.
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Charles W. Sydnor
John A. Tate

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

INCORPORATED

CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL" TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475

297 Fourth Avenue

New York 10, N. Y.

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CO-CHAIRMEN

J. OSCAR LEE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Department of Race Relations

February 4, 1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In a recent conversation with Dr. Will W. Alexander he told me that you were planning a conference on civil rights in Atlanta and I suggested that it would be a very excellent thing if Dr. Thomas C. Allen, Director of the Department of Interracial Cooperation, Virginia Council of Churches, 1144 E. Main Street, Richmond, Virginia, could be invited.

Dr. Alexander thought you might like to know about our interest in the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and our plan to publish a study-guide for church people on the Report. The study-guide is a co-operative venture growing out of the interest of several denominations. We hope to have it out by May of this year.

Enclosed please find a resolution adopted by the Federal Council on the Report of the President's Committee, and one of our flyers which describes the report and urges people to send for it. This flyer has been distributed across the country in large numbers.

We are planning to devote a major portion of the National Conference of Church Leaders' meeting, an interracial and interdenominational gathering of between 75 and 100 key church leaders, to the Report. This meeting is scheduled for March 31-April 1 at Hampton Institute, Va.

Sincerely yours,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Secretary

L:y
encl.

FROM: The Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

RESOLUTION ON REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Adopted by the Executive Committee, Nov. 18, 1947

On December 5, 1946 the President created, by Executive Order, a Committee to be known as "The President's Committee on Civil Rights". After nearly a year's study this Committee made its report to the President on Wednesday, October 29,1947.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America views the report on Civil Rights, made by the President's Committee, as a notable contribution to our progress toward a working democracy. It commends the statement to all church people, as a document worthy of study.

The Christian concern of the churches for every individual in society is central in the Committee's report. In several respects the report lifts into prominence certain positions taken by the Federal Council, at a Special Meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in March 1946. It is now the especial responsibility and opportunity of the churches to promote discussion of the Committee's report within the framework of the Christian understanding of our faith in God as revealed through Jesus Christ, as it is related to our social living.

We note with approval that the Committee was sensitive not only to the rights of our largest minority group, the Negro, but also to other racial and religious minority groups within our society.

Recognizing the legitimate concern of our Government with the loyalty of those who serve it in the interest of national security, we share the anxiety of the Committee for proper safeguards for the rights of the individual. It should be possible to accomplish all that is needed in the way of security without jeopardizing rights that in our Constitution are held to be inviolable.

We recognize that several of the recommendations concern specific procedures upon which there may be honest differences of opinion. The Federal Council, having already laid down what it regards as basic Christian principles, is especially interested in what may now be done to work out the implications of these principles in practical procedures. Among the objectives in the report of the President's Committee which seem to call for special attention from the churches in view of the Christian principles involved are the protection of human life against mob violence; equal opportunity for employment, regardless of race, religion or national origin; the elimination of segregation in all its aspects, including the outlawing of restrictive covenants in real estate contracts; and the right of every adult citizen to a vote.

The concern for civil rights in our own country is particularly important from the standpoint of our leadership in the world. Our national struggle toward true democracy cannot be isolated from the world scene. We cannot hope to influence other peoples to accept the Christian way of life, or other nations to accept the democratic principles we proclaim unless we can demonstrate in our own community living that we take them seriously and are striving to translate them into effective practice.

We earnestly hope that the membership of our churches will take seriously the challenge issued by the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

February 23, 1948

A Program of Interracial Cooperation for Virginia

The Executive Committee of the Virginia Council of Churches recognizes that substantial advances have been made in recent years in the area of race relations through the efforts of both Negroes and whites. It is believed that love for one's neighbor and respect for every individual, made in the image of God, as inspired by the Christian Gospel, as well as the principles of American democracy, require us to continue such efforts to eliminate discriminations and to remedy injustices that remain in various areas of human endeavor. We believe that men and women of good will should not wait until changes are forced upon them from without, but should themselves take the initiative and work for justice and fair play for all elements of our population. We are not satisfied to oppose remedies proposed by others without offering counter remedies which appear to us to be more practical and wise.

We do not attempt to speak in the name of the fifteen bodies which compose the Virginia Council of Churches, but to the members of the Executive Committee it seems that the following are steps which need to be taken and behind which Christian sentiment can be rallied. We hope that various church groups will make them a basis for study and that community, civic, and church leaders will carefully consider how far they can now be translated into action.

I. Regarding political and civil rights we recommend:

a) That qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed or color.

b) That the constitutional rights of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized and that Negroes along with other qualified citizens be empaneled for jury service.

c) That Negro citizens be appointed to school boards and to Boards of any other political, public, civic or social service agency on the same basis of merit as other citizens.

d) Since racial segregation in public carriers is a social and economic waste and is undemocratic in principle, and in view of the evidence that the traditional policy of separate but equal accommodations has proven a failure in fact, we recommend that racial segregation on common carriers and in public waiting rooms be immediately abolished.

e) That more municipal governments give equal opportunity to Negro citizens to hold appointive positions such as policemen, firemen, etc. on the basis of their qualifications.

f) That the citizens and officials of Virginia, while deeply grateful for the record of our state in having no lynching in our borders since the passage of the anti-lynching law 20 years ago, ever be on the alert to prevent the development of any situation which might eventuate in the crime of lynching.

II. Regarding Military service we recommend:

a) That opportunities for military service in all of its branches be open to Negroes for full and unrestricted participation; and that promotion to positions of responsibility be determined by merit and ability rather than race.

III. Regarding Industrial and Service Occupations we recommend:

a) That all people be safe-guarded in their opportunity to be employed at their greatest skill and for compensation equal to that of people already engaged in similar work.

b) That in order to carry out the foregoing recommendation, citizens of Virginia be urged to support educational policies and legislation which will promote equitable industrial relations as they apply to racial and religious minorities.

c) That the advances made by labor unions in admitting Negroes to their membership be recognized; and that they be urged to continue and broaden their efforts to eliminate discrimination in their practices on account of race, creed or color.

IV. Regarding Education we recommend:

a) That the state legislature, the state and local officials be urged to strive with renewed energy toward the realization of the concept of equality of educational opportunity.

b) That efforts be continued to secure more adequate graduate and professional education in Virginia and throughout the South for all citizens, both white and Negro, without regard to color, creed or race.

V. Regarding Health and Social Service we recommend:

a) That public health and social services for all citizens be on an equal basis both in quality and extent. This applies to both to both state and local facilities.

b) That qualified Negro physicians and their patients be admitted to hospitals throughout the state and that existing hospital accommodations for white and colored people be improved.

c) That Negro nurses and social workers be used more extensively in carrying out the foregoing recommendation.

d) That slum clearances and the erection of low cost housing be continued and extended. The appointment of Negroes to boards controlling such work is strongly recommended.

VI. Regarding the Church we recommend:

a) As Christians, we recognize our failure to inculcate into our corporate life, as citizens and churchmen, the full implications of our Christian faith regarding brotherhood. We sincerely ask God's forgiveness for this failure, and pledge ourselves to work always toward the fulfillment of these principles. Specifically we urge now the abolition of segregation in meetings where both races meet together for worship or conference.

b) That we favor the repeal of the state and city laws forbidding churches to hold unsegregated religious meetings in public buildings.

CONCLUSION:

These recommendations and proposals are earnestly and respectfully submitted by the Executive Committee of the Virginia Council of Churches for careful study and action by officials, community, civic and church leaders with a view to the immediate improvement of human relations.

It is hoped that church groups, ministerial groups and lay groups as well as young people's groups will use these proposals as special study projects toward making the abundant life available to all people.

Virginia Council of Churches
1444 East Main Street
Richmond, 19, Virginia

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
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Danville, Va. Bandefer
February 24, 1948

Register: Danville, Va., Tuesday, February 24, 1948

Interracial Cooperation Program Adopted By Church Group

RICHMOND, Va., Feb. 23.—(AP)—The executive committee of the Virginia Council of Churches today adopted a program of interracial cooperation.

The program calls for abolition of segregation on public carriers and in public waiting rooms and for repeal of state and local laws forbidding churches to hold unsegregated religious meetings in public buildings.

The program was adopted by the committee meeting here under the leadership of Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, president of Lynchburg College and of the council.

The committee said it did not attempt to speak in the name of the 15 Protestant denominations which compose the Virginia Council of Churches. It said it was offering the recommendations to the churches as a basis for study and in the hope that community, civic and church leaders "will carefully consider how far they can now be translated into action."

Among the recommendations were:

"That qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed or color.

"That the constitutional rights of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized and that Negroes along with other qualified citizens be empaneled for jury service.

"That Negro citizens be appointed to school boards and to boards of other political, public, civic or social service agencies on the same basis of merit as other citizens.

"Since racial segregation in public carriers is a social and economic waste and is undemocratic in principle, and in view of the evidence that the traditional policy of separate but equal accommodations has proven a failure in fact, we recommend that racial segregation on common carriers and in public waiting rooms be immediately abolished.

"That qualified Negro physicians and their patients be admitted to hospitals throughout the state and that existing hospital accommodations for white and colored people be improved.

"As Christians, we recognize our failure to inculcate into our corporate life, as citizens and churchmen, the full implications of our Christian faith regarding brotherhood. We sincerely ask God's forgiveness for this failure and pledge ourselves to work always toward the fulfillment of these principles. Specifically, we urge now the abolition of segregation in meetings where both races meet together for worship or conference."

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

"Worship of God is one thing and service of mankind is another, but the first is dishonest unless it eventuates in the latter; and the latter is superficial unless it springs from the former."—D. Elton Trueblood.

Try out the Service of Meditation on pages 4 and 5, or create something original, and tell us about the results.

Economic Justice

BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

Vol. XVI, No. 6 | 106 Carmel Street, New Haven 11, Conn. | 9 | February, 1948

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We Need Today

NOT FRIGHTENED, BUT FIGHTING LIBERALS

By Byrl A. Whitney

Mr. Whitney is director, Educational and Research Bureau, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio. This is his address given before the Fifteenth Anniversary Conference of the Foundation, Pittsburgh, January 13, 1948

As I view world and domestic problems of today, I am reminded of the proverb that the fox runs with the hounds. There is loud and prolonged barking about peace, democracy and civil liberties, but who can say that these objectives are being intelligently pursued. Our government gives arms and financial support to undemocratic, reactionary governments in Greece, Turkey and China, and we aided in the establishment as President of the new Philippine Republic a notorious collaborator with the Japanese commander over the Philippines during the war. Internationally and domestically the interests that felt Adolf Hitler was God's gift to man, loudly shout that those who oppose these politices are the appeasers.

The spirit of Munich that has settled over so large a part of the world seems to be growing with frightening vigor. There never was a time when the great moral force of religion was more desperately needed than today. In Greece, while those who have waxed rich in black markets force their way into luxurious restaurants, they view long lines of beggars and barefoot children in rags. A neutral observer who gave his report in THE NATION magazine of January 3, 1948, declares that while a few Greeks enjoy extravagant prosperity, the masses of the Greek people are destitute of food and clothing. The original $150,000,000 appropriated by the United States for military projects in Greece has been exhausted, but everyone knows that the situation is worse today than at the time of the original appropriation. Our government now has transferred for military purposes $24,000,000 of the $300,000,000 appropriated for economic reconstruction in Greece.

Byrl A. Whitney

Our leaders profess devotion to the democratic ideal of world peace through world cooperation. But whenever it pleases their purpose, they ignore the United Nations and act unilaterally against protests that have been heard around the world. I know of no other period in the history of our country when the military group has had a more persuasive influence in American foreign and domestic policy. Our foreign service from the very top down has drawn heavily upon military men as its representatives. Mr. "X" in the State Department is characteristic of present American diplomacy. The public is denied the right to read the Weddermeyer report on China. The people's voice is weak indeed in the field of foreign policy.

The Military and Foreign Affairs

In domestic policy our military interests, with the not surprising support of the American Legion, are propagandizing the nation for peacetime military conscription, and I mean conscription. The military influence is found even in science and in education. While we demand giant army and naval air forces with operational bases thousands of miles from our shores, our protestations for peace and cooperation among the nations of the world must sound hollow indeed. In all our appeals for peace, disarmament is never mentioned, while our diplomats and generals preach the doctrine that might is right.

In THIS WEEK magazine of January 11, 1948, after admitting that we cannot win the next war, that war is like a fire, you can prevent it or put it out, but you cannot "win" it, General H. H. Arnold declared:

> "We must wage peace with all the air power, with all the machines and money and men that we used to fight Germany and Japan."

He demanded: We must be stronger than any other nation in the world," apparently wholly oblivious to the fact that if the doctrine that might is right is to prevail, then we must be stronger than any combination of the nations of the world. He advocates complete industrial and military mobilization for war, with peacetime conscription because he wants us to be "the world's referee for peace."

Refereeing peace is only another name for war, for among sovereignties, if one or more of the nations disagee with the referee's decision, it can be enforced only by war. Militarists may consider themselves "referees of peace," but they will never be the architects of peace, for they know only the architecture of war.

It is my hope that before it is too late the people of the world may find peace through an expression of their will by law and government, even as we do on the domestic and local basis. So long as present military and diplomatic policies are followed, the people will never have an effective voice in our relationships with other nations. Only by representative world government can that be brought about.

Personal and National Morality Compared

Some day I hope that the masses of the people everywhere will discover that nations are only groups of people; that in the desire for peace, progress and prosperity the masses of the people are alike the world over. We may understand the folly of present international practices in all their ugliness only if we compare the things we do as a nation of people with the things that are expected of us as individuals. If as a wealthy individual I offered food and opportunity to make a living to the starving and the destitute only on the basis that they should think as I do or vote as I want them to vote, they would hate me for my deviousness disguised as charity. If I were to say that the only way I can be sure of peace in the neighorhood in which I live is to be strong, and that I should fill my closet with guns and daggers and ammunition, as a display of my strength, I would immediately bring

(Please turn to page 2, col. 1)

ECONOMIC JUSTICE
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RLF Notes

The quarterly meeting of the RLF General Executive Board was held in New York, March 15th.

The March supper meeting of the New Haven Religion and Labor Council was held on Tuesday, the 16th. Professor Thomas Emerson of the Yale Law School spoke on "The Social and Ethical Need of a Third Party." The New Haven R-L also announces its April meeting with Rev. C. Lawson Willard, minister, Trinity Church, speaking on "Universal Military Training."

Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, the Foundation's Southern Representative, continues his very successful tour of the theological schools. He has just completed visits to Yale Divinity School, Boston University School of Theology, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Mass., St. Lawrence School of Religion, Canton, N. Y., Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology and Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa.

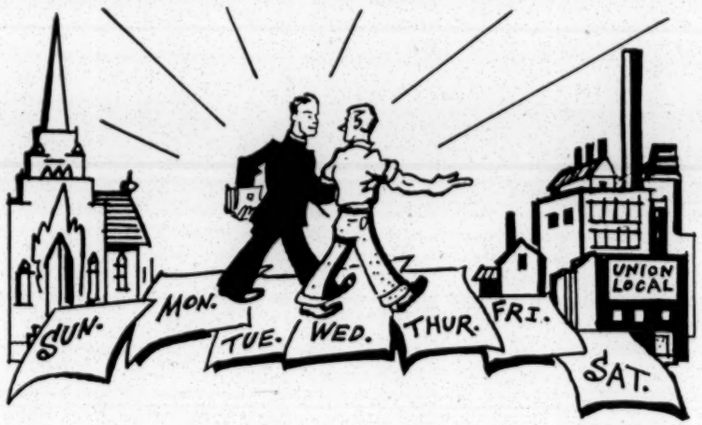
THE RLF TO COOPERATE WITH UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

The National Religion and Labor Foundation and national church bodies of various faiths are cooperating with The University of Wisconsin School for Workers in the direction of The Sixth Institute on Industrial Relations for Church Leadership to be held in Madison, July 11th through July 23, 1948.

As in the past five years the Institute is planned to accomplish two objectives. One is acquaint church leaders more fully with the problems and needs of workers through systematic study of typical industrial situations and through day-to-day living relations with workers where together they can learn from one another.

The second objective is to bring home to workers the fact that the church and its aware leadership are allies in serving not only their physical but spiritual needs.

Of the six classes to be offered to church leaders the Workshop on Church Labor Cooperation is of greatest importance to the RLF. In this class union members and church leaders will devote themselves to the exploration of methods of cooperation between unions and churches. Special consideration will be given to establishing local Religion and Labor groups. John G. Ramsay, CIO Public Relations Representative and member of the Foundation's General Executive Board will have charge of the project.



•A 7-day week for cooperation

Complete information on courses, housing and costs may be obtained by writing Ernest E. Schwartrauber, Director The University of Wisconsin School for Workers, 1214 West Johnson Street, Madison 5, Wisconsin.

NOT FRIGHTENED BUT FIGHTING LIBERALS

(Continued from page 1)

down upon myself the suspicion and wrath of my neighbors. I would either be incarcerated as a mentally unbalanced individual or my neighbors would undertake to fill their closets with a supply of the instruments of human slaughter that would be larger than mine. The simple truth of living together as brothers never seems to enter the minds of those who conduct the foreign policy of nations.

The Antics of Witch Hunters

When we enter into the field of national policy and problems, we also find the fox running with the hounds. The House Committee on un-American affairs is supposed to protect us from fellow Americans who are "un-American," according to the standards of Congressmen J. Parnell Thomas and John Rankin. They are a couple of foxes who I hope, in the not distant future, may outfox themselves. While individual liberty and freedom are spoken of from many rostrums, American citizens are deprived of their rights to make a living and without anything like a fair and just trial that we have always supposed American citizens were entitled to under our Bill of Rights. At a recent press conference, Mr. Seth W. Richardson, Chairman of the newly established Loyalty Review Board, gave deep assurances of his hatred of witch hunts. He even stated he did not think that disloyalty was "rampant." The most sickening result of all these antics of the super-patriots who are going to save us from "un-Americanism" is the impression that must be given to the world that Americans can no longer be trusted to love their government and be faithful to it. I deny that the love of the American people for their government and for their country is any less today than it ever has been in the history of our country. We have gone through two cruel wars and the American people have fought nobly and bravely on the battlefields and on the home front. It was never thought necessary during the stress of war to challenge the loyalty of the people by setting up loyalty boards and issuing lists of so-called subversive organizations, and condemning many people by the un-American practice of condemnation by association. "Guilt by association" is one of the most un-American doctrines that can be conceived of.

The oath which is required of all American labor leaders in order to have the protection of law in the field of labor-management relations is nothing less than a presumption of guilt until the accused has proved himself to be innocent. Again the spirit of military justice comes into the civil life of the American people.

Chairman Richardson of the Loyalty Review Board disclosed that the F.B.I. had "affirmatively" refused to have anything to do with drawing up the rules of the Loyalty Board and had declined to cooperate except on its own terms. That suggests a kind of state within a state, a secret police system that is hateful to any real American. It means that the accused shall be convicted without knowing the identity of his accuser.

Yes, certainly in the field of civil liberties today the fox is running with the hounds, and those who profess most loudly their right to sit in judgment on the patriotism of their fellow Ameri-

cans, the self-constituted keepers of the public mind, are the foxes that I have reference to.

When I realize that in Greece the government which America supports has outlawed strikes and imposed the death penalty for instigating them, and General Charles DeGaulle of France has demanded the abolition of labor unions, the Taft-Hartley Act comes into clearer focus in the overall picture of the galloping forces of reaction that threaten to engulf all the ideals that have characterized the one and three-quarters centuries of existence of our great nation.

The Threat of Monopoly

Since Abraham Lincoln's time monopolies have been regarded as a threat to the freedom and progress of this country. Lincoln expressed great fear for the welfare of his country because of the threat of monopoly. Yet monopolies are far more prevalent today than anthing that was conceived of in Lincoln's time. Read "Treason's Peace. German Dyes and American Dupes," by Howard Watson Ambruster, and you will learn of the frightening but quiet and successful effort, with powerful supporters in this country, to re-establish the I. G. Farben cartel superstate of which Adolf Hitler was a product. These war-makers who in the past have succeeded in their evil purposes without difficulty from our anti-trust laws, now cry, "Release us from the anti-trust laws and place labor unions under these laws." Former Governor George H. Earle of Pennsylvania demands a separate peace with Germany. And when asked if he does not believe such a separate peace might lead to war, he boldly declared: "I hope it would." (See transcript of debate over radio station WGN, Chicago, December 16, 1947.)

Monopolists know that the greatest threat to their existence is the free, democratic organizations of the people such as labor unions and consumer and producer cooperatives. Those who love liberty, free enterprise and peace should keenly note the attack that is being made upon labor unions and cooperatives in this country. There is presently a quiet effort to tax cooperatives out of existence.

The real threat involved in this attack upon the democratic organization of the masses of the people is that those forces which are attacking them are now only lying in wait until after the elections of this year, in which they hope their forces in Congress will be strengthened or at least preserved. We are now being told that the Taft-Hartley Act, contrary to predictions made at the time of its enactment, has not resulted in the destruction of the labor movement. Well, there have been but few contracts up for consideration since the Act was passed, but even so this law has already manifested its disruptive forces in the American labor movement. Efforts are being made to establish splinter groups to break up labor unions that have had many decades of satisfactory relationships with employers.

The N.A.M.—The Most Notorious Fox

In the field of economic relationships, the most notorious fox that is running with the hounds is the National Association of Manufacturers. Their costly newspaper advertisements undertake to make the public believe that they favor more goods for the consumers at lower prices and with greater prosperity for all, when as a matter of fact, under the NAM policy that has prevailed in Congress for the past two years, the American consumers paid 11.5 per cent more and received 1.2 per cent less in goods and services during September, 1947, as compared with September, 1946. The NAM is saying to labor, the reason you can't afford a decent living standard is because your wages keep prices up. Statistics of this or any other period will prove that increased price levels have always preceded increased wage levels. Now my sense of logic tells me that effect can never precede cause.

The NAM solemnly assured us that if we would only get rid of price control, production would increase and prices would decline. We know how false that was. Did it ever occur to you that representatives of labor, or of the churches, or of most any other group in America could not continue in respectability and public confidence if they had been so consistently wrong as the NAM has been in every policy or pronouncement it has ever set forth? It really pays to have the press with you, right or wrong.

You will recall that Franklin D. Roosevelt protested against a tax law which gave "relief for the greedy instead of the needy." Excess profits taxes have been eliminated, corporate taxes have been reduced and tax benefits to the wealthy have been enacted by the Congress, and yet the NAM crowd avariciously cries for more. We are told that those who have so much must have more in order to expand industry and increase production. According to facts given out by the Securities and Exchange Commission, American industry now has a working capital of more than sixty billion dollars, by far the largest in all history. The President asked in his state of the union message on January 7 that industry should invest fifty billion dollars in the next few years in new facilities. Immediately the NAM press of the country asked how that could be done unless tax benefits were given to industry, when they knew or should know that industry already has a working capital of more than sixty billion dollars, and it is being added to by the millions as the days go by. The vital question before America today is, what will industry do with its accumulated billions and idle factories when inequitable wealth distribution results in the inability of the masses of the people to buy the products of industry?

Industry asked for tax relief and Congress obliged. Industry asked for freedom from economic controls such as price control and allocations of scarce goods; Congress obliged and continues to oblige. Industry asked for legislation that would weaken if not destroy the American labor movement, and the Congress responded with the Taft-Hartley Act. Industry, through the National Tax Equality League, is now asking for the destruction of the farmers and consumers cooperatives, and it is only the fear of the farm voters in 1948 that is restraining Congressman Harold Knutson and his House Ways and Means Committee from obliging in this regard. It appears now that these selfish interests will await the 1948 elections before undertaking to deal a death blow to the cooperatives.

With the greatest debt in the history of our nation, and with the greatest national income, the NAM and the Republican Party now demand tax reduction; tax reduction for the wealthy, not for the poor who really need it. It is doubtful if there ever will be a time when we will be better able to begin paying off our national debt. But the NAM and the Republican leaders are repeating the program of Andrew Mellon following World War I when he reduced taxes on the rich and postponed payment of the public debt, which laid the groundwork for the 1929 financial debacle. Not only does the NAM program call for a reduction in taxes for the rich, but it proposes to make the national debt even more burdensome by raising interest charges.

Through all this program of the NAM, calculated to make the public believe that the way to peace, progress and prosperity is to shift the burden of taxes on the poor and to release the monopolists from all government controls, the most notorious individual fox that is running with the hounds is that Senior Senator from my own state, Robert A. Taft. It is he who led the forces that killed price control and who now loudly proclaims that the President is the guilty one because he pronounced the benediction.

Those engineers who are not the servants of the monopolists are warning us of impending shortages of iron, petroleum and the vast minerals and natural resources that are essential to modern civilization. Many of these resources are in short supply not for any inherent natural reasons, but because of the extravagance of the exploiters of these supplies. If we have the conscience to believe that we owe something to our posterity, that the heritage the Almighty has given us must be preserved with a decent regard for humanity now living and yet to be born, then we should be frightened by the reckless demand that we are hearing on every hand today for a relaxation of the *unenforced* anti-trust laws and the laissez-faire system by which all trust will be placed in the hands of the few monopolists who are exploiting the nation's resources.

The noted consulting engineer David Cushman Coyle, wrote a very arresting article in LABOR AND NATION for July-August, 1947, on the subject "What Use Science?" He emphasizes the truth that new inventions are of no avail if the masses of the people do not have the incomes with which to purchase the products of modern science. He points out that what science has given us is not full employment, but the chance to shift to more specialized and productive jobs, that there is less steady employment in an industrial than in an agricultural economy, for specialization requires more elaborate distribution than peasant agriculture, and if the adjustment of distribution lags behind the changes caused by science, the lag is registered in unemployment. He concludes: "In general, therefore, science is not the answer to the unemployment problem. The answer lies in getting the right distribution of incomes and goods." Television, air conditioning and private flying may add a few billion dollars to the cost of high living, says Mr. Coyle, but luxuries do not mean jobs if the masses of the people are already spending their entire incomes merely for the necessities of life. The cost of high living can easily be paid by those who indulge in it. But the high cost of living means the destruction of our economic system if national income is not equitably distributed.

(Please turn to page 8, col. 1)

PIANO SELECTION (a) *"Faith of Our Fathers"*

PREPARATION: (Read by Leader). "Many different voices are heard in the Bible, but clear above them all rises those of the Hebrew prophets and Jesus. They were not vague dreamers, but men of practical insight and outlook, who stood together on the higher planes of reality. Their interpretations of the great social problems which confront the individual and society are so clarifying and significant that no intelligent man or age can afford to disregard them . . . In this critical transitional age, when selfish greed and materialism have nearly wrecked society, we are inexorably forced to the conclusion that the social principles of the prophets and Jesus are by far the most valuable assets that the past has bequeathed to us, for they furnish the only basis upon which an enduring civilization can be reared." (1)

Consider: It was the sustaining faith of the prophets and Jesus that God was a God of justice, truth and love; that man's true well-being was to be reached only in achieving God's dreams for mankind; and that in the service of God's purposes unfailing resources were at hand to enable one to keep true, whatever the cost.

Consider: The price that had to be paid by the prophets and Jesus for being loyal to their social insight, and active in its support.

Leader:

"Splendor of the thoughts of God for the life of men,
Visions of the saints and seers, burn for us again!
From the night of ancient wrongs wake our eyes to see
Dawning in the skies the day God shall bring to be." (2)

All: O Lord our God as in these moments we remember our failures too live by the highest and best we have known, may the healing ministries of thy redemptive forgiveness restore unto us a sense of the infinite resources thou dost make available for living in the spirit, the purpose, the self-giving of the great prophets of our Judeo-Christian heritage, so that, in all reality, we may be workers together with thee in achieving thy loving will for mankind.

Leader: Create in me a new heart, O God;
All: And renew a right spirit within me;
Leader: Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation;
All: And uphold me with thy free spirit.

HYMN (*Singing to tune "Woolwich"*) (b)

Breathe on me, Breath of God,
Fill me with life anew,
That I may love what thou dost love,
And do what thou wouldst do.

Breathe on me, Breath of God,
Until my heart is pure,
Until with thee I will one will,
To do or to endure.

Leader: Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God, the Lord is one; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these. (3)

All: Help us, O God, to understand the deep meaning of the prophetic word that to love God with all the heart, and one's neighbor as oneself, are parts of the same commandment.

"OUR PROPHETIC HERITAGE—

A Service of Meditation at Pittsburgh C
Rev. Charles F. MacLennan, Chairman,
of Community Relations, Industrial Unio
of page 6, column 1, for source of mater
ticiparts whose pictures are included
J. C. Masters.

Leader: I tell you truly, inasmuch as you did it unto one of the these brothers of mine, even the least, you did it to me. (4)

All: "While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in jail; I am not free." (5)

Leader: Lord, when saw we thee?

All: Lynched by a mob without a trial,
Asking citizenship in the land of the free,
Taking repeated 'cuts' that dividends need not be cut,
Paying an unjust rent for shelter that belies the name,
Used by a demagogue as pawn for profit,
Caught in the web of circumstances and woven for another's ease,
Suffering, sorrowing, dying in wars by others made,

Leader: Lord, when saw we thee?

All: Our brothers answer, Inasmuch. (6)

READING: *Paraphrase of* 1 *Corinthians* 13 (7)

If I create wealth beyond the dream of past ages and increase not love, my heat is the flush of fever and my success will deal death.

Though I have foresight to locate fountains of riches, and power to pre-empt them, and skill to tap them, and have no loving vision for humanity, I am blind.

Though I give of my profits to the poor and make princely endowments for those who toil for me, if I have no human fellowship of love with them, my life is barren and doomed.

Love is just and kind. Love is not greedy and covetous. Love exploits not one; it takes no unearned gain; it gives more than it gets. Love does not break down the lives of others to make wealth for itself; it makes wealth to build the life of all. Love seeks solidarity; it tolerates no divisions; it prefers equal workmates; it shares its efficiency. Love enriches all men, educates all men, gladdens all men.

The values created by love never fail; but whether there are class privileges, they shall fail; whether there are millions gathered, they shall be scattered; and whether there are vested rights, they shall be abolished. For in the past strong men lorded it in ruthlessness and strove for their own power and pride, but when the perfect social order comes, the strong shall serve the common good. Before the sun of Christ brought in the dawn, men competed, and forced tribute from weakness, but when the full day shall come, they will work as mates in love, each for all and all for each. For now we see in the fog of selfishness, darkly, but then with social vision; now we see our fragmentary ends, but then we shall see the destinies of the race as God sees them. But now abideth truth, justice, and love; these three; and the greatest of these is love.

HYMN: (*Singing to tune "Duke Street"*)

Lift up our hearts, O King of Kings,
To brighter hopes and kindlier things:
To visions of a larger good,
And holier dreams of brotherhood.

The world is weary of its pain,
Of selfish greed and fruitless gain,
Of tarnished honor, falsely strong,
And all its ancient deeds of wrong.

Almighty Father, who dost give
The gift of life to all who live,
Look down on all earth's sin and strife,
And lift us to a nobler life.

WE SEEK TO ENTER INTO IT"

nference, January 12, 1948, Arranged and Directed by Executive Board, Church of All Peoples, and Director n Council, Cleveland, Ohio. Consult footnotes, bottom ials and names and positions of participants. The par- ere are, in order, C. F. MacLennan, A. H. Martin, and

PROPHETIC VOICES: "He that hath ears to hear let him hear."

Dreams are they—but they are God's dreams!
Shall we decry them and scorn them?
That men shall love one another,
That white shall call black man brother,
That greed shall pass from the market-place,
That lust shall yield to love for the race,
That man shall meet with God face to face—
Dreams are they all,
But shall we despise them—
God's dreams!

Dreams are they—to become man's dreams!
Can we say nay as they claim us?
That man shall cease from their hating,
That war shall soon be abating,
That the glory of kings and lords shall pale,
That the pride of dominion and power shall fail,
That the love of humanity shall prevail—
Dreams are they all,
But shall we despise them—
God's dreams!

Leader: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

(Moments of Silence)

I heard my mother laugh
And sing
Like the wind's song
Rustling fodder blades
In a hillside corn patch.
I felt her smile
And kiss my face,
Wet from mountain rain.
My mother was young—
Fleet as a winging bird,
Straight as a bamboo cane
And the temper of steel—

I was a little boy—
Thought my mother
Eternally beautiful,
Fresh like mountain dew
And graceful as jalap vine.
I was a little boy—
I didn't understand . . .

Today I gazed
On the anemic face
Of a textile worker—
Gaunt eyes,
Sunken cheeks,
Bent body . . .
A numb and senseless creature
Peered up at me
Beeseechingly.

Sighs and sobs rent the air.
And I thought;
Is this the woman,
The lilting singer—
My mother,
When I was a little boy.

O my brothers!
You who sweat and toil and bleed,
Sound the union trumpets!
Beat the drums of rebellion!
Bind our hearts with steel bands,
Scatter the dogs
Who tear the vitals
Out of women,
Who turn toiling mothers
Into gruesome creatures,
Joyless,
Half dead . . .

Leader: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

(Moments of Silence)

I think lightly of what is called treason against a government. That may be your duty today, or mine. Certainly it was our father's duty not long ago; now, it is our boast and their title to honor. But treason against the people, against mankind, against God is a great sin, not lightly to be spoken of. (10)

Leader: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

(Moments of Silence)

How far, O rich, do you extend your senseless avarice, Do you intend to be the sole inhabitants of the earth? Why do you drive out the fellow sharers of nature, and claim it all for yourselves?

The earth was made for all, rich and poor, in common. Why do you rich claim it as your exclusive right? The soil was given to rich and poor in common. Wherefore, O ye rich, do you justly claim it for yourselves alone?

Nature gave all things in common for the use of all; usurpation created private rights.

Property hath no rights. The earth is the Lord's and we are his offspring.

The pagans hold earth as property. They do blaspheme God. (11)

Leader: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

(Moments of Silence)

Give me the power to labor for mankind;
Make me the mouth of such as cannot speak;
Eyes let me be to groping men and blind;
A conscience to the base; and to the weak
Let me be hands and feet; and to the foolish, mind;
And lead still further on such as thy kindom seek. (12)

Leader: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

(Moments of Silence)

UNISON PRAYER

Leader: May the mantle of the true prophets of God fall upon us.

All: We pray thee this day for courage to face unpopularity for the sake of truth; for courage to declare boldly our convictions, though they make us despised; for courage to break with evil custom and evil opinion, even though for so doing we are shunned and outcast.

Give us strong hearts that will not fear what any man may do unto us, confident in the power of truth —truth unsupported by numbers or resources—to establish itself supreme by its own inherent force, soverign over all benighted and reactionary opposition.

Give us the courage of soul which can scorn the possession of a good name amongst men, content to be alone with thee in the right, victorious over weak and craven sensitiveness to popular opinion; give us, O Lord, thy spirit of boldness, that we may trample on our fear of our fellows, being strong in thee and very courageous. (13)

HYMN: (*Singing to tune "Melrose"*)

God send us men whose aim 'twill be,
Not to defend some ancient creed,
But to live out the laws of God
In every thought and word and deed.

God send us men alert and quick
His lofty precepts to translate,
Until the laws of God become
The laws and habits of the state.

God send us men of steadfast will,
Patient, courageous, strong and true;
With vision clear and mind equipped
His will to learn, his work to do.

God send us men with hearts ablaze,
All truth to love, all wrong to hate;
These are the patriots nations need,
These are the bulwarks of the state.

DISMISSAL

Leader: Sail forth—steer for the deep water only.
For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go.
And we will risk the ship, ourselves and all.
O daring joy, but safe! Are they not all the seas of God? (14)

PIANO POSTLUDE (a)

(14)

(Turn to bottom of next page for source of materials and names of participants)

THE ILLS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

HOW CAN TEACHERS HELP SOLVE THEM?

By George Covender and Herrick Roth

Two leaders in the American Federation of Teachers see great hope in the aims and program of their organization. Their article is based on the action of the 1947 Convention of the Federation held in Boston last August. Mr. Cavender is a teacher at East High School, Denver, Colorado, and is a member of the Executive Board, Local 858, and Chairman of the Denver County and Colorado Central Labor Political Committee (AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods). Herrick Roth teaches at Shirley Junior High School, Denver, and is Executive Secretary, Colorado Federation of Teachers.

One of the disastrous consequences of America's indifferent and pinch-penny attitude toward her public schools has been the desertion of the teaching profession by most of the men and women who have any qualities of courage and leadership plus a knowledge of and interest in social problems and their replacement in the nation's classrooms with persons sadly lacking in these same qualifications.

To one who has been butting his head against the apathy and fear prevailing among teachers while attempting to organize them for the fight to save their profession and public education, five day's attendance at the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers convention in Boston this last summer was a refreshing and inspirational experience. To watch classroom teachers studying, debating, and acting with knowledge, skill, and enthusiasm on questions of politics, economics, and education gives hope to the future of the profession and public education.

The American Federation of Teachers feels that it is essential for classroom teachers to play an active role in the affairs of their communities, to have a voice in the educational program of which they are a part, and to reach decisions and action on problems through independent organizations of their own choosing, free from administrative dominance and control.

The Teaching Profession Demoralized

Although low salaries have been the principal cause for good teachers leaving the profession, there are many other important factors involved. Lack of job security caused by the absence of adequate tenure laws and the too frequent dismissal of teachers by superintendents and/or boards of education for non-professional reasons; administrative dominance in all professional matters and at times extending into the community and private lives of teachers; the assumption that school administrators will fight for teacher welfare and that it is unprofessional for teachers to "go over the heads" of principals or superintendents to the members of boards of education or to the public for a redress of grievance; the subservient position of the classroom teacher due to the greater financial and social recognition given administrators; and the failure of the "professional" teacher organizations to fight for individual teacher welfare have all contributed to the demoralized conditions existing in the profession, today.

The fight that the growing American Federation of Teachers is making for adequate salary schedules and fair tenure laws, its insistence on the right of teachers to act independently, free of intimidation and coercion, its willingness to take to the courts or carry to the electorate cases of discriminatory treatment accorded individuals or groups of teachers, and its emphasis on teacher interests and participation in community affairs are restoring dignity and self-respect to the classroom teacher.

AFT Growing

At the Boston convention in August, hard working committees of enthusiastic and liberal classroom teacher delegates drew up resolutions to be adopted by the convention for the purpose of shaping the policy and guiding the action of the Federation for the coming year. The delegates were given encouragement in the manner in which they undertook their task by the report to the convention that the American Federation of Teachers during the year 1946-47 experienced the greatest growth in its history and now boasts a membership in excess of 50,000, over 10,000 of these teachers new members within the past year.

Several problems were crucial and received major attention on the convention agenda. In contrast to other "professional" groups, there was no administrative or parliamentary discrimination regarding the right of an individual to speak. Issues were aired so thoroughly that six full convention sessions were devoted to debate and voting on issues presented by committees or presented directly from the floor by individuals. In addition, a special night session was voted by the delegates to resolve the provoking questions arising from federal aid to education. The opinion expressed on the convention floor in this momentous debate comprised every facet of the complex religious, political, geographical, and educational aspects tied up in the consideration of federal grants to schools and other educational agencies. Of this issue, the convention reached as liberal and as progressive a stand as any national group has dared attempt. The convention did not "resign itself to a stand" but built a statement of legislative principles and policy that can permit legislative action to actually aid education—a stand that can well be supported, without strings attached, as a forward move by both organized labor and organized religion.

The AFT On Federal Aid

The report of the AFT committee on educational reconstruction, chaired by Dr. Floyd Reeves of the University of Chicago, prepared the ground work for the report—perhaps one of the most significant continuing studies in the education field. The convention agreed (1) that Federal aid, through approved state programs, should be paid directly to public schools, only; (2) that funds for welfare services should be available to all children whether attending public or private or parochial schools; and (3) that services should include health, food and clothing aid to indigent children, and adequate recreational facilities, but transportation was not considered to be a service inasmuch as grants for the transportation of students to school would actually help to increase the enrollment in private and parochial schools in many regions of this country as opposed to the extension of a free public educational system.

More TVA's Urged

The Committee on Social and Economic Trends reported favorably and the delegates adopted the following significant resolutions: That the American Federation of Teachers work for a nation-wide, integrated public power system and the extension of the Valley Development programs similar to the successful T.V.A.; that the civilian control of atomic energy development be continued and that all possible effort be given to retain the useful peace time developments of atomic energy in the public domain for the common welfare as opposed to the building of private vested interests for exploitation in this field with full education for the understanding of the meaning of atomic energy, including its social implications; that the A.F.T. urge its membership to support and encourage the formation and use of Rochdale cooperatives whenever possible; that the A.F.T. support the principles of the Wagner-Murray-Dingle health bill; that a fair employment practices act be urged for passage in the next session of the Congress of the United States; that the Federal government be urged to appropriate necessary funds for a low-cost housing program; and that legislation for the extension of Social Security on a national level be supported.

Favorably reported and adopted by the convention were resolutions supporting the Stratton bill to permit the temporary increasing of immigration quotas for the purpose of allowing certain numbers of displaced persons to come to the United States for the next few years. Special wires and cables were ordered sent to President Truman and Mr. Atlee advocating a free Palestine. UNESCO was given the full support of the American Federation of Teachers, and the national commission for UNESCO and the President of the United States were urged to have membership of a classroom teacher continually on the National Commission. As an outgrowth of these resolutions, and subsequent action taken by the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor, the President of the American Federation of Teachers, Joseph Landis, of Cleveland, was one of the

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Participants and sources of materials for program on pages 4 and 5.

(a) At the piano—Rev. Paul H. Ackert, Minister, Arlington Evangelical United Brethren Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

(1) Charles Foster Kent, (2) W. Russell Bowie, (3) Mark 12:29-31: (Deut. 6:4, 5: Lev. 19:18b, (4) Jesus, (5) Eugene V. Debbs, (6) Elinor Lennen, (7) Walter Rauschenbusch.

(b) Singing led by Dr. Herman W. Kaebnick, Secretary, Commission on Christian Social Action, Evangelical United Brethren Church, Somerset, Pa.

(8) Thomas Curtis Clark. Read by Charles C. Webber, President, Virginia CIO.

(9) Don West. Read by Alexander H. Martin, Cleveland attorney.

(10) Theodore Parker. Read by J. C. Masters, Business Mgr., Local No. 39, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, Cleveland.

(11) Saint Ambrose (340-398 A.D.). Read by Jesse Cavileer, Student Secretary, League for Industrial Democracy, New York City.

(12) Theodore Parker. Read by Rev. Casimir M. Nikel, Minister, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of L.D.S., Cleveland.

United States delegates to the International UNESCO conference in Mexico City in November.

In the matter of democratic human relations, the convention debated at great length the recommendation that charters be denied locals of the American Federation of Teachers where race is the basis of jurisdiction. It was also stressed that where two or more locals in an area represent different races, the national organization should give necessary aid and assistance in the merging of those locals. Southern delegates to the convention pointed out the great gains that the A.F.T. was making in eliminating Jim Crowism in a good number of Southern locals. In Kentucky, both negro and white teachers were reported as already working together in a single local in Louisville and a similar local in Newport. The Southern delegates pointed out further, however, that the recommendation would, if enacted, stop further organizing work in the South and greatly hinder the progressive steps now being taken in that area. The convention finally adopted a resolution that the national organization would operate under a policy to discourage the establishment of segregated locals, give aid where necessary to help merge locals, and do everything possible to establish joint executive boards between locals in the same area. That active educational work has been paying greater dividends than ill-advised national directives was the general conclusion of the delegates to the convention.

One of the "hottest" issues concerning the delegates was the question of maintaining or abandoning the no-strike policy. As finally adopted, the national organization will maintain its no-strike policy but is directed to support locals "to the fullest extent in their respective efforts to secure adequate salaries and satisfactory working conditions or a redress of legitimate grievances."

Growth in the South and West

In the report of progress made by the national Secretary-Treasurer, Irvin Kuenzli of Chicago, it was interesting to note that great areas of organizational progress and new interest in teacher unionism are found in all sections of the country. In particular, Louisiana and Kentucky in the South have made great gains during the past year. In the West, many Colorado teachers organized for the first time and are now carrying on an active program. In the East and New England states, teachers in Rhode Island made great membership gains. In the election of officers, the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers, representing 16 geographical areas from east to west and from north to south, was given a vote of confidence by the convention delegates to continue the work for the coming year in a convention election that was marked by complete democratic participation of delegates. Three principal political caucuses carried the brunt of the drive for nominations of officers and the establishment of organizational policies for the coming year as finally adopted in resolution form on the convention floor. All caucuses were liberal and progressive in their thinking. There appears to be no great area of political conservatism in the American Federation of Teachers. On the other hand, the delegates to the convention showed some concern in all of their political choices with the problem of combating any move which would put any part of the organization in the camp of one or the other of the "isms." A truly liberal, independent, and progressive course was steered by the delegates in all of their deliberations including their election of officers. All of the candidates for the national Executive Council represented honest progressivism—even those who were defeated. The convention was concluded by voting overwhelmingly for more active interest and financial support of organizational expansion. Teachers can't sit and wait for local crises to "drive" teachers into unionism. Those who are in the movement and understand it must accept the responsibility of informing those who are not members of the real professional course that the A.F.T. is taking.

As newcomers to the Boston convention, we were anxious to see if there was real hope in the teaching ranks to fight through a real professional program for children in all sections of this country. The delegates to the convention convinced us that there is —even in a country where the ranks of the real professional teacher have been considerably depleted to only a fractional part of the number of real teachers that are needed —more strength and promise of accomplishment than exists in any organization devoting its full time to the solution of problems confronting the strengthening of the free public education movement in the United States.

If anything, from the comments of others who had come from years before, the convention even indicated that the A.F.T. was getting more enthusiastic about its own potentialities—that it was growing up in the sense of being more mindful of the problems of teachers throughout the country and not just in isolated areas where locals of the A.F.T. are organized—that it desired to have pursued a more militant program of progressive action for organizational expansion and professional growth.

POVERTY for Education

According to the results of a nation-wide survey conducted for the National Education Association, reported February 16, "enormous inadequalities in expenditure per pupil continue to exist both within individual states and among the states." "Millions of children in 1947 were in school systems with such meager funds that their schooling was both brief and inferior."

At present New York State stands at the top of the list with a per-pupil expenditure in 1946-47 of $234, and Mississippi stands at the bottom with an expenditure of $25.

"Federal aid is imperative if we are to offer adequate schools for America's youth," declared Dr. John K. Norton of Teachers College, Columbia University, one of the directors of the survey. "In the country as a whole the education situation is definitely worse than it was in 1940 or even than it was a year ago . . . We are operating today on a $3,000,000,000 budget.

BILLIONS for War

Hanson Baldwin, writing in the January 15, 1948, *New York Times*, stated: "Annual military expenditures of between $15,000,000,000 and $25,000,000,000 are forecast within the next few years if measures already authorized or projected are approved by Congress. The President's annual budget message which asked for about $11,000,000,000 (for national defense during the 1949 fiscal year), or about 28 per cent of the total budget, and the report of the President's Air Policy Commission, which recommended the additional expenditure in the next two years of more than $1,500,000,000 annually, indicate the trend.

In contrast to the pre-war (1939) cost of $8 for each man, woman and child in America for military expenditures, the cost per person under the proposed budget would be $75.

Both Religion and Labor Have a Stake in the Future of Education and Peace.

JUDAISM and RACE EQUALITY

This statement, issued by The Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, is available in leaflet form. Copies may be secured by writing to Rabbi Julius Mark, Chairman, 136 Seventh Avenue, N., Nashville 3, Tenn.

Man derives his worth from the fact that he is created by God in the image of God. This is an unconditional status. It is not dependent on any other circumstance. He may be black, yellow or white; he may worship nature or the spirit within nature; he may be born on mountainside or on the plains. He is still equal in the sight of God. Any differences in his worth are those he creates himself by his utilization of his potentialities through learning and industry. But these are only evaluative differences. They are not essential. In no way do they limit the inalienable rights inherent in man's status as a child of God.

These teachings were burned into the soul of Israel by his experience with Egyptian slavery. From the very beginning of his national existence he knew the heart of the stranger, and the leitmotif of his social discipline was, "Thou shalt have one law for the stranger and for him that is home-born."

We rejoice that the President's Committee on Civil Rights has recognized a similar emphasis in American history. In the foreword to its magnificent report, "To Secure These Rights," we read:

> "The central theme in our American heritage is the importance of the individual person. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed that every human being has an essential dignity and integrity which must be respected and safeguarded. Moreover, we believe that the welfare of the individual is the final goal of group life. Our American heritage further teaches that to be secure in the rights he wishes for himself, each man must be willing to respect the rights of other men. This is the conscious recognition of a basic moral principle; that all men are created equal as well as free. Stemming from this principle is the obligation to build social institutions that will guarantee equality of opportunity to all men. Without this equality freedom becomes an illusion. Thus the only aristocracy that is consistent with the free way of life is an aristocracy of talent and achievement."

We heartily commend the President's Committee for placing the spot-light of its inquiry on the faults and failures of our American democracy; lynching, Jim Crow, poll tax, the virtual peonage of tenant farmers, the inadequacy of educational, health and housing facilities for large sections of our population. We share the Committee's concern that the Bill of Rights is not as available to the non-white races in the American population as it is to the white race. We recognize the vicious cycle by which the denial of these rights forces the racial minorities into social degradations which make it all the more difficult for them to attain these rights. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the Federal Government use its present constitutional powers to abolish Jim Crow in the District of Columbia and to preserve the right to the ballot to all Negro citizens of the South. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the proper restitution and compensation be made to the Japanese citizens who were forcibly removed from their homes during the war. We likewise affirm the Committee's recommendation to strengthen the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice so that its regional officers may be of more assistance to local officers who wish to protect the citizen's basic rights under the Constitution.

We are encouraged to note that the New York State Commission Against Discrimination is singled out as an example of the way in which administrative agencies can grant civil sanctions to remedy the denial of the right to employment to members of minority groups. Our Conference must be all the more resolute in supporting the movements to establish similar agencies in all the states of the Union.

We rejoice in the Committee's recommendations that Federal Grants-in-Aid to public or private agencies be withheld if they practice discrimination and we commend the President's Committee on Higher Education for making a similar proposal. Proposals such as these coming from distinguished bodies appointed by the highest officer of our government cannot but help to change the climate of opinion which has heretofore passively tolerated, when it has not actively sanctioned, the violations of our Bill of Rights.

Economic opportunity, political equality, social dignity for our racial minorities can be only partially guaranteed by strengthening our laws and implementing our administrative agencies. The major resistance to necessary changes lies in the moral weakness, in the prejudices and bigotries of many of our citizens. Legal sanctions, criminal investigations, Federal pressures will never be able to sterilize the seed bed of these prejudices. Since the cause is largely the moral weakness and ignorance of individuals, the remedies must be largely in the hands of our homes, our schools, and our churches.

The difference between the equalitarian promise of the American dream as revealed in our Declaration of Independence and in our Bill of Rights and the inequalities of American practice measures the challenge to the churches and synagogues of the land. We must ignore the pessimism of the cynical who regard this gulf between word and action as proof of the hopeless hypocrisy of human beings. Our faith must inspire and sustain us in our endeavor to bridge this gap. It was faith in the ultimate goodness of the average man that led our Founding Fathers to erect a structure of government for the people and by the people. We must justify that faith by removing the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which frustrate the fulfillment of the American dream. We have evidence today as we have never had it before that racial discrimination is not only a heavy drain on the human wealth and national competence of this country, not only militates against America's moral leadership of countries populated by non-white races, but is bringing about the steady erosion of the moral fibre of the nation. The persistence of discrimination and segregation justifies many of our citizens in holding to the belief that the victims of discrimination are basically inferior. This creates a split which goes through the whole structure of our democracy and threatens it with ultimate destruction.

NOT FRIGHTENED, BUT FIGHTING LIBERALS

(Continued from page 3)

Now, probably there is something wrong with my figure of speech relating to the fox and the hounds. When comparing them with the groups whose conduct I have been reviewing, I probably do a grave injustice to both the hounds and the fox. But I admit that in the world today, in our own country and in our communities there are great moral problems that confront our people. There never was a time when the cause was greater for religion and labor, for the churches and labor unions, to work together to build a more just and moral economic and social system. In my judgment, David Cushman Coyle most accurately defined the world's material and spiritual problems when he said:

> "How to maintain enough freedom of choice of jobs, goods and opinions to keep our minds healthy while organizing the production and distribution of goods is the real problem of our times. Too much worship of science will land us where it landed Germany, in a wholehearted chase after material efficiency that leads to the madhouse. Science is useful as a slave, like fire or electricity; it has no rights. Our human job is to stay human in face of the machines, to learn how to keep out of insane man hatreds, and to hang onto our belief in liberty and democracy while we use our horsepower and mathematics to raise the material conditions of our life."

More than anything else, we need today not frightened liberals, but fighting liberals.

Fleming

THE SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION
OF THE
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
2825 LEXINGTON ROAD
LOUISVILLE 6, KENTUCKY

March 1, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

As I told you in our conversation the other day, I am sending herewith a copy of the report of the Special Committee on Race Relations which was presented to the Southern Baptist Convention last May.

As I told you while it is not so specific in all points as it might be, at the same time I find that in principle it shows a distinct advance in our Baptist thinking.

With kindest regards, I am,

Cordially yours,

Hugh A. Brimm

Hugh A. Brimm

hab:jp

THE SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

The post-war world has arrived. It is not a world of peace, but a world of threatening tensions between nations and races and between contending groups within nations including our own. It is not a world of plenty, but of stalking poverty and starvation that has already taken a toll of millions in many lands. It is not a world of spiritual repentance and moral reform, but of rampant immorality and a spiritual complacency that is slow to accept the challenge of an insidious paganism.

Christianity has rarely faced a time that called so urgently for its moral light, for the trumpet voice of its convictions, and for lifting power of its influence in the interest of justice and righteousness. The question that we of this Convention and the Baptist denomination face is this: Are we ready to put the light of our faith on the lamp-stand, to call the nation to return to God, to set our hands to the task of establishing righteousness? The judgment of your Commission is that we must hear with a fresh hearing the words of Jesus, "Ye are the light of the world," and the words of Paul, his interpreter, "You are light in the Lord; walk as children of light (for the fruit of light is found in all that is good and right and true), and try to learn what is well-pleasing to the Lord" (Eph. 5:8-10). That light is to attack the darkness of false dealing, sexual immorality, covetousness, drunkenness and debauchery. Pointing out these and other evils of his day Paul cries to his fellow Christians, "Take no part in the unfruitful works of darkness, but instead expose them." (Eph. 5:11). The pagan morals of that day did not fail to attack the Christian community; and today they are riding high in our land, threatening and destroying. And we cannot excuse ourselves if our youths and our homes, our social order and peace are destroyed by social conditions that by Christian action we might have changed.

Your Commission in this report would point out five of the works of darkness which are major threats to the basic morals of our country. They are (1) the unhalting march of intemperance; (2) the rapidly spreading defiance of the sanctity of marriage and the home, with the consequent delinquencies and tragedies; (3) the un-Christian attitudes in industrial relations; (4) the wave of gambling that sweeps our nation; and (5) the continuance of un-Christian discriminations in race relationships.

1. The Unhalting March of Intemperance

Direct from the record, compiled in December 1946, we find the case to be as follows:

a. Per capita consumption of beverage liquors increased from 10.25 in 1934 to 20.53 gallons in 1945.
b. Drunkenness increased from 1,019 per 100,000 in 1932 (the last prohibition year) to 2,000 per 100,000 in 1945.
c. Convictions within the courts increased from 55,000 annually during dry years to 81,000 for the last pre-war year.
d. Saloons have increased until there are 407,000 in the United States, with package stores out numbering churches and schools.
e. The whiskey trade worked throughout the war to produce 10½ billion gallons of intoxicants while other industries fought for peace.
f. While 10 million American boys and 100 million laborers worked at winning the war, retail beer sellers in this country built up the stupendous income of $10,680,000,000.
g. Legitimatizing whiskey to gain tax monies is seen as falacious in view of the fact that the public debt increased $9,000,000,000 in the wet years before the beginning of hostilities.
h. Liquor monopolies, and consolidations have been allowed to gain such strength as to dictate government policies, and liquor advertising has become a major industry, subsidizing much of the public press, the radio, and the screen.
i. There are today more bar maids than college girls, and traceable directly to intoxicants are 60 suicides every twenty-four hours, a murder every forty minutes, and a major crime every forty-two seconds.

On the other side of the picture the Anti-Saloon League has revealed some prohibition gains sufficiently reassuring to warrant a more vigorous prosecu-

tion of temperance education as a means of success through local option. Within the borders of our Southern Convention are 1339 counties. Almost one-half or 630 have gained a dry status on either wine, beer, or whiskey or all three. Oklahoma, alone, is wholly dry, while Missouri, South Carolina, Arizona, and California are wholly wet. All other states have some form of local option. Still greater success seems presently possible if Southern Baptists will get down to a program of implementation. Here are our suggestions: that we

a. Call our people to a strict observance of temperance and urge our churches to promote total abstinence as the ideal for all Christians.
b. Publicly reaffirm the Baptist position, recognized in many church covenants, that the sale and use of beverage liquors are against the morals of the nation and against Christian progress.
c. Urge upon all ministers the importance of stating clearly their position in favor of temperance, and upon ordaining councils the importance of such a clearly defined attitude on the part of candidates for the ministry.
d. Provide a literature, a special study course, lecture outlines, and sermonic aids, with necessary adaptation for forums, assemblies, associational and state gatherings, pulpits, and class rooms.
e. Approve efforts of colleges and seminaries to incorporate in their curricula courses in alcohol education which will be accredited.
f. Furnish through some responsible agency the necessary coordinated aid to meet effectively the need of Social Service committees within the associations and states for adequate information and a coordinated emphasis.
g. Give full support to dry forces, such as the Anti-Saloon League, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, or other approved organizations in the several states.
h. Secure information from the leadership within the states as to how soon and to what extent a coordinated temperance program can be implemented and in full integration with all other work that the states are so ably carrying forward.
i. Urge the Sunday School Board to continue its emphasis on regular temperance lessons, and to make available for teachers with each temperance lesson more concrete information on conditions, tendencies, gains and losses in the struggle for a sober nation.

2. The Rapidly Spreading Defiance of the Sanctity of the Home with the Consequent Delinquencies and Tragedies

So persistent and relentless has been the fight for the home that the conflict has compelled the attention of every major religious group in America. It appears, very definitely, to be the prerogative of the church to protect this God ordained unit of society against the hostile influences that press upon her.

Here again Baptists' action hitherto has been a matter of an annual reorientation as to position. The insufficiency of that course is inescapably expressed in this statement of a few facts:

a. Professional and industrial employment of women has tended inevitably to separate mother and child, often leaving the child without proper care or control to become the victim of vicious habits and attitudes.
b. Home discipline has been relaxed, reducing respect for restrained order, and producing in turn incorrigibleness and delinquency.
c. Divorces are at an all-time high. Statisticians say that at the present rate by 1965 more than one-half of marriages will result in dissolution.
d. Juvenile delinquency is at an alarmingly high peak. Teen age girls are testifying to debasing conditions in divided homes. Teen age boys out of abnormal home life are crowding the dockets in Juvenile courts.
e. An estimated 60 per cent of the boys and girls drop out of Sunday School by the time they reach 15 years, 75 per cent by the time they reach twenty-one, according to the Council of Religious Education.
f. A paganistic philosophy has been allowed to take root in American life, characterized by unholy trial marriages, a go-easy pleasure complex supported by fatalism, the prostitution of art and beauty in indecency resulting in the loss of modesty, chastity, and sobriety.
g. Views of child-training that leave the child without moral discipline and guidance and lead to a disregard for authority and a confusion of right with might.

To save society, the home must be saved. The church is called to no task more imperative, to none more exalted. If Southern Baptists meet their respon-

sibility it is going to be necessary to back their wills with more than wishes. It is going to be necessary to implement a program of forceful action. The following means are suggested:

a. Declare, as never before, our message concerning the family-personal purity, Christian standards of morals, and ideals of marriage.
b. Provide the necessary literature for training in preparation for marriage; encourage its widest use in churches and assemblies. Provide and make place for study books magnifying the sacredness of marriage and the home.
c. Work definitely for more unified divorce laws, for more care in the issuance of licenses, and in the performance of ceremonies.
d. Agitate for enforcement of the statutes respecting minors, and the enactment of legislation prohibiting their presence in road houses.
e. Urge the inclusion of courses on marriage and family life and Christian ideals in the curricula of our schools and colleges.
f. Commend the action of the Sunday School Board for establishing the *Home Life* magazine, pledging co-operation in securing its widest circulation.

3. Un-Christian Attitudes in Industrial Relations

At this moment of history the economic sphere of life confronts the Christian conscience with special insistency. This is particularly true here in the South where it is yet possible for us to avoid the situations which have developed elsewhere. Organized labor is in the midst of a campaign to organize the workers of the South, and management has in general opposed the movement. A divided public opinion has taken sides, here with one, and there with the other. The situation is one of conflict which easily engenders unreasonable and un-Christian prejudices that set men off in classes with confirmed hostilities. Our churches must accept responsibility because of the basic affirmations of our faith. We are responsible for the spiritual well-being of our members, and society, and all persons are greatly affected by the economic environment in which they mature. If we have any message for the South, this is the time to proclaim it.

As we face the imminent possibility of industrial conflict in our area, your Commission believes that the role of the church should be clearly defined. We do not believe that the church can take sides in the struggle. We cannot give aid to the organizing of labor unions; we cannot give aid to management in any struggle against unions; nor can we be identified with the co-operative movements. To do so would be to negate the greater mission of the church. The Kingdom of God cannot be coerced into the narrow confines of labor unions, industrial management or co-operatives. Rather must all these patterns be brought under the judgment of the Kingdom of God.

We ask, furthermore, that our people examine carefully the frightening manner in which we are losing our individual freedom under group pressure. The industrialist faces it in his association of manufacturers; the laborer faces it in his union; and the farmer in his co-operative. Such organized groups are a part of our mechanized society, but their dominance over the individual conscience must be resisted. We are primarily citizens of the Kingdom of God, and no lesser loyalty should command our allegiance.

The churches must so proclaim the Gospel of Christ that a realization of our common bond in Him shall be attained. We must, by teaching and preaching, defeat any influence that would divide us into groups belligerently opposing each other. We are challenged to promote unity and understanding in the face of a threat to divide us into marring factions, and to make the good offices of the church through its Christian leaders always available for mediation.

Our devotion to justice and love must inspire confidence from all. A great challenge faces us, and we can only meet it by providing a labor and management leadership which have been nurtured in the ethical attitudes which are motivated only when life is in full surrender to Jesus Christ.

4. The Wave of Gambling

Gambling is one of the big businesses of America. In recent years it has increased so rapidly as to alarm all right thinking citizens. In one Southern city alone in fifteen years of legalized horse and dog racing 19,478,792 people bet $716,934,066 through parimutuel machines. Add to that the figures from other race tracks, gambling houses, gambling on sports, stock gambling and private gambling, and the amount of money involved staggers the imagination. The extension of gambling has been encouraged by the fact that religious and

charitable organizations have resorted to raffles, bingo parties, etc., to raise money, often using children to solicit the purchase of chances. City governments prevailing by winking at gambling, raiding the book-makers and others only often enough to silence protest and collect revenue through fines, but permitting the business to continue. Many church members see no harm in an "innocent" game of chance, and multitudes of boys and girls are growing up in this generation to believe that getting something for nothing is a display of the highest wit.

It is high time for Christian people to look squarely at meaning and effects of this evil.

"Gambling has no moral defense. It has no justification in economics. It is exchange without production; it is distribution of wealth, gaining or losing, by irrational chance rather than by honest toil and reasonable recompense; it unjustly enriches one through the impoverishment of another; it is parasitic and sterile, costly and destructive. It is condemned by its effect upon personality. The victim of the gambling spirit begins often in sport. The bet adds zest to a game, intensifies the thrill of the race, increases jollity and good fellowship among companions at the athletic field. To take a chance in a lottery is to add a certain tension to life during the wait. To watch the fluctuations of the market on one's own stock is an adventure now promising wealth, now poverty. The fascination of gambling cannot be denied. The exhilaration of anticipated gains easily banishes all moral sensibility and confirms the spirit of avarice. Gambling destroys honesty and truthfulness and the creative spirit of industry. It breeds suspicion and greed and unbrotherliness that regard others as the legitimate prey of one's own cunning and power. It is anti-social. The private gambler cannot be a safe social leader or public servant, whether in finance, education, or politics. With the gambler come wrong principles and attitudes into any group. He is the carrier of those selfish and exploitative mental patterns which are the basis of conflict everywhere. Through its losses gambling curses countless homes with poverty and misery; here as in every social vice the children pay." (Baptist World Alliance Reports).

What can be done about it? Certainly its character cannot be changed by legalizing it, or by dividing the spoils with charitable institutions. Nor will mere condemnation destroy it. Something else is required. We urge the following:

1. Every Christian can stand firmly against all forms of gambling in his own life, his home, his church and community.
2. The churches can uphold and strengthen the anti-gambling laws, and back the authorities in closing illegitimate places and destroying their gambling equipment.
3. Ministers, teachers and parents can teach the evil personal and social effects of gambling, and lay fresh emphasis upon the Christian principles of honesty, industry, fairness, brotherhood and service.

5. Un-Christian Attitudes in Race Relations

Since another committee is making a report which dwells on Baptist responsibility in race relations, we shall say little on the subject at this time. But the present situation in the South demands that we express our loyalty to the principle of American government which must not be cast aside in this crisis. We believe in democracy, according to which equal political rights are granted to all citizens on a common basis of qualification. The exclusive rule of one race in a multi-racial democracy, without regard to the right of other races to participate in the processes of self-government under a common law, is no more justifiable than the rule of one political party without regard to the rights of other political parties to participation in the processes of self-government under a common law.

The only answer to all the political perils of our day is true democracy. We are opposed to Communism, in its atheistic, materialistic philosophy, in its regimentation of labor, and in its tyrannical lordship over culture and life. We shall do all we can to keep it from power in our nation. But the answer to Communism is not Nazism or Fascism. In World War II we fought to destroy this monster tyranny with its nationalist state armed to the teeth, its one party political rule, its one race monopoly of privilege, its regimented industrial economy and its subservient church. None of these things must be allowed to take root in America. The only answer to Communism and Nazism is a true democracy, not as a form of government, but as a principle of action that seeks fair-play and justice in all matters of citizenship under laws of common application.

COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

At its meeting in May, 1946, the Convention appointed a committee on race relations assigning to it a threefold task: (1) to review the service now being rendered by Southern Baptists to the Negro race; (2) to study the whole race situation, in its moral and religious aspects, and with special reference to the responsibility of Baptists in the problems of racial adjustment; and (3) to recommend to the Convention a procedure looking toward a better fulfillment of that responsibility.

That committee wishes to make the following report.

I

Our first task was to review the work now being done by Southern Baptists among the Negroes of the South. In order that an accurate and fairly complete picture might be drawn, the committee engaged the services of Mr. N. P. Howington, a graduate student at Louisville who by visitation and interview and correspondence gathered an amount of information too great to be included in this report. It can only be summarized and evaluated.

Frequently, it has been said that Southern Baptists are doing "little or nothing" in this field. That is because much has been unreported and much has lain unnoticed in the reports of various agencies and groups. When put together, the total effort of Southern Baptists in interracial service and co-operation indicates a rather widespread consciousness of our task and obligation. One of the most significant facts that comes to light is the increase and the increasing acceleration of this work during the last fifteen years. Today there are many forms of service and service on a much larger scale than fifteen years ago.

The Home Mission Board has increased its expenditures for Negro work many times over, and to its co-operative work with the Negro Colleges and support of their Bible departments has been added its city mission work which reaches with social and religious service an increasing number of Negro homes and churches. The American Baptist Theological Seminary is today doing the best work of its history, with a greatly improved physical equipment, and an enlarged faculty and student body. The Sunday School Board through its literature which is furnished in large quantities to Negro churches and institutions, and through the services of its workers in the various states and associations, is lifting the level of religious education and leadership training over a large area of the South. The service through the Baptist Student's Union in its conferences and its extension to Negro schools is of incalculable worth in the creation of Christian social attitudes. All the work of these three agencies of the Convention is done co-operatively, and thus contributes also to an increasing understanding and goodwill between the races. The three theological seminaries of the Convention are also rendering valuable service to Negro ministers. Younger teachers of the Southern Seminary go to Simmons University (a Negro school) twice a week to give regular seminary courses to members of the faculty of the school who are working toward a theological degree. Other members of the Seminary faculty are giving private guidance to one Negro minister working for his Th. D. degree. At the Southwestern Seminary, night classes are held every year for Negro ministers and also for Negro women preparing for religious work. The New Orleans Seminary cooperates with the Union Seminary (Negro) by furnishing teachers from its faculty and students, serving a student body of around 150 men and women. A most important service that means much for the future is that all our theological schools are offering strong courses dealing with race relations in the light of Christian ethical ideals.

In addition to these tangible services the Inter-Convention Committee on Negro Ministerial Education brings together annually members of the Northern and Southern Conventions and members of the National Baptist Conventions and of the faculties of the Negro Baptist colleges for conference and study looking toward the improvement of Negro ministerial leadership. And the Social Service Commission in its hitherto limited capacity seeks, by the distribution of its reports and through the Social Service Conference at Ridgecrest, to arouse our people to Christian action in harmony with the basic social principles of our religion.

Of greatest significance is the inter-racial work of the Woman's Missionary Union and its organizations in the several states. Its services include considerable and wisely expended financial contributions, the co-operation of many workers in missionary and stewardship education, and in joint meetings and

conferences between white and Negro women. A detailed record of this work would require many pages. The meaning of it in the improvement of women's work in the church and, more than that, in the promotion of mutual understanding and unprejudiced goodwill is beyond measure. It is not masculine flattery to say that no organization among us is doing a more direct and effective work of love than the Woman's Missionary Union.

To this work of southwide organization must be added that of the several state conventions which ranges all the way from voicing the ideals of Christian conscience in race relations by committees on public morals to well organized and well-supported departments of inter-racial cooperation. A number of State Conventions make financial contributions to Negro educational and charitable institutions; some assist the Negro Baptists in the support of religious workers among the churches; others cooperate in other ways in the promotion of Negro Baptist work. Here again the picture is one of expansion and improvement.

In so brief a time it has been impossible to get an over-all picture of the services of Baptist pastors and laymen in the field of race relations. Sampling here and there in the various states, however, reveals situations ranging from indifference to active interest and participation in inter-racial matters, and well planned programs of helpfulness. It is found that Baptist laymen and pastors in considerable numbers serve as trustees and advisors of Negro institutions and co-operate in inter-racial committees and organizations for the improvement of race relations. In increasing numbers white pastors are establishing brotherly and helpful relationships with Negro pastors in the community; inter-racial pastoral conferences are found helpful, both personally and denominationally. A number of white pastors conduct annually classes in Bible and sermon preparation for local Negro ministers, and supply Negro churches with teachers for Sunday School training courses.

An exact report on financial contributions for Negro work we are unable to give, but the following is an approximation, based on reports from the various agencies and institutions: State Conventions, $82,338.68; State W.M.U. Organizations, $25,053.40; Home Mission Board, $65,000 (besides the Annie Armstrong fund, $25,000); Sunday School Board, $900.00; Woman's Missionary Union, $32,300.00 (including the Annie Armstrong fund expenditure by Home Mission Board). Total, $205,592.08.

The total picture is one of growing interest in various forms of service; and out of the programs and projects there are emerging certain patterns of effective ministry that might well be employed throughout the territory of the Convention.

II

We were asked to study also the whole racial situation in its moral and religious aspects and to face the question of Baptist responsibility in the solution of the problems which it presents. This we have tried to do in the light of the principles of our Baptist faith and our position as a major element in the population of the southern region of the nation where the problems are most acute.

We see the problem as one for which there is no easy or immediately final solution. In the nation as a whole the race problem centers in those minority racial groups which are sharply distinguished from the rest of the population, principally Jews, Japanese, Indians and Negroes. By reason of religious and racial traditions of separateness (as in the case of the Jews), or of racial and physical characteristics and social histories (as in the case of the Negro race), these groups remain and for a long time to come will remain distinct groups. Intermarriage and complete assimilation are so remote a possibility that they afford no hope to those who would thus solve the race problem, and no real ground of fear for those who abhor the idea of amalgamation. The problem as we face it in our time is that of different races finding principles and methods of procedure that will insure justice to all and establish attitudes of mutual helpfulness and good-will.

Here lies the responsibility of Baptists, especially in the South, in the relations of the white and Negro races. There are in the South six million white Baptists and three and a half million Negro Baptists—nine and one-half millions, who believe together in the Lordship of Christ and the authority of his teachings, in the freedom of every soul to find and follow and champion the will of Christ, and in the principles of democracy in church and state. Surely people who believe these things together have a responsibility to God and to one another to face together their common problems of life. And surely the initiative and leadership in the solution of these problems belongs to those who have the greater advantage.

Our responsibility is the more pressing because the problem of race relations

is primarily a moral and religious problem. Political action, even at its best, cannot do what must be done. Laws create a measure of restraint against injustice and mark out certain procedures under the sanction of governmental power. But we are seeing the truth today that law, even the Constitution of our Nation, cannot relax tensions and resentments, nor banish the prejudices and injustices that spring from fallacious thinking and racial feeling. These things require the strong inward grip of religious faith and the inward demand of moral understanding and conviction.

In facing this responsibility as citizens and Christians we should not overlook the peril of delay. The tides are moving fact. Within the last two years there has been a revival of lawless organizations that fan racial hatred. Radical white leaders on the one hand have become more insistent that the progress of the Negro as a citizen shall be blocked, and radical Negro leaders on the other are more insistent that all discriminations shall be removed immediately by law. Aspects of the problem that have hitherto been regional have now attracted national interest and become national problems, as for example, lynchings, the poll tax, and the disfranchisement of Negroes in some Southern states because of their racial inheritance. And we Baptists, living in the midst of these tensions, must accept our responsibility. We cannot dismiss the problems of race relations as a side issue. We must be willing to shoulder the difficult and continuing task.

III

The time is upon us when we must consult our faith and bring ourselves to lay fresh hold upon those principles that are embedded in our Baptist faith and polity, and make them the basis of Christian action. And your committee would suggest to all our people and churches a charter of what we believe to be Christian and Baptist principles and tneir necessary consequences in racial attitudes:

1. We believe in the Lordship of Christ: in order to act in his name in social relations we must love our neighbors, including our Negro neighbors, as ourselves.
2. We believe in the Holy Spirit: since the day of Pentecost he has been breaking down middle walls of partition between races and alien groups and teaching men of open heart to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace.
3. We believe in the Bible as the word of God: in it is our authoritative summons to practice justice towards all people of all races.
4. We believe in the dignity and worth of the individual man: irrespective of his race or position he has the right to develop in the measure of his divinely given capacity and to share in just measure the blessings of our Father's world.
5. We believe in the fellowship of believers: a relationship which forbids us to allow worldly patterns of prejudice to drive a wedge between us and our Christian brothers of other races.
6. We believe in the principle of democracy in government: in application it entails the recognition and defense of the natural and constitutional rights of all citizens irrespective of their origin or racial inheritance.

IV

These doctrines which must commend themselves to every conscience impel us to the observance of the following principles of conduct:

1. We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.
2. We shall continually strive as individuals to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from our speech terms of contempt and from our conduct actions of ill-will.
3. We shall teach our children that prejudice is un-Christian and that good-will and helpful deeds are the duty of every Christian toward all men of all races.
4. We shall protest against injustice and indignities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them.
5. We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits or educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences.
6. We shall be just in our dealing with the Negro as an individual. When-

ever he is in our employ we shall pay him an adequate wage and provide for him healthful working conditions.

7. We shall strive to promote community good-will between the races in every way possible.
8. We shall actively cooperate with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their ministers, and the promotion of their missions and evangelistic programs.

No doubt some will be conscious of limitations in these proposals, but they are realistic, practical, and constitute a definite basis of conduct that must appeal to all as being an advance in the direction of basic human justice. As they are achieved they will bear fruit in a general improvement of racial attitudes and therefore of racial adjustments at all points of racial contact.

V

Finally, your committee, in accordance with the instructions of the Convention, makes the following recommendations:

1. That the Convention recognize its responsibility for the promotion of inter-racial good-will, and urge upon our Baptist people and all Christians the duty of ordering our racial attitudes and actions in accordance with Christian truth and Christian love.
2. That the Convention express its approval of co-operative service, such as is being carried on by the Home Mission Board, the American Baptist Theological Seminary and the Convention Seminaries, in the field of Negro religious and theological education, and by the Woman's Missionary Union in its program education and missionary cooperation.
3. That the Convention approve a long range program of education among our own people looking toward racial understanding and Christian attitudes in the solution of race problems, and encourage Baptist agencies and institutions to promote such a program, including such particular services as the following: (1) the practice of the Sunday School Board of dealing with the race question in its literature; (2) the publication and distribution of tracts, study course books and other literature dealing with Christianity and race; (3) the publication of editorials and contributed articles on race relations in denominational papers; (4) the inclusion of the subject of race relations in the social service reports of all state conventions and district associations; (6) the introduction of courses in race, race relations and Negro life into the curricula of our Baptist colleges; (7) the publication from time to time of summaries of the work of Baptists in this field of service; (8) the co-operation of pastors in bringing to the attention of their people the basic Christian doctrines and principles of conduct that bear upon racial attitudes.
4. That the Convention assign to the Social Service Commission particularly the task of fostering such a program of education and promoting such practical services as the following: (1) supplying pastors with practical suggestions concerning ways in which they can help Negro pastors; (2) encouraging definite work by churches in behalf of the Negro Baptist people of their communities; (3) encouraging discussion of race relations under wise leadership in pastors' conferences, district associations, student conferences and brotherhood meetings, and furnishing constructive material for such discussions; (4) seeking the establishment of Departments of Interracial Cooperation by State Conventions (of the order of that in Texas); (5) counselling with Negro Baptist leaders annually concerning the common interests and tasks of white and Negro Baptists in the service of the Kingdom of God; (7) keeping informed about the work of other organizations in this field.
5. That the Convention assign to the Public Relations Committee the task of keeping informed concerning legislation and other governmental actions touching race relations, human rights and citizenship rights of minority groups; and also of expressing the Baptist principles of democratic freedom and justice in situations that call for their emphasis.
6. That the Convention recognize the value of the Inter-convention Committee on Negro Ministerial Education and continue it as a standing committee of the Convention.

J. B. WEATHERSPOON, Chairman
J. M. DAWSON
RYLAND KNIGHT
E. P. ALLDREDGE
S. A. NEWMAN
WASH WATTS
WALTER P. BINNS
E. A. MCDOWELL
K. O. WHITE

Passed by the Woman's Society of Christian Service,
Southeastern Jurisdiction, of The Methodist Church,
in annual session, March 4, Orlando, Florida
1948

As never before in our history, mankind is bound together in a shrunken world. The disorders of our segment affect the whole. The old and familiar are passing. The new is being born everywhere. The eyes of the whole world are focused with hope on the United States -- a democracy with 60 million professed followers of Christ. We cannot fail to lead the way in securing human rights for the peoples of the world, including all people within our own borders. The basic christian faith which we profess will let us do no less. The democracy which preaches equality for all men must be demonstrated in action. As christian women of the Methodist Church in the Southeastern Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service we call ourselves, and the vast constituency from which we have come, to repentence for our sins and a renewal of our commitment to the task of making christian principles live in this nation.

Therefore, as specific and immediate steps in this direction, we recommend the following:

1. That Methodist women acquaint themselves with the content and full implications of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights by studies, discussions, and practical action to implement same in thie community and nation.

2. That every effort be made to make the South, the nation as a whole and the world know that christian women of the South oppose any effort, political or otherwise, to block progressive moves toward the achievement of Civil Rights for all people in this nation, including millions of citizens in this Southland. We call upon the Conferences, districts and local groups to stand up and be counted for human freedom.

3. That Methodist women work for Federal and state legislation to guarantee Civil Rights to the peoples of this nation.

4. Applications to institutions of higher learning in many Southern states are being made by Negro students, desiring special training and instruction. Sensing the impracticability of establishing regional schools, the exorbitant and unnecessary expense which would be incurred, the unchristian principle of discrimination which would be perpetuated, we recommend:
   That we work to implement the Supreme Court ruling relative to admission of all individuals , regardless of race or creed to educational institutions for graduate training in our schools, both church and state controlled.

5. That we look also to our practices in the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Methodist Church, seeking to remove every barrier that separates members of the family of God in the Methodist Church, and to build a christian fellowship where ideas, experiences, facilities, and action programs may be shared with freedom on a basis of full participation.

. . . Editorials . . .

Virginia Scene Not Gloomy

EARLY in December the Virginia Council of Churches, through its partment of interracial cooperation, of which THOMAS C. ALLEN is director, drafted a "Proposed Program of Interracial Cooperation in Virginia." As the draft was considered and approved in special session by the council's executive committee on Feb. 23, the document may be considered as one of the most significant and far-reaching which any similar body has ever had the interest and courage to draw up and make public.

Particularly at a time when all the reactionary and prejudice-motivated elements of the state and of the South are determined to move in the opposite direction, this document deserves the widest distribution, study, and publicity.

In a foreword, the program of the Virginia Council of Churches makes note of past "substantial advances," but calls for continued efforts "to eliminate discriminations and to remedy injustices that remain in various areas of human endeavor."

The council pointedly admonishes that "men and women of goodwill should not wait until changes are forced upon them . . . but should take the initiative." Even more significantly, the council adds: "We are not satisfied to oppose remedies proposed by others without offering counter remedies which appear to us to be more practical and wise."

It proposes to various churches groups as a basis for study and translation into action of the following:

(1) that voting be administered without discrimination because of race, creed, or color;

(2) that constitutional rights of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized and, specifically, that Negroes along with other qualified citizens, be empaneled for jury service;

(3) that Negroes be appointed to school boards and to boards of other political, public, civic, or social service agencies on the same basis of merit as other citizens;

(4) that racial segregation in public carriers, being a social and economic waste and undemocratic in principle, be immediately abolished;

(5) that more equal opportunity be given Negroes to hold appointive positions as policemen, firemen, etc.;

(6) that the state, while having a good lynching record, "ever be alert to prevent the development of any sit-

(7) that Negroes have full and unrestricted opportunities for service in, and promotions in the military branches;

(8) that all people be safeguarded in their opportunity to be employed at their greatest skill and for compensation equal to that of people already engaged in similar work;

(8) that to carry out such recommendations, citizens of Virginia be urged to support educational policies and legislation which will promote equitable industrial relations as they apply to racial and religious minorities;

(9) that the advances made by labor unions in admitting Negroes to membership be recognized and that unions be urged to broaden efforts to eliminate discrimination;

(10) that state and local officials strive to realize the concept of equal educational opportunity;

(11) that efforts be continued to secure adequate graduate and professional education in Virginia and throughout the South for all citizens, without regard to race, creed, or color;

(12) that public health and social services be on an equal basis for all citizens, on both state and local levels;

(13) that qualified Negro physicians and their patients be admitted to hospitals throughout the state, and that existing hospital accommodations for both white and colored people be improved;

(14) that Negro nurses and social workers be used more extensively;

(15) that slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing be continued and extended, ond Negroes be appointed to boards controlling such work;

(16) that, regarding the church, "as Christians, we recognize our failure to inculcate into our corporate life . . . . the full implications of our Christian faith regarding brotherhood . . . Specifically, we urge now the abolition of segregation in meetings where both races meet for worship or conference;

(17) that state and city laws forbidding churches to hold unsegregated religious meetings in public buildings be repealed.

Fifteen organizations make up the Virginia Council of Churches. If its constituent bodies give anything like real support to such a truly Christian program the day when democracy will be something besides a blatant hypocrisy will be nearer to hand.

It is to the everlasting credit of such a body of white Christians that the intelligence, the courage, and the foresight necessary to the formulation of the foregoing program exist.

The politicians and professional white supremacy agitators may be more easily heard, having easier access to the media of publicity, but in the long run the small voices of such clear-headed men and women who comprise the church council will be heard.

They must be heard, if our civiliza-

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They must be heard, if our civilization is not to defeat its own ends.

Have The Liberals Surrendered?

HAS the organized liberal movement in the Southland surrendered? At times the silence of those who have figured in movements for improvement of conditions in the South makes one, even with the friendliest of regard, wonder. We refer specifically to the conferences culminating with the organization in 1943 of the Southern Regional Council as successor to the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

After the notable Durham Conference of southern Negroes on Oct. 20, 1942, a statesmanlike and far-reaching manifesto was issued as "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South." Southern white men and women could not ignore that conference nor the firm and sane program drafted there, so that a second conference was held at Atlanta, with spokesmen for the majority race participating. Their reply, known as the Atlanta Statement, was signed by more than three hundred southern white people on April 8, 1943.

Out of these two conferences grew a third, bi-racial in character and composed of delegated individuals. From it came the Richmond Statement of June 16, 1943, drafted in collaboration by white and Negro delegates from the Durham and Atlanta conferences.

While the Southern Regional Council, which grew out of these three conferences, is doing a yeoman job in seeking to hold in check the most adverse characteristics of southern demagoguery, it at times seems to be waging a losing campaign.

These were liberal or progressive men and women. If ever their voices were needed to be raised in defense of decency, humanity, and democracy this is the time to do so. GEORGE S. MITCHELL, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, wired a statement to the Southern Governors Conference held in Florida early in February, and submitted it to two of the three wire news services. Either they failed to distribute that important statement on an issue of national interest or the southern daily press, with rare unanimity, suppressed it—instead however, playing up every unfavorable facet of the civil rights issue that was available.

There are admittedly fair-minded editors on the South's daily press, but the chiefs of the news desk are far less objective in their selection, display, and treatment of news of a racial or interracial character. This is the statement sent to the southern governors by MR. MITCHELL:

"Surely the statesmanlike thing for the South to do in the civil rights controversy is to declare a phonest intention to provide speedily the fundamental civil rights which the nation and the world expect from us. These include protection from physical violence, the right to citizenship (including service on juries), equality of opportunity in education, health, housing, and travel, and persistent efforts to get fair play in private employment.

"Should also include access to state and local administrative employment in at least the degree of fairness shown in this regard by southern offices of federal agencies.

"If the governors speak responsibly to this effect the nation will gladly let the South implement these rights itself. More, the nation will help with funds. That way lies sound progress, the other nothing but bitterness. We of all peoples understand the less of history on this sort of thing. Responsible citizenship can do no less than this.

Similarly, the white press gave scant consideration to a statement (published elsewhere in this edition of the Journal and Guide) issued by the board of directors of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. This statement endorsed the civil rights proposals of the Administration and the civil rights measures now before Congress, and deplored the irresponsible words and actions of certain governors and legislators, some of them "northerners," following President TRUMAN'S message to Congress on civil rights—not only for Negroes but for others short-changed on them.

In truth, then, *have* the liberals surrendered?

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EDITORIAL

The Totalitarian Technique

If the pattern by which Governor Tuck of Virginia, with the significant endorsement of Senator Byrd, seeks to meet the President's civil rights program is to be followed elsewhere in the South, or even in Virginia, then our civil rights are in greater jeopardy than even Governor Tuck seems to be aware. That his drastic proposal will find a sympathetic hearing in some quarters outside Virginia was indicated in early supporting statements like that by the Governor of Arkansas.

We cannot help wondering by what kind of reasoning these gentlemen have convinced themselves that they are bold defenders of our cherished civil rights when by such action as they propose they would rob every citizen within their boundaries of the most fundamental of these rights—the right to vote for the President of our nation. This would be done, it is explained, by the elimination of the name of the presidential candidate from the list, and the electors who would be chosen would be bound by no obligation save that to the state political convention, composed chiefly of office-holders who help to make up what is familiarly known as the machine.

More than this, under such legislation as is proposed the totalitarian technique is observed in the liquidation of candidates or parties which the governing powers wish to eliminate. The traditional open election then would become only a memory of our once-proud democratic heritage.

Men point to far-off examples of disfranchisement when a totalitarian state permits but one vote, as, for instance, a Nazi JA! In the Soviet Union Russians can vote only their approval of the Communist hierarchy, whereby a machine secures its own interpretations of justice. These situations developed, let us remember, because in the usual cases people were so concerned to meet an immediate situation, some imperative demand, that they were willing to surrender even though temporarily, or so they thought, their fundamental rights.

We had not thought it possible that in the U. S. A., in the haunts of Washington, Patrick Henry and Jefferson, we should be confronted with like negations of a basic democracy. If mis-guided or politically pressured legislators in southern states succumb to such appeals to thwart these common rights of suffrage, then an uprising far more extensive than the one men now fear from current racial tensions should rally every individual who is committed to the real meaning of human freedom to crush this brazen effort to stifle our democracy at its roots.

Charles G. Rose, Former Moderator, Dies in Fayetteville Hospital

Charles G. Rose, Presbyterian elder and attorney of Fayetteville, N. C., and Moderator of the Presbyterian, US, General Assembly of 1942—the Knoxville Assembly—died in a Fayetteville hospital following an operation February 28. Mr. Rose was long a member of the Executive Committee of Religious Education of the General Assembly and he was a member of the permanent committee on Cooperation and Union representing the Synod of North Carolina, a trustee of Union Theological Seminary and other institutions. One of his two sons is a minister, the Rev. Ben L. Rose, Bristol, Va., and the other, Charles, is an attorney who had been associated with him in Fayetteville.

Memphis Votes 48-16

With the 48-16 vote for the Federal Council by Memphis Presbytery, the vote among the presbyteries now stands at 58-23 favoring continued Southern Presbyterian membership in the council, with one presbytery voting a tie. Five presbyteries are yet to vote.

A Program of Interracial Cooperation

EDITORS' NOTE—The following paper, adopted by the executive committee of the Virginia Council of Churches, is the result of long and careful study on the part of white and Negro Christian leaders in the churches. As explained here, it is submitted "for careful study and action by officials, community, civic and church leaders with a view to the immediate improvement of human relations." Various church groups, the committee hopes, will take definite steps along these lines.

The executive committee of the Virginia Council of Churches recognizes that substantial advances have been made in recent years in the area of race relations through the efforts of both Negroes and whites. It is believed that love for one's neighbor and respect for every individual, made in the image of God, as inspired by the Christian Gospel, as well as the principles of American democracy, require us to continue such efforts to eliminate discriminations and to remedy injustices that remain in various areas of human endeavor. We believe that men and women of goodwill should not wait until changes are forced upon them from without, but should themselves take the initiative and work for justice and fair play for all elements of our population. We are not satisfied to oppose remedies proposed by others without offering counter remedies which appear to us to be more practical and wise.

We do not attempt to speak in the name of the fifteen bodies which compose the Virginia Council of Churches, but to the members of the executive committee it seems that the following are steps which need to be taken and behind which Christian sentiment can be rallied. We hope that various church groups will make them a basis for study and that community, civic, and church leaders will carefully consider how far they can now be translated into action.

I. Regarding political and civil rights we recommend:

(a) That qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed or color.

(b) That the constitutional rights of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized and that Negroes along with other qualified citizens be empaneled for jury service.

(c) That Negro citizens be appointed to school boards and to boards of any other political, public, civic or social service agency on the same basis of merit as other citizens.

(d) Since racial segregation in public carriers is a social and economic waste and is undemocratic in principle, and in view of the evidence that the traditional policy of separate but equal accommodations has proven a failure in fact, we recommend that racial segregation on common carriers and in public waiting rooms be immediately abolished.

(e) That more municipal governments give equal opportunity to Negro citizens to hold appointive positions such as policemen, firemen, etc., on the basis of their qualifications.

(f) That the citizens and officials of Virginia, while deeply grateful for the record of our state in having no lynching in our borders since the passage of the anti-lynching law 20 years ago, ever be on the alert to prevent the development of any situation which might eventuate in the crime of lynching.

II. Regarding military service we recommend:

(a) That opportunities for military service in all of its branches be open to Negroes for full and unrestricted participation; and that promotion to positions of responsibility be determined by merit and ability rather than race.

III. Regarding industrial and service occupations we recommend:

(a) That all people be safeguarded in their opportunity to be employed at their greatest skill and for compensation equal to that of people already engaged in similar work.

(b) That in order to carry out the foregoing recommendations, citizens of Virginia be urged to support educational policies and legislation which will promote equitable industrial relations as they apply to racial and religious minorities.

(c) That the advances made by labor unions in admitting Negroes to their membership be recognized; and that they be urged to continue and broaden their efforts to eliminate discrimination in their practices on account of race, creed or color.

IV. Regarding education we recommend:

(a) That the state legislature, the state and local officials be urged to strive with renewed energy toward the realization of the concept of equality of educational opportunity.

(b) That efforts be continued to secure more adequate graduate and professional education in Virginia and throughout the South for all citizens, both white and Negro, without regard to color, creed or race.

V. Regarding health and social service we recommend:

(a) That public health and social services for all citizens be on an equal basis both in quality and extent. This applies both to state and local facilities.

(b) That qualified Negro physicians and their patients be admited to hospitals throughout the state and that existing hospital accommodations for white and colored people be improved.

(c) That Negro nurses and social workers be used more extensively in carrying out the foregoing recommendation.

(d) That slum clearance and the erection of low cost housing be continued and extended. The appointment of Negroes to boards controlling such work is strongly recommended.

IV. Regarding the church we recommend:

(a) As Christians, we recognize our failure to inculcate into our corporate life, as citizens and churchmen, the full implications of our Christian faith regarding brotherhood. We sincerely ask God's forgiveness for this failure, and pledge ourselves to work always toward the fulfillment of these principles. Specifically we urge now the abolition of segregation in meetings where both races meet together for worship or conference.

(b) That we favor the repeal of the state and city laws forbidding churches to hold unsegregated religious meetings in public buildings.

CONCLUSION

These recommendations and proposals are earnestly and respectfully submitted by the executive committee of the Virginia Council of Churches for careful study and action by officials, community, civic and church leaders with a view to the immediate improvement of human relations.

It is hoped that church groups, ministerial groups and lay groups as well as young people's groups will use these proposals as special study projects toward making the abundant life available to all people.

Editorial, page 8.

The Place of Gandhi in Our Day

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

IT IS ONLY very occasionally that the message of a man reaches beyond the borders of his own nation and culture to influence the thoughts and ideals of men everywhere.

Mahatma Gandhi's influence in the west was in two different dimensions. He had the respect of thousands who did not follow his teachings but who merely responded, as all men ought, to a life of singular sincerity and singleness of purpose. He also had the veneration, bordering on adoration, of a smaller group of American pacifists who were persuaded that Gandhi had found a new way to make the ethics of Jesus relevant to the political problems of our day.

They were deeply persuaded that his doctrine of non-violent resistance was identical with the doctrine of non-resistance as preached by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount. In this they were mistaken.

The doctrine of non-resistance is a purely religious ideal which cannot be applied to a political struggle except in the sense of lifting men completely above the relative and proximate problems of establishing justice by the push and pull of political life.

The doctrine of non-violent resistance, on the other hand, seeks to persuade us that if we do our pushing and pulling without violence we can preserve the ideal of perfect love. This doctrine assumes that the use of physical force is evil but that the use of "spiritual" or "soul" force is good.

Such a doctrine assumes a sharp distinction between the corporeal and the spiritual which is native to the Orient but is foreign to the western world. Gandhi thus stood on Hindu foundations. Furthermore, his numerous fasts, intended to bring political influence to bear through self-punishment cannot be fitted into our western spirituality.

It is significant that even his most ardent disciples, however much they made of this technique of using martydom as an "instrument of political policy," never sought to emulate his example. It would not have made sense in the context of our world.

This combination of saintliness and political shrewdness is not possible for us. The Christian idea of martyrdom requires that if life is sacrificed or risked it shall be done without calculating the possible political power or prestige to be gained.

While Gandhi was a product of the Orient it must be recognized however that there was a real synthesis in his life and thought between Oriental and western ideas. The doctrine of non-violence, for instance, was taken, not from the Sermon on the Mount in the first instance, but from Jainism. But in Jainism it is a fantastically negative doctrine. It requires that no harm be done to any living creature, including the most insignificant or the most noxious insect. Gandhi transfigured this negative doctrine into a positive instrument of political power.

In the eyes of the west Gandhi will be revered as a great man and as a great patriot. He had a quality of greatness which transcended his particular doctrines. In the eyes of the east he will be revered as a saint or as a kind of god who will be added to the pantheon of gods, which characterize Hindu polytheism.—(Copyright 1948 by RNS.)

PAGINATION INCORRECT

is from God and because the crucified and risen Christ is with those who seek to obey it.—KENNETH S. LATOURETTE and W. RICHEY HOGG in **Tomorrow Is Here.** Friendship Press, New York.

Jenifer and the Kingdom of Heaven

By KENNETH J. FOREMAN

"A little child shall lead them."—Isaiah 11:6.

LITTLE JENNIFER JELLYBEAN, though considered a precocious child, was not old enough to listen to sermons, however regularly she attended them. But she was old enough to listen to the footnotes on the sermons, served with the family's Sunday dinners.

"Mother," she said one afternoon, "is the world such a bad place? The way you and Daddy talk, it sounds awful. What's bad about it?"

"When you get old enough to read the newspapers," said her mother, "you will find out about it fast enough."

"Is the paper all about bad things?"

"No, there are nice things there too."

"Well, tell me about the bad things."

(Her mother wondered: Can this be an example of total depravity? But how can sweet little Jennifer understand wickedness? I don't **want** her to understand it!)

All her mother said was:

"Well, you know there are some bad children in school."

"Oh yes, Jack breaks up our games and Mamie won't play unless she's It, and Butch hits little girls."

"Well now, suppose Jack and Mamie and Butch grow up and stay just the way they are. Jack won't want other people to have any fun, and Mamie wants everything for herself, and Butch is mean to everybody, especially if they are littler than he is. Suppose our home were like that. Suppose Daddy were like Jack and didn't want you and me to have any fun, ever, and supposing I ate up all the oatmeal and ice cream myself, and suppose you would hit little Jimmy—oh just to hear him scream. Would that be nice, now?

"No, that would be horrid."

"Well, if there are a lot of people like that in the world wont that make the whole world a bad place?"

"Not if there are lots more good people than bad ones," said little Jennifer.

"You're quite right. But there aren't enough nice people in the world, I guess."

"But Mother, I want to make this world nice and not bad. You and Daddy said Dr. Thirdly said we ought to."

"So he did, but he was talking to grown-ups, dear."

"Yes, but can't I help?"

"When you're grown up, yes."

"But I want to help now. What did Dr. Thirdly say do?"

"Nothing for little girls, I'm afraid . . . But I'll tell you, there are two things you can do—no, one thing. You can just be the sunshine here at home. You remember how bad we felt all last Friday when it rained every minute, and how happy we were on Saturday when the bright sun came out? Well, when you are sweet and good and do what Daddy and Mother tell you, you are the sunshine. But when you don't want to do anything right and complain and pout and act sulky like Mamie or mean like Butch, then you are the rain."

"But home isn't the world."

"Home is **your** world—home and school and wherever you live and play. It's all the world you have, right now. And Daddy and I live here with you, and your teacher and a lot of other children live with you in the schoolroom and you are a part of the weather. You help us to be happy when you are happy, you make it easier for us to be good when you are good. Then when you get older, if you go off to Chicago or China or somewhere, you can try it out on that part of the world."

"Is that all there is to it?"

"Well, it's a good way to start. You remember when we washed the windows? There were lots of them and at first all we had was one clean little corner. But finally we got them all clean. And so the world—there's lots of it, and we have to begin with some little corner, and if we can start with sunshine that's a great help."

"I wish Jimmy-oh could help, but he's only a baby yet."

"Oh, I think Jimmy-oh helps too, sometimes, without knowing it. You know some days—"

"Yes, some days he's sweet as pie and sometimes it seems like he's full of snips and snails and puppy-dogs' tails, he sounds so cross. Why can't he be sweet all the time?"

"Why can't you?" said her mother.

So after that, when little Jennifer appeared in the mornings the first thing her parents would ask her was, "What's the weather going to be today?"

And when Dr. Thirdly, himself an Earnest Soul and a Long-Range Planner, heard of the conversation, he became more thoughtful than ever.

"That's a point," he said to Mrs. Jellybean. "We do need brains and education and adult thinking. We need planners and fighters, we need Christian business men and statesmen and philosophers and all the rest of it. . . . But we all need the sunshine. Even little Jimmy-oh does his bit for the Kingdom of Heaven. Could that be partly what Isaiah meant—a little child shall lead them?"

We Presbyterians

By ARTHUR V. BOAND

15. CHARLES JOHNSTON FREELAND, SR.

Among the overwhelming majority of Presbyterian ruling elders favoring reunion there is one in the Synod of Louisiana to whom we would call special attention. Charles Johnston Freeland, Sr., of Crowley, La., has been a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church for 62 years. Moreover, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather before him were all ruling elders in unbroken succession in the Presbyterian Church, and his eldest son, not to be excelled by his progenitors in loyalty to the church, is a ruling elder with his father in the First Presbyterian Church of Crowley. His youngest son is a deacon in the Crowley Church; a third son is a Presbyterian minister; and his daughter is the wife of a minister.

Born near Hillsboro, N. C., of Scotch-Irish parentage on March 21, 1864, Charles Johnston Freeland grew to manhood in the State of Illinois. He joined the Dalton City Presbyterian Church (USA) in 1884, and was ordained a ruling elder in the church at the age of 21. Moving to Louisiana in 1890, he was one of the organizers, charter members, and first ruling elders on the bench of elders of the Crowley Church, which was formed from a nucleus of Northern and Southern Presbyterians. During the 57 years of his residence in Crowley he has served as the state president of Christian Endeavor for Louisiana; taught a boys' Sunday school class for many years; and has always been interested in outpost Sunday schools of which he has been the organizer of several.

Eighty-three years young, Charles Johnston Freeland, Sr., hopes to live long enough to see Presbyterians north and south re-united in one strong church attempting greater things for God.

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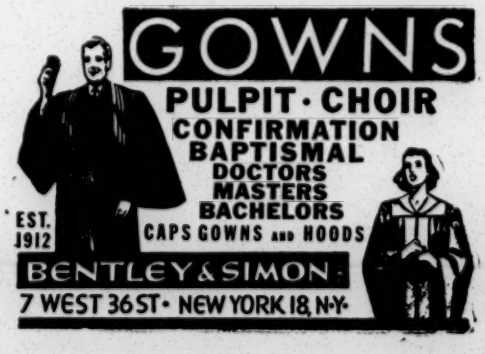

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TWO WAYS OF LIFE

There are two contending forces locked in world-wide conflict. On the one hand the collectivist point of view, which carries on under various banners. On the other hand the individual free way of life.

These forces operate in spheres of politics, economics, and most every sphere of life and thought.

Many who dislike Stalin, Marxism, etc., heartily applaud economic schemes which stem from the Communist root and threaten Freedom.

Moral and spiritual implications in this conflict are basic, and in relation to them there can be no compromise. It is as much stealing for a state to take something which belongs to someone and give it to someone else as for a cattle rustler to steal a steer. Social sanctions have been spawned around falsehoods until the moral fiber of the human family is greatly weakened and calls for spiritual revival.

If you believe Freedom is in peril and would like to ally with others of us who share that conviction and are trying to do something about it, let us hear from you.

James W. Fifield, Jr., D. D.
Director,
SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION
(Since 1934)
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CHURCH NEWS

Church People Back Civil Rights Bill

Virginia News Letter

Virginia Presbyterians have been active leaders in discussions on race relations legislation introduced in the state law-making body, the General Assembly. In addition to the Program for Interracial Cooperation issued by the executive committee of the state council of churches (see page 3), churchmen and women have had their say before legislative committees on the question of anti-segregation measures introduced by Delegate W. H. C. Murray. These deal only with restrictions on common carriers and in public meetings. In one session, attended by 150 persons who overflowed a committee room into the corridors, Mrs. Frederick R. Scott, daughter of the late Dr. and Mrs. Russell Cecil, and national YWCA and civic leader, said segregation repeal is the "Christian and American" thing to do. She pointed out that repeal would not require a lack of segregation in public assemblies, but would permit groups to work it out for themselves. Dr. Rachel Henderlite of the Assembly's Training School, urged repeal as necessary in keeping with "the beliefs and principles of Christianity." John H. Marion, Jr., chairman of a Virginia Council committee and director of Presbyterian Christian Relations, spoke of the report of the Truman Civil Rights Committee as "naive and foolish" because it expected action "overnight." However, he said, the Southern states themselves should take some action for religious and "practical social reasons, because segregation breds resentment, bitterness, ill will and misunderstandings."

Second Hearing Gets More Backing from Leaders

In the second hearing a week later another packed committee meeting heard a dozen religious and civic leaders urge repeal of present segregation laws in public carriers and in public meeting places. A Roman Catholic leader, T. E. O'Connell, declared that the present law is morally indefensible and warned that the 70,000 Catholics in the state "would have to violate the laws of the state in order to conform to the laws of Christ." Theodore F. Adams, pastor of the First Baptist church, said, "We don't have segregation because we have the law, we have the law because we have segregation." He pointed out, however, that the law "has not kept pace with reality," as he urged the lawmakers to respect the growing sentiment against segregation. Ernest Trice Thompson, representing a committee of the Virginia Council of Churches, gave the reasons behind that organization's appeal for the removal of these restrictions. Then he said, in neighboring states, where there are no such laws, it has not led to ill feelings or inter-marriage and it did not in Virginia, before these laws were enacted. If the requirements were repealed, he insisted, it would prove "that we are sincere in opposing federal attempts to force steps upon us." Without mentioning Governor Tuck's anticipated message which was soon to follow, he said, "It would be a wrong step to oppose the Truman program of establishing civil rights by withdrawing from all citizens, both white and black, one of the most fundamental of all civil rights—the right to vote for a President. Any such effort should be strenuously opposed by all citizens who value the right of the ballot." Virginia, in his judgment, "ought to give a positive and constructive lead in developing a good program in interracial cooperation."

Missionary Closet Has Its Story Told in the News

The work of Mrs. James E. Bear of the Union Seminary campus in Richmond is well-known to all her friends and particularly to missionaries and others who have found unparalleled help in her clothes closet. Recently the story was told in the Richmond News Leader. For the past twelve years this former missionary to China has collected clothes which could be used by missionaries on furlough and by other church workers. A thoughtful hobby which has become a legend has expanded beyond the boundaries of the Bear home and now is housed in a room in the Ginter Park church. From all over the world grateful people write their thanks to Mrs. Bear for her help and from as many widely scattered sections gifts of good, usable clothing come to her fabulous storehouse.

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R E S O L U T I O N

Adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America - at its Meeting on March 16, 1948.

"The pattern of racial segregation in housing is largely due to the use of restrictive covenants based on race. It forces its victims - Negroes, Japanese-Americans, Jews and other minorities - to live in segregated areas which become overcrowded with the increase of population, causing deterioration to physical property, community facilities and services. It violates the right of the property owner to sell or lease regardless of race and the right of a member of a minority group to live wherever he desires and his financial means permit. All this has a grave effect on the spiritual, moral and human values of the people in the area. The realization of 'a non-segregated Church and a non-segregated society' is made impossible.

"The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America deplores the use of restrictive covenants based on race, which is widespread in our country, because it is a violation of our Lord's testimony about the dignity of human personality, justice and love. The Executive Committee pledges itself to work against the use of restrictive covenants based on race, and urges the members of the churches to do likewise."

'Constitutional 'Rights Favored by Baptists

(12)

Const 3-22-48

Dr. Duke K. McCall, Executive Secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention, declared here Sunday that Southern Baptists favor full constitutional rights for Negroes, including the right to vote and adequate wages in healthful working conditions.

Dr. McCall used the subject "Equal—Under God."

He added that "equality as an absolute standard on this earth is impossible," and added that "the very recognition that absolute equality is to be found only at the throne of God lays a heavy responsibility upon the churches of God to represent Him in his attitude toward the inequalities of life's actual experience.'

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Claud D. Nelson, Jr.
Tel. 7941, Ext. 202

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Southern Regional Council

CHURCH LEADERS DISCUSS CIVIL RIGHTS,
COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN HAMPTON MEETINGS

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, VA. -- Sixty church leaders from 13 states, meeting at Hampton Institute Wednesday and Thursday of last week (March 31 and April 1) heard challenging addresses on the church's responsibility for community leadership and the implementation of civil rights and discussed practical means of meeting the problems involved.

The groups sponsoring the National Conference of Church Leaders were the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches, headed by Dr. J. Oscar Lee, who also is executive secretary for the Conference; and the Home Missions Council of North America, whose Executive Secretary, Dr. Mark A. Dawber, was one of the main speakers Wednesday.

Democracy in America, Dr. Dawber told the conference, has become imperiled by the decay of community life, and it is the responsibility of the church to attack the problem.

"We urgently need a theology of community redemption," declared Dr. Dawber. "Organized evil calls for organized righteousness . . . . Evil is no longer a purely individual matter. Sin is becoming a social matter. There are thousands of people who can never be saved until the community they live in is saved.

He expressed concern that there are sometimes four or five churches competing with each other in small communities.

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Tuskegee chaplain, followed Dr. Dawber with a plea for "a sense of community within the church itself."

"When racial trouble breaks out in the South," said Dr. Richardson, "the churches in the community, white and Negro, have no unified word to way . . . therefore, what they say doesn't count."

(MORE)

Miss Dorothy Height, the YWCA's national secretary for Interracial Education, called for church backing of the President's Civil Rights Bill.

Urging that "we lift this report out of the low area of the November elections, into the international area," she asserted: "We must set our own house in order . . . . People are not going to be free anywhere until they are free here in the United States."

Committee meetings met following the three main addresses. Definite community projects were suggested and discussed in detail, as: educating the community to the need for full application of civil rights and fulfillment of the duties of citizenship; organizing interdenominational cooperation within a community; further educating rural ministers and agriculturalists; and improving rural communities through church service projects.

Jobu Yasumura, of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, was conference co-chairman with Dr. Mason Crum, of Duke University, who was unable to be present. Others on the conference program included: Dr. James Clair Taylor, First AME Zion Church, Paterson, N. J.; Dr. W. H. Jernagin, President of the National Baptist SS and BTU Congress, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Forrest C. Weir, Southeastern Inter-Council, Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. E. P. Murchison, National CME Church; Dr. J. Vance McIver, Union Baptist Church, Orange, N. J.; Dr. Thomas Allen, Virginia Council of Churches; Rev. Charles Rush, Lincoln Memorial Church, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Tollie L. Caution, National Protestant Episcopal Church; Dr. Beverly Boyd, Christian Social Relations Secretary, Federal Council of Churches; Alonzo G. Moron, Business Manager, Hampton Institute.

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CHURCH LEADERS TO DISCUSS CIVIL
RIGHTS IN HAMPTON CONFERENCE

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, VA. -- Church responsibility for implementing the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights will be one of the main topics of discussion when the National Conference of Church Leaders convenes here for its ninth annual session, Wednesday and Thursday, March 31 and April 1.

Co-sponsored by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches and the Home Missions Council of North America, the conference will deal with the central theme, "The Church and Its Community." Discussions during the two-day session will revolve around the following: "Church Responsibility in Civil Rights -- Implementing the President's Committee Report"; "Church Responsibility in Building Community"; and "Church Progress Through Cooperation."

The National Conference of Church Leaders, begun in 1939, is an interracial and interdenominational movement whose purpose is "to enable national and state church leaders to share their thoughts and clarify their views on issues of mutual concern to them and their churches as a basis for action." Numbered among its members already registered for this year's conference are Negro, Caucasian, Indian, and Japanese American church and Christian organization leaders.

Stressing the need for building community life upon a sound spiritual and social basis, Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Secretary, says, "The National Conference of Church Leaders has the attendance and support of church leaders from practically all of the major denominations."

(MORE)

2 -- CHURCH LEADERS TO DISCUSS CIVIL
RIGHTS IN HAMPTON CONFERENCE

Prominent among the program and discussion leaders are: Jobu Yasumura of the American Baptist Home Mission Society; Dr. Mason Crum of the Divinity School, Duke University; Dr. W. H. Jernagin, President of the National Baptist S. S. and B. T. U. Congress; Miss Dorothy Height, Secretary of Interracial Education, National Board of the YWCA; and Dr. Thomas C. Allen, Director of the Department of Interracial Cooperation, Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.

Other outstanding religious leaders expected at the conference are: Dr. Tollie L. Caution of the National Council of the Episcopal Church; Dr. Mark Dawber, Home Missions Council of North America; Dr. B. B. Evans, Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio; Bishop S. L. Greene, A. M. E. Church, New Orleans, Louisiana; Rev. J. Vance McIver, Union Baptist Church, Orange, New Jersey; Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Chaplain, Tuskegee Institute;Rev. Charles Rush, Lincoln Memorial Church, Chicago, Illinois; Dr. B. J. Smith, C. M. E. Church, Chicago, Illinois; Dr. James C. Taylor, First A. M. E. Zion Church, Paterson, New Jersey; and Dr. Forrest C. Weir, Secretary, Southeastern Inter-Council Office, Atlanta, Georgia.

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The Georgia Observer

issued by

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

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Chairman—R. L. RUSSELL, Griffin *Vice-Chairman*—RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Atlanta

Vol. III **NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1942** **Nos. 11 & 12**

(In this last number of *The Georgia Observer* are presented the statements of church leaders on the part the Church can or must take in its own field in removing tensions which have grown out of the war. R. L. Russell, Chairman of the Georgia Interracial Committee, is one of the leading Methodist preachers of the State. Lorenzo H. King is a Bishop of the Methodist Church in the Central Jurisdiction, to which all Negroes of the Methodist Church belong. J. McDowell Richards is President of Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur. Ryland F. Knight is pastor of the Ponce de Leon Baptist Church. John Moore Walker is the recently elected Bishop of Atlanta of the Episcopal Church. M. Ashby Jones, a retired Baptist preacher was in November presented a citation by the National Conference of Christians and Jews for his part "in the promotion of understanding and good will among Catholics, Protestants, and members of the Hebrew faith." All are members of the Georgia Interracial Committee.)

THE CHURCH MUST LEAD OR CEASE TO PRAY —"OUR FATHER"

R. L. Russell

The Christian Church has faced many tragic and important hours. It faces one now. I would not say that it faces its most momentous hour at this time, but these are certainly great days; days that call for courage, high living, and tremendous decisions. Will the church cast its lot on the right side, or vacillate and lose its rightful place among the sons of men as the greatest light given among all the other institutions among us?

Personally, I believe that there are leaders in the modern church sufficiently Christian to dominate the thinking and procedures of the church so that she will maintain a Christian attitude towards all races of men regardless of color, class or clan. There is no other way for the church to be the Church. Certainly it could in no other way be Christian.

It is up to the Church to blaze a new trail in human brotherhood, or cease to pray the Lord's Prayer, or believe in the New Testament. To pit race against race, create race hatred and talk about the inferior or superior race is as unchristian as the devil. The Church has on its shoulders the responsibility of building a world brotherhood in a world neighborhood with God as Father of all and Jesus as brother of all.

HAVE WE NOT ALL ONE FATHER HATH NOT ONE GOD CREATED US

Lorenzo H. King

If the Church is to make any substantial contribution to the social problem of relieving the present racial tensions, she must give herself to the task of doing away with that primary dogma which makes for racial tension, viz., the concept of white-race supremacy which is back of the whole brood of dissocial actions and attitudes manifested by the dominant race in the United States toward the Negro and, in all other countries, toward colored races of their respective population groups. Increasingly acute racial tension around the globe is but the logical and moral result of the effort of certain white peoples to force the world's colored population to accept and believe that colored men are not men. This deification of the white race, a relatively modern social tenet, is the major source of world confusion and conflict.

Its countersocial force is the determination, now more resolute, of colored peoples everywhere to repudiate and withstand this deification dogma. Since no social force or factor, from this time on, will be able to deflect them from this purpose and action, the challenge which this ominous situation brings to the Christian Church is imperative.

In the social process, an idea is made vocal in the institutions which the ruling element of the population sets up. Thus, practically every institution of our country is set to foster this idea of the "master race," from which concept the Negro is excluded. Religious sanctions for such a social process are sought because these are among the strongest controls and vehicles which society can invoke in perpetuating its culture and social machinery. Hence, the American Church has been reduced to the level of paying hostages to the white-race-supremacy obsession. Supplementing this "orthodox" procedure, force and fear have been invoked as auxiliary weapons in the hands of those whose political and religious creed is repression, and the color of a man's skin his perpetual badge of humiliation and despair.

The tragic fact of our American life is the equivocal attitude of the Christian Church toward this resurgent pagan social and religious ethic. Thus, the Christian Church lends moral cooperation and sanction to this current process. As a religious social institution, the American Church has suffered her activities and her structural form to crystallize into perfect consonance with the idea of a fellowship divided upon the basis of color and race. Even if this were not so obvious a fact in American Church history, the eloquent testimony of acquiescence in the process is borne out by the silence of the American Church on so momentous an issue. Does anyone know where the American Church or the American white clergy, as a class, stands on the issue of race? Only since the exaggerated emphasis on the "master-race" ideology has brought the race issue to an acute focus in world-thinking have we begun to think in critical vein concerning it. And then, only because a super-pagan man blatantly boasting it has made the shoe "pinch the other foot." If white-race superiority over the American Negro is

proper and right, why is not German-race superiority over the non-German races right? "Have we not all one Father; hath not one God created us."

Unless the concept of the Father-God and of the equal and infinite worth of all personality now becomes the conviction of the Church, and is translated into the practical relationships, programs and policies of the Church, and becomes the active underlying principle of all social grouping and behavior, the next twenty-five years will see the traditional Church of America moribund and her missionary message and enterprise a mockery around the world.

OUR TIME DEMANDS A NEW COURAGE

J. McDowell Richards

The problem of racial relationships has, in all probability, never been more critical than it is in America today. Our whole social order has entered upon a period of rapid transition as a result of our war effort, and this has been nowhere more true than with reference to the status of the Negro people. Tremendous changes have been and are taking place in that respect, and an increasing tension between the races has developed. It is doubtless inevitable that this should be the case, but that fact does not eliminate the danger to both races and to our nation which is inherent in such a situation. The hour is one which challenges the Christian Church to new thought and to redoubled effort that it may discharge its responsibilities aright.

In the minds of many thoughtful Negroes both the reality of our democracy and the sincerity of our Christian principles have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. There can be no denying the fact that the crying injustices which have too long and too often characterized our treatment of this people have furnished abundant grounds for that conviction. At the same time there is real danger that the suspicion and bitterness which is being engendered by some of the leaders who are demanding a complete and *immediate* removal of all inequalities will in the end make worse the situation which they seek to remedy. The Christian leadership of both races is being subjected to an exceedingly severe test. Only by a mutually Christian approach to our problems will a permanent solution be attained.

Our time is one which demands a new courage on the part of white ministers and laymen in facing the failures of which we have been guilty and in projecting a constructive program for the removal of injustices and for the granting of full opportunities to America's tenth man. It calls also for wisdom and forbearance on the part of Negro leaders and for an understanding that more can be accomplished in the end by a slower, though steady, process of improvement than by the immediate appearance of gain which is purchased at the price of hatred and of violence. Such patience can only be justified, however, if we, whose status is that of privilege, give evidence that we are facing our task in utter earnestness, and that we will not be content until we have seen the coming of a new and better day. As loyal American citizens and as servants of Christ, we must all dedicate ourselves to that task anew.

THE CHRISTIAN SOLUTION—GOOD WILL

Ryland Knight

In this country and especially in the South we have the almost unique situation of two races living side by side. The civilization we build must be the joint product of these two races. No right-thinking man of either race wishes to see the two races amalgamated, or one race absorbed by the other. Nor do we wish to see either race handicapped in its endeavor to achieve its highest destiny.

Because two races are building our common civilization, the wellbeing of each race is essential to the common good. If either race is backward, corrupt, dishonest, indecent, the whole structure of our civilization is damaged. As each race is strong, clean, wholesome, upright, the whole nation prospers.

On that account, I am happy to discover that the leading representatives of our Christian churches of both races—both ministers and laymen—are deeply interested in preserving and promoting the spirit of understanding and good will between the two races which is so essential if we are to live side by side and work together for our common good. I enjoy the friendship of such leaders in each race. I find them firmly committed to Christ's program of unconquerable good will as the only solution of problems of human relationships.

That there are problems, grave and difficult of solution, no thinking man will deny. That evils and injustices exist is evident. But these Christian leaders are convinced that these problems cannot be solved or these injustices eradicated by bitterness, hatred, violence. Such methods only make the situation more difficult. As these problems are faced in the spirit of Jesus, as His method of understanding and unconquerable good will is followed, the two races will be able to cooperate in their common task of building a civilization in which each shall have his place and where the good of all shall be the paramount consideration.

This program is the earnest purpose of Christian leaders of both races today. We feel that it is the solution of our problem. And we are equally sure that any man who for any reason promotes bitterness, hatred, race antagonism, is the enemy of both races and of our common civilization.

GOOD WILL AND SANITY DEPEND ON SELF-DISCIPLINE

John Moore Walker

The formula with regard to race relationship is not difficult in the stating. It is simply that we face the facts with sanity and good will. Any departure from this procedure by either the Negroes or the white people will make for disaster, more or less serious.

Facts have a way of being stubborn; although often they can be changed and indeed removed. But as long as they exist as facts they had best not be ignored.

Also, good will, as a motive, and sanity, as a method of approach, are essential. But without the discipline of self-criticism as a ground and preparation there is no good will nor sanity. And the discipline of self-criticism is not a conspicuous exercise among us, if public utterances alike of Negroes and white people are any indication.

THE SOUTH MUST BE JUDGED BY ITS CHIVALRY

M. Ashby Jones

In searching for that which was best in the civilization of the old South, the word "chivalry" seemed to me to express that which was most admirable and attractive in its life. I said that which was best, because we are apt to forget that there was a worst. And the worst was a sham chivalry. Someone has said that "hypocrisy is the compliment which vice pays to virtue," and one is sorry to have to acknowledge that there was too much of this also in that charming life of our forefathers. But it is the true chivalry I would speak of now—a sense of obligation on the part of the strong to protect the weak. This spirit is the same whether it be clothed in metal armor with a sword in hand, or in overalls with a ballot in its hand. Knighthood is a spirit, and not a costume.

Is not chivalry the real test of the quality of any civilization? In a democracy it is the obligation of the majority for the rights and welfare of its minorities. In its last analysis here is to be found the true indictment against Naziism. It is the ruthless violation of the rights of the weaker by the stronger group—the inevitable megalomania growing out of a consciousness of race superiority.

There is an ideal aristocracy which conforms to the original definition of the word—the rule of the best. Its motto is, the best for the least. Such a spirit will be regnant in a true democracy. It will find expression in hospitals, schools, libraries, homes, and churches, accessible to all the people, even the least of its brethren.

Is not this the very heart of the religion of Jesus? We might well call it the chivalry of the Christ. In that wonderful picture parable which he gave, when all the nations of the world should stand before His judgment seat, He makes chivalry the test of discipleship. As He beckons to those on His right hand, "Come unto me ye blessed of my Father," He gives His reason. "Inasmuch as ye ministered unto the least of my brethren, ye ministered unto me." And to those on the left, the reason for the judgment is: "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of my brethren, ye did it not unto me."

It is from this standpoint we must test the civilization of the South today. It must be judged by its chivalry, the sense of obligation of the majority to protect the rights and the welfare of its minorities. We are fond of boasting that this is a "white man's country." In the sense that the white people have an overwhelming majority and for that reason overwhelming power over the Negroes, that claim is correct. I wonder sometimes if many of us ever stop to think what that overwhelming power over the Negroes means.

From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are about eight million Negroes who are absolutely dependent upon the attitude and the treatment by the white people for a good decent life. They are dependent upon them for health, education, justice, economic welfare, and in a word for fairplay. This is because the white people have in their hands all the political power—the legislatures, the executives, the courts, the police—so that they make and execute all the laws which govern the lives of the Negroes. The whites control, if they do not actually own, all the banks, transportation, communications, industries, and farms. They control the State schools, public libraries, art galleries, and recreation facilities. To what extent the Negroes may realize those "inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" depends upon the moral, even more, the religious character of the white people of the South.

Here is the real test of our civilization—here is the real test of our religion—our attitude and treatment of the Negroes. We must find a new standard for orthodoxy, for according to Jesus, when we face His judgment seat, the separation of men shall not be according to creed or ordinance, but by our treatment of "even the least of His brethren."

CONFERENCE WITH GEORGIA POWER COMPANY OFFICIALS

In an attempt to ease interracial tension and prevent friction on Atlanta's street cars and buses, a sub-committee of the Georgia Interracial Commission met Thursday, November 12, with officials of the Georgia Power Company.

The Committee meeting with the transportation company officials included Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. David Marx, Rabbi, The Temple; Dr. Lester Rumble, pastor of St. Mark's Methodist Church, who acted as chairman; C. A. Scott, general manager, Atlanta Daily *World;* Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, Christian Social Relations, Southeastern Jurisdiction, Methodist Church, and Miss Josephine Wilkins, director of the Citizens' Fact Finding Committee.

Representing the Georgia Power Company were W. E. Mitchell, vice-president and general manager; W. R. Pollard, transportation manager; and others. The meeting was held in the Electric Building.

Mr. Mitchell said that President Preston S. Arkwright of the Georgia Power Co. had spoken to drivers and other employes of the company, urging that every courtesy be accorded all riders and that tolerance be shown in every situation.

The Committee presented to the Power Company three proposals for aiding the transportation situation. These proposals included the matter of enlarging the number of inspectors on vehicles, of publication of a booklet for use in conducting an educational campaign on the etiquette of race relations, and of placing notices in the regular places for signs on cars and buses calling attention to the fact that this is war, that the transportation facilities are being taxed to the utmost, calling for obedience of the bus driver and for the respect of other passengers in their effort to get where they are going, and asking the public to please take it in good spirit since a little crowding may be unavoidable.

Mr. Mitchell said that the Power Company already had under consideration increasing the number of its inspectors. The material for the proposed public educational campaign was discussed fully and the Power Company agreed to cooperate in the preparation and distribution of the suggested booklet. Both Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Pollard stated that, while the Company had already made some use of car signs along the line of those proposed, they felt that renewed use of such cards was timely and that the Company would undertake a series covering the points suggested.

Mr. Mitchell said that he had observed transportation facilities in other southern cities and he was satisfied that Atlanta's policy of not placing awkward signs of segregation reminders on street cars and buses is the most satisfactory.

The Committee was assured by Mr. Mitchell and the other officials that the Power Company would redouble its efforts of cooperation in preventing friction. It was stated that some operators who could not get along on certain routes had been shifted and that any practical program for improvement was welcomed by the Power Company.

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...think we're going to ...ne told the Governor, who ... come out against Mr. Tru-...an's election.

"Well," Tuck retorted, "we certainly wouldn't fight with these clothes on."

Adventist Upholds Racial Segregation

(22)

Doctrines of the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man have no place in the Christian church and are "altogether untrue," Carlyle B. Haynes, of Washington, D. C., told a congregation here Friday at the Beverly Road Seventh-Day Adventist Church.

Haynes upheld racial segregation, maintaining it was "originated by God and set forth in the Bible as the divine way for nations and races to get on together."

Atlanta Journal 12/25/1948

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Texas Baptists Praise Truman On Civil Rights

WICHITA FALLS, Texas—(ANP)—At its recent midwinter meeting a resolution commending President Truman for his stand on civil rights was approved by the Texas Baptist Convention held here at St. John Baptist Church.

The resolution addressed to the President said in part:

"Be it resolved that the Texas district associations and churches Baptist Convention composed of 11 with a membership of 200,000 commend President Harry S. Truman for having recommended to Congress the passage of legislation guaranteeing the protection of minority groups.

"We further commend our President for having rung the door bell of democracy and . . . the Texas Baptist Convention with its entire membership of 200,000 pledge themselves to determined and deathless opposition to forces and influences which too long have the channel of interracial good will and blocked the path to national unity."

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A STATEMENT

Issued by the

Institute on

JUDAISM

AND

CIVIL RIGHTS

Sponsored by the

Commission on Justice and Peace

of the

Central Conference of American Rabbis

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"And the work of JUSTICE shall be PEACE"

Isaiah XXXII: 17

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St. Louis, Mo.

April 17-18, 1948

PREFACE

The Institute on Judaism and Civil Rights was convened by the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo., on Saturday evening, April 17, 1948, at 8:00 o'clock. Some 300 Rabbis and laymen from various parts of the country were in attendance. Rabbi Julius Mark, chairman of the Commission, presided.

After the invocation by Rabbi Samuel Thurman and an introductory statement by the chairman, greetings were brought to the Institute by Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Mr. A. Abbot Rosen, Chief of the Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, read a message from Hon. Tom Clark, Attorney General of the U. S.

The keynote addresses were delivered by Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., chairman of the Executive Committee of Americans for Democratic Action, and Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn, a member of the President's Special Committee on Civil Rights. The meeting was closed with a benediction by Rabbi Julius Gordon, president of the St. Louis Rabbinical Association.

On Sunday morning at 9:30 the delegates and visitors, divided in Round Tables to study various phases of civil rights, met in the Y.M.H.A. The list of Round Tables, with leaders, chairmen and rapporteurs, follows:

ROUND TABLE NO. 1:

"The Jewish Background of Civil Rights"

Leader: Rabbi Martin W. Weitz, Des Moines.
Chairman: Mr. Raymond Wittcoff, St. Louis.
Rapporteur: Rabbi Ulrick Steuer, Bloomington.

ROUND TABLE NO. 2:

"Economic Aspects of Civil Rights"

Co-leaders: Miss Rose Perlin, St. Louis and Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Washington.
Chairman: Mr. Stanley Richman, St. Louis.
Rapporteur: Rabbi Harry Essrig, Grand Rapids.

ROUND TABLE NO. 3:

"Social Aspects of Civil Rights"

Leader: Mr. Saul D. Alinsky, Chicago.
Chairman: Mr. Milton Goldstein, St. Louis.
Rapporteur: Rabbi Byron T. Rubenstein, Michigan City

ROUND TABLE NO. 4:

"Political Aspects of Civil Rights"

Co-leaders: Prof. Paul Freund, Cambridge, and Mr. A. Abbot Rosen, Washington.
Chairman: Mr. William Stix, St. Louis.
Rapporteur: Rabbi Selwyn D. Ruslander, Dayton.

ROUND TABLE NO. 5:

"Educational Aspects of Civil Rights"

Leader: Prof. Milton D. Stewart, New York.
Chairman: Dr. Richard Silverman, St. Louis.
Rapporteur: Rabbi Alfred L. Friedman, Lansing.

The afternoon sessions of the Round Tables convened in Temple Israel House at 2:00 o'clock. At 4:30 P. M. a plenary gathering was held. The rapporteurs presented their reports and, after discussion, a statement embodying the views of the Round Table participants was adopted. Upon motion, the chairman appointed an editorial committee consisting of Rabbis Isserman, Eisendrath and Mark and Messrs. Rauh and Wittcoff. The Institute adjourned with a benediction by Rabbi Isserman.

A Statement from the St. Louis Institute on Judaism and Civil Rights

I. INTRODUCTION

Civil Rights are affirmed in covenants arrived at by the community of men who compose the State. Jews are bound by the higher authority of their covenant with God to respect the human covenants which affirm the basic human rights.

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights entitled, "To Secure These Rights," is in direct continuity with the legacy of Israel across the centuries from the ancient bondage in Egypt "unto this day." In the Committee report, four principles are set forth which form the basis of civil rights and which should be accepted as the authentic implementation of the articles of the faith of Israel.

1. *The Right to Safety and Security of Person:* All men are equal in the sense that they are created in the image of God. No man is above the authority of the divine law nor beneath its protection. "One law and one ordinance shall be both for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you" (Numbers 15:16). In the sight of God, there are no strangers. Every individual is safe and secure in his person and property, even against governments (II Sam. 12: 1 to 6: Kings 21). This protection is extended also to the enemy; "If thine enemy be hungry; give him food to eat; if he is thirsty give him water to drink" (Proverbs 25:21).

2. *The Right to Citizenship and its Privileges:* "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. 25:10). To deny to an individual a voice in his government is to reduce him to a form of slavery in defiance of God's will. When the prophet Samuel warned the people against surrender of their rights to an earthly ruler, he admonished them, "On this day ye have rejected God." (I Samuel 8).

3. *The Right to Freedom of Conscience and Expression:* Each man has a right to express or keep private the dictates of his soul, for the soul is the divine element in man and cannot be interfered with by other men or governments of men. "The spirit of man is the light of the Lord" (Proverbs 20:27). The Talmud teaches that where honest differences prevail and agreements are difficult; "These *and* those might be the words of the living God." It was that "flaming fire within"

(Jeremiah 25:9) that impelled the prophet to speak out even at grave personal risk.

4. *The Right to Equality of Opportunity:* All men are entitled to equal opportunity to work, home, health, and education. "The heavens are the heavens of the Lord, but the earth hath He given to the children of men" (Psalms 115:16).

These are the rights which each man of whatever race or creed may claim in the name of God. The Bible, Talmud and the later Jewish literature abound in statements which support these principles. They are conferred by authority higher than the custom or law of any particular community. Disrespect for basic human rights may be a crime in the eyes of the civil authorities; it is surely a sin in the sight of God. With all rights go corresponding duties. Respect for the civil rights of all men is each man's duty to God. Jews are challenged by their religion to support the basic human rights of every one: "What is hateful unto thee, do not do unto thy neighbor" (Talmud, Shabbos 8). Jews are challenged by the teachings of their prophets to support these rights forthrightly. Only thus will they prove their loyalty to their religious tradition and be at one with God.

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

As Jews we are bound to the democratic tradition of government and the prophetic requisite of implementing this tradition in practice.

1. *Citizenship.* Basic to the enjoyment of many political rights, notably that of suffrage, is the status of citizenship. While in general all persons born in the United States are thereby citizens, the privilege of becoming naturalized is discriminatorily denied to many Asiatics. An important step forward was taken during the war through the removal of the previous ineligibility of Chinese for naturalization. The remaining vestiges of racism have no place in our laws of citizenship and are contrary to our religious tenets.

2. *Voting.* The right of qualified persons to vote, without regard to race or color, as guaranteed by the Constitution, has provided a flagrant example of the divergences between the law in the books and law in action. We hail the action of those states which have eliminated the poll tax and other devices of disfranchisement. We urge the elimination of all disfranchising techniques, whether discriminatory or potentially discriminatory. Consequently we endorse Federal action to abolish poll taxes. Furthermore, we recommend that the work of the Department of Justice be invigorated by the enlargement of the Civil Rights Section into a Division, by the provision of additional funds and personnel and through appropriate revision of the laws upon which its authority depends. Needed as these actions are and salutary as they will be, thoroughgoing protection of the rights of suffrage calls for recognition by the several states of their moral responsibility to assure these rights to all citizens and state action in accordance therewith.

3. *Freedom of Speech.* The freedom of speech and freedom of the press guaranteed by the Constitution are the cornerstone of democracy and must remain inviolate. This means the freedom to express views with which we disagree as well as those with which we agree.

We condemn any attempt to restrict the free expression of opinion either by legal sanctions or by extralegal pressure of intimidation. Local law enforcement agencies must vigorously defend the right of all persons to express their opinions publicly without fear or molestation.

The government has a proper concern for the loyalty of its employees, and a grave concern where strategic positions are involved. In administering a program to assure such loyalty, however, it is essential that certain safeguards be scrupulously observed: (a) There must be no identification of unconventional or unpopular opinions with disloyalty; (b) Guilt by association must not be recognized as sufficient; (c) The procedures must give the greatest, not the least, possible protection to the employee. We are entitled to loyal public servants; but in the effort to discover those few who may not be such, we must not destroy the morale and the spiritual and intellectual freedom of the great body of devoted government workers. Government is the great exemplar in our society, and can provide a model of fairness or of ruthlessness.

4. *Safety and Security of the Person.* The right to safety and security of the person, the right of personal liberty, subject to abridgment only after a fair judicial hearing conducted with scrupulous attention to the mandates of the Constitution, belong equally to all Americans irrespective of race, color or creed.

It is deplorably commonplace for members of minority groups to be terrorized by use of force, often with connivance of public officials, to be arrested for little or no cause, to be subjected to indignities and cruelties while in the custody of the police and to be tried before juries from which members of their group have been excluded.

The essence of justice is the exercise of community responsibility. Yet where local authority neglects or fails to act, the Federal government should—and must—have the power and authority to act vigorously. We urge the strengthening of existing Federal civil rights statutes and expansion of the Federal law enforcement agencies so that our national government will have sufficient authority to cope with violations of civil rights where local conditions require.

III. SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Any abuse of civil rights based upon race, creed, color, national origin, or political beliefs constitutes a negation of the principles of Judaism and of the American way of life. This is specifically true whenever such abuses prevail in religious institutions, housing, the armed forces, public service, hospitals and clinics or in professional, business, political and labor groups.

2. We declare that such abuses prevent the full development of the individual and engender severe tensions and resentments in the American social scene; that such practices are major contributing elements in the creation of the American slums from which arise disease, delinquency, demoralization and hate.

3. We believe that the wide gap between our *principles* on civil rights and our *actual practice* involves us in a dilemna in which we are faced by the necessity of justifying our conduct by rationalizations supporting the myths of racial superiority. This conflict between conscience and conduct leads inevitably to personality conflicts, group tensions, and to the development of attitudes hostile to, and destructive of, democratic society.

4. We believe that the most subversive and un-American groups in our population are those whose minds and hearts are poisoned by prejudice and who, by demanding restrictions on housing, employment, recreation, and on other free and equal opportunity, frustrate the forward march of Democracy.

5. We believe that the practice of civil rights among all our citizens is essential to the realization of world peace and the neglect and abuse of these rights imperil that peace and the future of the democratic ideal in the world. The future of the democratic ideal among men depends upon its thorough application in our own country. The vast majority of the peoples of this world (who are not of the white race) judge us *by what we do, not by what we say,* with regard to our treatment of their fellows in this country.

6. We believe that prejudice is not a separate social issue but is a concomitant of a host of fundamental social ills; that therefore the most effective program to conquer prejudice is to develop the full potentialities of the democratic way, so that all men can live in decency and dignity, making the maximum contribution of which they are capable to society. To this end, we urge the creation of community organizations designed to promote maximum participation and to activate democratic functions.

IV. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

In its economic implications, equality of opportunity has not been extended to all of our people, thus imperiling the security and the happiness of large segments of our population.

Unstable economic conditions aggravate the problem. In order to achieve equal economic opportunity for minority groups, we must strive for a well balanced, healthy economy offering full employment opportunity to all.

A broad continuing program of public enlightment and information is necessary and desirable to condition the public mind to a fuller appreciation of the meaning of equal opportunity; this is a long term approach. To implement and accelerate this process legislative action must be taken, for it not only serves as an educative device but immediately eliminates to some extent discrimination in actual practice. The very enactment of legislation through the democratic processes serves as a crystalization of public opinion.

We therefore recommend:

1. The enactment of Federal, State and local Fair Employment Practice Acts forbidding discrimination in employment based on race, color, creed, or national origin. Merit and capacity should be the criteria of employment. These acts should be applicable to private industry, labor unions, trade and professional associations, and to the government.

2. Governmental financial assistance to public or private agencies should be conditioned upon the absence of discrimination and segregation in any form.

3. Segregation must be abolished in the armed forces, in transportation, in health facilities, in public housing, and in all phases of public service. The historic approach of separate facilities for different groups has failed to provide adequately for all our people and violates the basic principles of human equality. Not equal, but the *same* facilities, should be available to all.

4. Laws should be enacted invalidating restrictive covenants and practices. Such written contracts and "gentlemen's agreements" should be declared null and void.

These measures are the most effective instruments available today in the treatment of the economic ills suffered by the victims of prejudice and intolerance. Their contribution to the welfare of the people of our nation may well spread beyond its borders into the hearts and minds of persecuted peoples everywhere and bring hope and faith where now only want and fear prevail.

V. EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Education is a primary force in the fight for civil rights. If men are to be educated for freedom, their education must stress the principles which underlie civil rights.

We believe every person should be free to enrich his own life and that of the community by realizing all of his potentialities for growth. Educational institutions should strive not to reflect the prejudices of the community; they should be exemplars to the community in their respect for civil rights.

We recommend immediate abolition of all academic practices which, either by intent or in effect, limit the admissions of certain religious, racial or national groups into our institutions of learning. In the very nature of the case, a separation of one group from another, based on race, implies an inferiority. Segregation in education humiliates and degrades. It is futile to ask our children to believe in the democratic way of life if their segregated schooling teaches them that we do not expect reality to conform to our ideals.

We recommend that the same policies of fairness which govern the admission of students should apply to the selection of the teaching and research faculties.

We call for the maintenance of a free spirit of academic inquiry and for freedom of conscience and expression for both faculty and students in our institutions of learning.

We commend the State of New York for its pioneering enactment of legislation supporting fair educational practices.

We call for the extension of Federal aid to education. Our ultimate aim should be no discrimination or segregation in the use of Federal funds for education.

We recommend that all of the educational resources of the community—homes, schools, churches, parent-teachers' organizations, press, radio, and motion pictures —combine their forces to build a vigorous public opinion in support of civil rights.

Though we recognize the long range importance of education and discussion, it is our firm belief that the crisis in civil rights is so crucial that we cannot rely only on policies which are long range. These must be supplemented by legislation and court enforcement procedures. Outlawing restrictive covenants, for example, will tend to control the external behavior patterns of prejudice. When people of different races and faiths will live in the same areas, the tendency to develop the inner emotions of prejudice will be diminished. Thus can laws accelerate the processes of education and help to secure civil rights.

VI. CONCLUSION

The future peace and well being not only of America, but of the world, depend upon the willingness of men and women to share with their fellow men the rights which they demand for themselves. Americans, because of their magnificent heritage of freedom, should set the example.

Upon American Jews there devolves a double obligation ever to be in the forefront among those who demand that no man's political, social, economic or educational rights shall be abridged by reason of his color, creed or national origin. It isn't sufficient merely to point with justifiable pride to the glorious prophetic teachings of God's Fatherhood and Man's Brotherhood. We must endeavor to practice them conscientiously in our every day relations with our fellow human beings.

Editorial Board

MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
RAYMOND WITTCOFF
JULIUS MARK, Chairman

Copies of this Statement on Judaism and Civil Rights may be secured by writing to:

Rabbi Julius Mark, Chairman
Commission on Justice and Peace, CCAR
136 Seventh Ave., N.
Nashville, 3, Tennessee

Price: 10c per single copy
5c per copy in quantities of 20 or more

23 April 1948

Dr. Oscar Lee
Race Relations Department
Federal Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Lee:

I am writing you at the suggestion of Dr. Forrest C. Weir of the Southeastern Inter-Council Office. The Southern Regional Council is making a study of what the churches in the South are saying about race relations, with a view to publishing the material as an article in our monthly magazine, New South. I have just talked with Dr. Weir about this project, and he told me that your office would be the one central source for the information we need.

What we need are the complete texts -- if possible -- of the statements on race relations made by official church bodies in the South. For our purposes, the "South" is defined as the thirteen states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

We anxious to obtain pronouncements made by the following church bodies in the South:

Southern Baptist Convention
Presbyterian Church, U.S.
Methodist Church
Lutheran Church
Christian Church
Episcopal Church
Unitarian Church
Congregational Church
Roman Catholic Church
Jewish Church

We would also be interested in any information you might have about pronouncements of state and local church councils in the South, and in similar documents held by the United Council of Church Women and

by the Home Missions Council, if either of these two organizations have Southern branches.

We would be very grateful for any help you could give us in obtaining this information.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

HC7 (7)

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Commissioner Southeastern Region

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Director Southeastern Regional Office

April 23, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

You will be interested to know that at the 26th annual convention of the South Florida Episcopal Diocese held in Miami Beach, during the week of April 12, the women's auxiliary adopted a resolution approving the merger of White and Negro units.

I think that this action, following closely the action by the Methodist women in Orlando, and that by the Texas Council of Churchwomen reflects the fine progress being made by our Churchwomen in this area.

With all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:bp
cc - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

(26)

Churchman Scores Police Brutality

Ad Daily Wed 5-5-48

NEW ORLEANS—Scoring brutality by law enforcement officials and calling for full recognition of civil rights by all policemen, Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M., warned officers of their great responsibilities in today's troubled world.

Dr. O'Connell spoke at the final session of the Louisiana Peace Officers Association convention. He is general chairman of the Cotholic Committee of the South, an interracial organization of clergy and laymen.

"The attitude of enforcement officers toward Negroes and their rights must be a just attitude if we are to have justice prevailing anywhere in the world," he said. "The demand for civil rights must never be identified with Communism."

RED DECEPTION HIT

Warning against deceits of Communism, the CCS leader said: "With the spacious argument that Communism was a mere political party, like any other political party, the Communists were able to deceive fair minded people, folks who were willing to grant any man freedom in his political beliefs.

"But Communism is not a political party. Communism has as its declared goal a completely Communist world and its leaders always have said that to obtain world Communism they would have to destroy religion and overthrow all governments which resisted their world-wide program."

Telling the peace officers that they had nothing to fear from Communism in organized labor, Fr. O'Connell said: "There is no group in Louisiana that has done more to expose Communists and bring them out into the open than organized labor.

"Labor men know the Communists and know how to stymie them with democratic processes."

(31)

Tampa Daily Times 5-12-

Race Segregation Held Will of God

Southern Methodist Remnant Takes Stand

Columbia, S. C., May 12 (AP) Total race segregation is "the will of God" and must be maintained the General Conference of the Southern Methodist Church declared today.

Delegates from six Southern states adopted a resolution outlining the view, making it "part and parcel of the discipline of the church."

The church is composed of congregations that refused to join in the union of Northern and Southern Methodist churches several years ago.

The resolution said "we are ever mindful of our obligations to all races of people, and in particular to the Negro race for its spiritual betterment and for our leadership of these people toward Christ within their own race structure.

"The Almighty God saw fit, in his infinite wisdom, to segregate the races in the beginning and we earnestly believe that the will of God (will) be best served by continuation of the total segregation of the black and white races."

The Rev. A. C. Aston of Latta, S. C., was reelected president of the conference and the Rev. F. Milton Hill of Memphis, Tenn., was named permanent secretary.

Chattanooga Times 5-22-49 (32)

THE CHATTANOO

BAPTISTS PROVIDE DELEGATE 'SCREEN'

Must Meet Convention Tests —Race Stand Reaffirmed, Israel Not Recognized

BY JOHN N. POPHAM
New York Times News Service.

MEMPHIS, May 21—The Southern Baptist Convention amended its constitution today to provide for a credentials committee that could "screen" all delegates on their qualifications to participate in annual convention sessions.

This was admittedly an implementation of the constitutional amendment unanimously adopted yesterday calling for all delegates to be from "regular" Baptist churches that are friendly, co-operative and sympathetic to the convention.

Aimed at Dr. Norris

Both rules were interpreted by opponents today as "gag rules" after it was made clear they were aimed at Dr. A. Frank Norris of Fort Worth, who has been highly critical of the convention's president, Dr. Louie D. Newton of Atlanta, on charges that Dr. Newton was overly sympathetic to Russian Communism. Dr. Norris has been holding a revival "convention" here with public square rallies. The credentials committee is to be appoined by the convention president and in disputed or challenged cases it must report back to the convention for final determination. The new procedures are the first of their kind in the 103-year history of the convention.

The Rev. Noel Smith, aide to Dr. Norris, said the constitutional moves would "split the state conventions" and threaten the start of "a new Baptist movement."

No Recognition of Israel

The convention this afternoon unanimously voted to sustain the decision of the resolutions commit-

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No Recognition of Israel

The convention this afternoon unanimously voted to sustain the decision of the resolutions committee to disapprove proposals calling for recognition of the new state of Israel. On Wednesday the convention overwhelmingly defeated a motion to commend President Truman for recognizing Israel after opponents had labeled Mr. Truman's action "a political play to capture the Jewish vote this year."

Dr. John H. Buchanan, chairman of the resolutions committee, asked for the sustaining vote after making a special and unscheduled talk in which he said the committee "would like to state that its action is not to be interpreted as pro-Jewish or anti-Jewish, nor pro-Arab nor anti-Arab."

Without debate or objection the convention accepted in full the report of its social service commission and voted unanimous approval of certain recommendations made by the commission in controversial fields. It was pointed out that by "acceptance" of the full report the convention reserves its right to disregard any of its specific conclusions. The convention "accepted" the commission's report on race relations, which declared that President Truman's civil rights report contains "objectives in keeping with the American way of life as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights." It added that "facts demonstrate the undeniable truth that the South, of its own volition, is moving in the direction of the objectives." However, the convention voted approval only on a recommendation that it reaffirm its statement of principles in race relations made last year, which held that it was anti-Christian for one race to dominate another. There were reports at the convention that many delegates had expressed disapproval of the wording of the commission's full report.

UMT Proposal Opposed

The convention also "accepted" the commission's report on universal military training, in which it reaffirmed its opposition as expressed last year. There was no recommendation for voting offered on universal military training.

The convention voted approval of recommendations that the President and Congress "commit themselves afresh to peaceful methods of establishing world peace"; that management and labor settle their disputes in the light of Christian morals; that protests be sent to moving picture producers against the "alarming increase" in the number of drinking scenes and films "glorifying immoral conduct."

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

INCORPORATED

CABLE ADDRESS "FEDCIL" TELEPHONE GRAMERCY 5-3475

297 Fourth Avenue

New York 10, N. Y.

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J. OSCAR LEE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Department of Race Relations

May 25, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Your note to Dr. Lee of April 23 has asked for statements from church bodies in the South on race relations. We regret that we do not have such statements, nor are we able to direct you to any source better than to the denominations themselves. Over the years there have been resolutions from church bodies here, there, and elsewhere on specific items, for instance, Lynching, FEPC, etc.; but for general statements on race relations we do not know.

Would it not be wise for you to get the Yearbook of American Churches, published by Sowers Printing Company, Lebanon, Pennsylvania, price $3.50, and send a circular letter to all of the large bodies listed therein?

Enclosed is our latest leaflet, Interracial Publication No. 70, which gives statements from some Southern church bodies and editors on the need for federal legislation against lynching. Included also, with other material, is report on Dr. Cavert's appearance before the Senate Committee on June 7, 1944, which shows (marked in blue pencil) what certain bodies have said about FEPC. One Southern body is included.

Yours cordially,

Olyve L. Jeter
Office Secretary

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encl.

Rel. Pic. wel

N'Orleans Laymen Getting Together

28

5-29-48

NEW ORLEANS— (NNPA)— Interracial linking of two major laymen's religious organizations was effected last Friday when Clarence P. Thomas, president of the Archdiocesan Union of Holy Name Societies, announced that three men had been chosen from his organization to meet with three officers of the Metropolitan Council of Holy Name Societies (white).

The six leading workers will form a permanent interracial committee "for mutual exchange of thought and action." The document initiating the move was signed by Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Thomas P. McNamara, spiritual director of the Archdiocesan Union.

"This interracial group is a first step, too long delayed, in the direction of concerted action," said J. Elliott Sheehan, president of the Metropolitan council. "Our executive board rtalizes that for too long a time the two Holy Name branches have gone separate ways."

There are about 3,000 members of the Holy Name religious societies in New Orleans, of which a fourth are colored.

Episcopalians Move To Abolish J'Crow

5-27-48 Ace, Dail, WLP

RICHMOND, Va.—(NNPA) — The Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia took action last Thursday to remove from its constitution and canons all words that would indicate racial segregation or discrimination.

It passed on first reading two changes in Article III of its constitution, which defines the groups entitled to representation on the council. To become effective, these changes must pass second reading at the next regular council session next year.

It also approved a resolution calling on Bishop F. D. Goodwin to appoint a committee of white and colored church members to determine what changes must be made in the canons to make them conform to the proposed constitutional amendments.

One of the changes in Article III deals with a definition of the four classes which compose the lay membership of the council. One of these is listed as "the lay delegates from the Colored Missionary Jurisdiction."

LAY DELEGATES

The second change in Article III concerns the section providing that "there shall be two lay delegates from the missionary jurisdiction known as the Colored Missionary Jurisdiction to be elected by the Convocation of the said Jurisdiction from among congregations not otherwise entitled to representation in Council."

Both of these sections would be stricken our if the the amendments are finally passed. In terms of church organization, one clergyman said the elimination of these clauses would mean that, instead of belonging to a colored convocation for the entire diocese, colored communicants would become members of the existing convocations in those sections of the diocese where they happen to live.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, Memphis, Tenn., May 1948: "We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.... We shall protest against injustice and indiginities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them.... We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits of educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences."

* * *

NORTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH: "Resolved, That we appeal to our Methodist people and to all citizens to discourage by every possible means the injection of race or class prejudice into political campaigns.... It is further patent to all that prejudice and race hatred are a constant threat to law and order and the fuitful source of acts of violence and the detestable crime of lynching...."

* * *

TWENTY-FIRST SYNOD, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PROVINCE OF SEWANEE, Atlanta, Ga., October 1947: Passed a resolution providing that all future synods be planned in such a manner that there would be no discrimination against Negro delegates.

* * *

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS, DIOCESE OF UPPER S.C., PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, December 1948: "...we will have the conviction that every person has the right to a secure and happy home life, to education, to genuine economic opportunity, to participate to the fullest in civic life, to wholesome recreation, to sound health, inx short, to all things which give him an opportunity to achieve his ultimate destiny as a child of God.... To promote better interracial understanding we

recommend that: Parishes form study groups to consider the obstacles blocking better interracial relations, and the methods whereby the Negro can be helped to achieve his human rights.... Disparities in health, recreational, social, and educational services, whether public or private, be studied and action taken to eliminate or reduce them."

* * *

CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH, NEW ORLEANS UNIT; August 1948: "'States Rights' and 'Southern Traditions' are honorable terms when used and interpreted properly; their use can imply discredit and dishonor when they are employed to distort constitutional principles or to perpetuate injustices.

"'States Rights' cannot be invoked to suppress inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Among these rights are the right to vote, the right of personal safety, the right to adequate educational advantages and the right to organize freely for economic, social and cultural improvements. The term 'Southern Tradition' is misused and dishonored when it is employed to justify a continued state of unjust discrimination against the Negro laborer and privation of the Negro of the opportunity for higher education and professional training...

"Opposition to regulation by federal enactment seems hypocritical and lacking solid moral foundation when States and communities have failed to right wrongs and to bring sectional law, tradition, and life into harmony with constitutional statutes and the over-all American way of life and tradition....

"As Catholics we know that incitement to ill will and hatred is contrary to the Christian principles of justice and charity, a grave violation of the great Commandment: 'Thou shalt love they neighbor as thyself.'"

VIOLENCE

METHODIST MINISTERS' ASSOCIATION OF ATLANTA, December 1948: "Revolting to us is the cowardliness which moves Klansmen to mask their faces and to work under the cover of darkness. We are scandalized at the Klan's desecration of the Cross of Christ. We denounce as un-American and anarchical the attempt or threat by any mob to take the law into their own hands. We condemn as un-Christian the Klan's constant stirring of prejudice and hate.... We call on the City of Atlanta, the County of Fulton, the State of Georgia to pass legislation prohibiting the parading of any group under the cover of masks."

WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE, ATLANTA EAST AND WEST DISTRICTS, January 1949: Following the tabling of a bill by the Georgia Legislature which would unmask the Klan and other hooded groups, this group declared: "We repudiate the action of the Legislature which said to the world that 'the Klan is the way of life in the South.' We call upon city and county governments to take action to prohibit parades or assemblies of masked groups on highways or in public buildings. We further urge ministers to preach sermons on the true meaning of the cross."

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE COMMISSION, SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, 1947: "We believe in democracy, according to which equal political rights are granted to all citizens on a common basis of qualification. The exclusive rule of one race in a multi-racial democracy, without regard to the right of other races to participate in the processes of self-government under a common law, is no more justifiable than the rule of one political party without regard to the rights of other political parties to particpation in the processes of self-government under a common law. "

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* * *

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN RELATIONS, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, 1947: "That the Assembly go on record as condemining all organizations and individuals in our country whose aim and purpose is to hinder any American minorities in the exercise of their civil rights, or that seek to deny such rights to any groups or individuals because of their race, creed, class, or color.... That since our American Congress has seen fit to maintain its Committee on un-American Activities, the Assembly call upon this Committee to be no less concerned to investigate and expose the un-Americanism of organizations like the Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan -- which are definitely akin to fascism -- than it is to expose organizations whose subversive activities stem from their Communist character."

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PRINCIPLES OF FAIRNESS

(5)

Chatt. Times June 3 - 48

The South has taken steps to prove that, if allowed to solve its own problems, it will gradually bring about fair treatment of Negroes and good relations between races. The Southern Baptist Convention, in Memphis recently, did not discuss the subject at length, because of current "political connotations," but it reaffirmed its principles of fairness to all races.

The Southern Baptist Con

affirmed the doctrines adopted at the St. Louis convention last year, which was held six months before President Truman issued his civil rights declaration.

The doctrines as again favored in Memphis follow:

"1. We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.

"2. We shall continually strive as individuals to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from our speech terms of contempt and from our conduct actions of ill-will.

"3. We shall teach our children that prejudice is un-Christian and that good will and helpful deeds are the duty of every Christian toward all men of all races.

"4. We shall protest against injustice and indignities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them.

"5. We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits of educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences.

"6. We shall be just in our dealings with the Negro as an individual. Whenever he is in our employ we shall pay him an adequate wage and provide for him healthful working conditions.

"7. We shall strive to promote community good will between the races in every way possible.

"8. We shall actively co-operate with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their ministers, and the promotions of their missions and evangelistic programs."

Certainly that is a splendid pattern for all denominations.

8134-B

5- Church & Race Rels (21)

Interracial Notes

INTERRACIAL NOTES

ARTICLES WHICH MAY BE CLIPPED AND
USED AT WILL. NO CREDIT LINE NECESSARY

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

R. B. Eleazer

From Department of General Church School Work, 810 Broadway, Nashville (2), Tenn.
Division of the Local Church, General Board of Education, The Methodist Church. June 8, 1948

CONCERNING GRADUATE SCHOOLS

Regional Plan Suffers Backset

Plans for the joint support of regional graduate schools by the Southern states suffered a serious backset when the United States Senate, by a vote of 38 to 37, sent back to committee a resolution authorizing such an arrangement. The motion to recommit was made by Senator Morse, of Oregon, and was supported on the ground that passage of the resolution would have the effect of approving the policy of segregation in education and of fixing it more firmly.

The resolution had previously passed the House by a vote of 236 to 45. How the Senate's unfavorable action will affect the further development of the plan remains to be seen.

Washington University Opens Doors

About the same time, Chancellor Arthur Compton of Washington University, St. Louis, announced that henceforth qualified Negro students will be admitted to the University's graduate school of arts and sciences. This action was recommended by Dr. Carl Tolman, dean of the school, who stated that since it was already enrolling Chinese and Indian students it seemed inconsistent to exclude equally qualified students of another race. The University's schools of medicine and social work had previously been opened to colored students.

Oklahoma Case in New Phase

Meanwhile Mrs. Ada Sipuel Fisher's legal fight for admission to the law school of the University of Oklahoma goes on. Mrs. Fisher, it will be recalled, refused to enroll in the separate law school hastily set up as a result of her previous victory in the United States Supreme Court. Contending that this school did not meet the constitutional requirement of equality of opportunity, Mrs. Fisher entered in the state courts a new suit for admission to the University. After lengthy testimony and argument on both sides, the case now rests with the judge, whose verdict is expected daily.

-0-

ARMY SEGREGATION DENOUNCED BY NEGRO EDITORS

"Any measure short of a completely democratic Army is and always will be inadequate, wasteful and dangerous, and will betray those fundamental principles upon which our nation has grown to greatness."

So said seven Negro editors and publishers in their official report to Secretary Royall after their recent three-weeks' inspection tour of U. S.-occupied zones in Germany and Austria, as guests of the Army.

In their report the editors called attention to many conditions which they regarded as seriously inefficient and objectionable, most of them traceable to the "wrong basic concept . . . that a segregated army can be an efficient army." To remedy these conditions the group recommended the abolition from the armed forces of all forms of segregation and discrimination.

-0-

ADVENTISTS OPEN HALF-MILLION DOLLAR HOSPITAL

Riverside Sanitarium's new half-million dollar hospital at Nashville, Tennessee, erected by the Seventh Day Adventist denomination primarily to serve colored patients, has just been completed and opened. The 75-bed brick structure was designed by a local firm of Negro architects and is completely staffed by colored personnel. The outgrowth of an enterprise started by the Adventists in 1927, the new institution inherits membership in the American Medical and Hospital Associations and the Blue Cross plan.

-0-

TEXAS GOVERNOR ANNOUNCES CIVIL RIGHTS PLATFORM

In announcing his candidacy for reelection Governor Buford Jester, of Texas, included in his platform a number of important civil rights planks. He proposes a constitutional amendment abolishing the poll tax, an anti-lynching law, full protection for Negroes of all legal rights, equal and adequate educational facilities for all, and full and complete hospital service for Negroes.

-0-

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN ABOUT THIS!

An important congressional measure, imperatively in need of immediate and vigorous support, is the Federal Aid to Education bill passed by the Senate some weeks ago by a heavy majority, but now bottled up in the House Labor Committee. Friends of the bill say that it is being held up for unknown reasons by Speaker Joe Martin and Majority Leader Charles Halleck, and that only they can give the green light to its passage.

The Senate bill was sponsored by Senator Taft, and provides an annual appropriation of three hundred million dollars to supplement the efforts of the poorer states to meet their educational responsibilities. It specifically prohibits all racial discrimination in the distribution of its benefits. Its passage is regarded as of major importance to millions of colored children in the Southern states, where because of limited resources educational standards at best are much below those of other regions.

The bill has practically the unanimous support of educational leaders and organizations, white and colored. There is great danger, however, that it will be allowed to die in committee unless strong pressure is brought to bear at once upon House leadership.

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Union Theological Seminary, of Richmond, Virginia, principal ministerial training school of the Southern Presbyterian Church, has just graduated another Negro minister with the degree of Master of Theology. He is the pastor of a Baptist church in the city, and is the seventh colored preacher to be awarded a degree by this old Southern school.

-0-

Catholics Asks Better Schools

30

NEW ORLEANS — A program, calling for sweeping improvements in the New Orleans school system for Negroes, was adopted last week by the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic women last week. This report was sent to Supt. Lionel J. Bourgeois of the Orleans Parish school board.

Improvements asked for by the women include: A new building program for colored to be started immediately; employment of Negro teachers given priority in allocation of funds, better representation for colored on the planning board to set up the program; medical service for Negroes be improved, and more Negro nurses hired in proportion to whites, and the adjustment of schools for handicapped Negro children to establish needs for such services.

Baptists Endorse 'Rights' Program

AMERICUS, Ga. (SNS)—Georgia Baptists gave an emphatic endorsement to civil rights legislation as proposed by President Truman and the Democratic party here at the annual meeting of the General Missionary Baptist Training Union and Sunday School Convention.

The group adopted a strong resolution praising President Harry S. Truman for advocating legislation "designed to insure these rights of all to citizens."

The action was adpoted in the Sunday School convention, and referred to the Resolution Committee Among those approving the resolution were: Rev. T. T. Ball, Mrs. Mildred B. Shaw, Deacon E. A. Long, J. S. Ward, Boston E. Jones, Mrs. Johnnie Mae Thompkins, Mrs. Annie Bell Williams, Mrs. Clara B. Gray, Eddie R. Stinson, Vanettie Jones.

The full resolution reads as follows "Be It Resolved that the General Missionary Baptist Training Union and Sunday School Convention of Geogria, presided over by Dr. J. L. Lomax, Valdosta, and Dr. O. S. Cleveland, Savannah, Ga., go down on record as endorsing the Civil Rights program of President Truman, designed to insure these rights to all citizens."

HF

Publicity Section
CATHOLIC COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH

523 Natchez St.
NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

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AUG 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Release_____

New Orleans, Aug. 23, 1948. (Special) -- Protest against race discrimination and States Righters' "increasing incitement to factional strife and group hatred" was registered by Catholic Committee of the South members here in an official state ent issued today by the New Orleans CCS unit.

"Hypocritical" and "lacking solid moral foundation" were terms used to describe current States Righters' opposition to federal anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment laws.

"'States Rights' may not be invoked against basic human rights and dignity, which trace their origin to thehand of the All-Wise, All-Holy and All-Just Creator," declares the statement, issued with the signature of Lynn Hogan, archdiocesan chairman, and countersigned by Mrs. Alfonso del Marmol for the Race Relations Department.

Attacking mis-use of such honorable terms as "States Rights" and "Southern Traditions," the statement called them misused and dishonored when employed to justify "a continued state of unjust discrimination against the Negro laborer and privation of the Negro of the opportunity for higher education and professional training."

New Orleans CCS members said that "the delicate problems involved ... should be met on the local community or state levels," but that the principle to be applied is contained in the words of Pope Leo XIII: "If, therefore, an injury ... to ... the common good ... cannot in any other way be repaired or prevented, it is necessary for public authority to intervene," meaning intervention by Congress to insure upholding of Constitutional rights.

"As Catholics we know that incitement to ill will and hatred is contrary to the Christian principles of justice and charity, a grave violation of the great Commandment: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,'" CCS declares.

Commenting on the statement, Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S. M., general chairman of CCS, said: "The New Orleans group has said very well some things which need to be said at the present moment. Its members are to be congratulated for the clarity of their statement."

The statement, in full, is as follows:

MORE

Ad 1 -- Catholic Committee of the South

"Statement

"of the New Orleans Unit

"of the Catholic Committee of the South.

"In conformity with the very purposes of its existence and constitution, the Catholic Committee of the South is conscious of an obligation to register a protest when there is question of grave offenses against the basic principles of human dignity. To remain silent in the presence of grave injustice may seem to condone and make one an accessory to it.

"There is evident in our present day American life an increasing incitement to factional strife and group hatred, which gives g cause for concern and should prompt all citizens of good will to examine critically the motives and statements of spokesmen whose aim is to incite ill will toward any particular group of the human family.

"'States Rights' and 'Southern Traditions' are honorable terms when used and interpreted properly; their use can imply discredit and dishonor when they are employed to distort constitutional principles or to perpetuate injustices.

"'States Rights' cannot be invoked to suppress inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Among these rights are the right to vote, the right of personal safety, the right to adequate educational advantages and the right to organize freely for economic, social and cultural improvements.

"The term 'Southern Tradition' is misused and dishonored when it is employed to justify a continued state of unjust discrimination against the Negro laborer and privation of the Negro of the opportunity for higher education and professional training.

"We firmly believe that the delicate problems involved in these issues should be met on the local community or state levels by appropriate and effective legislation in conformity with the terms of our national Constitution and by the patient, sincere effort of all groups and individuals.

MORE

Ad 2 -- Catholic Committee of the South

"Opposition to regulation by federal enactment seems hypocritical and lacking solid moral foundation when states and communities have failed to right wrongs and to bring sectional law, tradition and life into harmony with consitutional statutes and the over all American way of life and tradition.

"Here we believe to be appropriate the words of the immortal Pope Leo XIII: 'If, therefore, an injury has been done to or threatens either the common good or the interests of individual groups, which injury cannot in any other way be repaired or prevented, it is necessary for public authority to intervene.'

"As a principle, these words may in our case insinuate the intervention of the superior authority delegated by the states under the constitution to the Congress.

"As Catholics we know that incitement to ill will and hatred is contrary to the Christian principles of justice and charity, a grave violation of the great Commandment: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor and thyself.'

"'States Rights' may not be invoked against basic human rights and dignity, which trace their origin to the hand of the All-Wise, All-Holy and All-Just Creator.

Lynn Hogan,
Archdiocesan Chairman.

Mrs. Alfonso del Marmol
for Race Relations Department."

File Charles Spurgeon Gardner

(34)

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AUG 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

August 27, 1948

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Southern Regional Council

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Attached please find a set of resolutions recently passed by a group of Baptist girls and republished in the September 1948 issue of the Baptist publication, World Comrades.

I feel that these resolutions in many ways are worth publicizing because they represent concrete steps forward which can be taken today by young people of every denomination in the South.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

AFM/ff
cc: Harold Fleming ✓

CONCLUSIONS OR BEGINNINGS?
A RESOLUTION
by
NORTH CAROLINA GIRLS' AUXILIARY

We, a group of Baptist girls of North Carolina, members of Girls' Auxiliary after a study of the American Negro in a class at GA camp, recommend that we unanimously adopt the following resolutions and pledge ourselves to their fulfillment:

1. That we speak with respect of all races and creeds and discontinue the use of such terms as "nigger," "darkey," and such disrespectful words.

2. That we read biographies of great Negroes so we may understand and appreciate their cultural and scientific contributions to our civilization.

3. That we treat all persons and groups with kindness and consideration, being courteous and polite as any Christian should, to the humblest as well as the greatest.

4. That we do what we can to see that opportunities exist for Negroes and help them avail themselves of these: such as helping them have better schools, public libraries, playgrounds, helping them to participate in Negro health and clean up weeks, etc.

5. That we help them train their young people in their churches in any way that opportunity presents.

6. That we keep these resolutions before us by sending copies to our state young people's secretary, and the southwide young people's secretary, for publication in the state paper and in World Comrades.

I/10

Baptist Laymen Make Proposals To Improve Racial Relations

RIDGECREST, N.C.—(BP)—A discussion group of Southern Baptist laymen here adopted proposals designed to encourage better racial relations and improve living standards of the Negro in the South.

Men from 11 states were present in the group that took the action. Their proposals will be publicized by the office of the Baptist Brotherhood of the South at Memphis.

The first of two proposals constitutes an appeal to business men with investment capital to seriously consider the building or financing of first class hotels for Negroes. These hotels would have coffee shops, dining rooms for convention sessions, and other facilities comparable with those of leading white hotels. They would be located in the Negro sections of Southern cities.

The building of attractive and adequate tourist courts for Negroes was also recommended as a partial solution to the need for hotel space.

A second proposal carried the suggestion that financing companies and business promoters own stock wholly, or jointly with Negro busines men, in high class cafes, drug stores and department stores in well populated Negro areas. These businesses would be operated by capable Negro business men.

L. H. Tapscott of Dallas said the group believed that "following one or more of these plans will not only be good business, but will help to build friendly cooperation between the races in American community life."

The suggestions were drawn up by a special committee, composed of F. L. Bishop of Minden, La.; Loran A. Baker, Knoxville, Tenn.; F. T. Simpson, Alexandria, Va.; W. H. Wood, Jr., Memphis, Tenn.; Alva Crider, Jamestown, Ky.; A. S. Newman, Alexandria, La.; J. B. Wyckoff, Memphis, and L. H. Tapscott, and were adopted unanimously by the discussion group.

The office of the Baptist Brotherhood of the South is expected "to submit the proposals to Christian business men of the South as practical steps in the solution of the race problem," Tapscott said.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ORDER NUMBER

Walterboro, S. C. Press & Standard
September 30, 1948

timber or into trees suitable for poles, veneer wood or piling.

Elder J. M. Moorer Fought Wording

Columbia, Sept. 23—The annual convention of the Presbyterian synod of South Carolina adjourned yesterday after probing the race question. A committee report concerning Nebroes was edited. Deleted by 49 to 38 vote, was the question: "Can we lay claim to being a Democratic nation if we deny the rights of citizenship to one-tenth of our population?" The report added "America cannot be a white oligarchy in which the Negro is required to abide by rules which he had no hand in formulating." The committee also referred to "courageous federal judges" in speaking of the trend to better the Negro situation. J. M. Moorer, Presbyterian elder and State Democratic Executive committeeman, led the successful move to cut out the word "courageous." Moorer said it did not require courage for federal judges to act in such matters. He said he referred specifically to Judge J. Watis Waring. Moorer said Judge Waring "made up his mind to humiliate the white defendants." It was Waring's order which opened Democratic party membership this year to negroes.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
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This Clipping from
Charlotte, N. C., Observer
October 20, 1948

Rev. R. F. Boyd New Moderator

Presbytery Holds Its Stated Session

Mecklenburg Presbytery in its one hundred eighty second stated meeting held yesterday in the Newell Presbyterian church authorized the organization of a church in the Freeland Presbyterian chapel, received Jack McLaney as a candidate for the ministry, heard reports of the installation of three ministers, adopted far-reaching resolutions of the committee on Christian relations and heard many other reports in the daylong session.

In its opening hour the Presbytery heard a sermon by Rev. Fred C. Debele, Jr., pastor of the Commonwealth Presbyterian church and moderator of the Presbytery and elected his successor as moderator Rev. R. F. Boyd, pastor of the St. Andrews Presbyterian church. The communion service was conducted by Rev. H. S. Robinson and Rev. A. L. Thompson. Mrs. Walter Glenn reads the history of the 58-year-old host church of which Rev. F. C. Pratt is the pastor. It was pointed out that the work began in a home and was continued in a general store, now has a church and manse valued at $65,000. Mr. Pratt welcomed the 130 delegates and a host of visitors to the church.

Rev. D. J. Cumming, former missionary to Korea and now acting educational secretary of Foreign Missions of the Assembly, and Rev. Clarence Jones, Newell Baptist pastor, were introduced.

JONES TO MAKE TRIP

A special prayer was offered for Dr. James A. Jones and the mission which takes him within the next few days to Africa and Brazil where he will make an appraisal of the foreign mission work. He will be away from his Myers Park pulpit for several months. Prayer was also made for the aged and sick ministers.

The Cook's Memorial church was given permission to raise their pastor's salary. Dr. C. O. Williamson is the minister.

Rev. J. C. Grier presented Reginald L. Price who spoke as a layman about the Presbyterian Orphans' Home at Barium Springs. He said that polio was one of the contributing causes to the decline of $5,000 in current operating income. He pleaded that there be no slackening of support. A liberal Thanksgiving offering was urged by the Presbytery.

Dr. O. C. Williamson presented John (Jack) A. McLaney, son of Mr. and Mrs. Joe W. McLaney of 1629 Queens Road, West, as a candidate for the ministry. He was received and after his graduation at Davidson college he will begin his theological education. Dr. C. E. S. Kraemer, the candidate's pastor, led in the prayer that sealed the service.

In the report on Christian relations presented by Rev. T. W. MacLean, two of the three sections were adopted after lengthy debate. Presbytery adopted a section on race relations urging the churches to "continualy strive, as individuals, to conquer race prejudice, to eliminate from our speech all belittling terms and expressions, and to teach our children to do likewise."

JUSTICE TO NEGROES

The report also called for fairness, justice, consideration and courtesy in our conduct and transactions with Negroes; promotion of community good-will; and to "exert our active influence for the establishment of equal political and economic rights and opportunities for Negroes, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive just treatment by law enforcement officers, and in our courts, to receive a fair share of the benefits of the expenditure of public funds, equal educational facilities and opportunities, and equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveyances." The report further called for help in church, chapel and evangelistic work.

SOUTHERN (55)
ESS CLIPPING BUREAU
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This clipping from
Roanoke, Va., Times
November 5, 1948

who were ill and deserved to have their votes counted.

One of the judges at the precinct said they finished putting in all ballots by 7:15, after putting in the mail ballots which required about 40 minutes.

BAPTISTS DEBATE RACE ISSUE STAND

Prejudice Said Hindering Progress of Church

NORFOLK, Nov. 4 (AP)—The final business session here of the 125th annual meeting of the Virginia Baptist General Association erupted unexpectedly today into a vigorous debate on the association's stand on the racial issue.

The discussion came to a head hours after the assembly adopted the report of the association's interracial committee which stated that existing prejudice made progress impossible at the present time.

Immediately preceding the debate Dr. Henry W. Tiffany, pastor of Norfolk Park Place Baptist Church, was elected 1949 president of the State association.

Center of the argument was to decide whether to delete a portion of the interracial committee's report which some members felt would arouse unfavorable reaction and misinterpretation.

John J. Wicker, Jr., of Richmond, former State senator, returned the issue to the assembly with the remark that the public would think "we Baptists are living in sin."

The controversial report, given by Rev. J. B. De Foe, Wytheville

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The controversial report, given by Rev. J. B. De Foe, Wytheville pastor, disclosed that the committee was split on its racial attitudes and that no mutually agreeable stand could be reached.

"Christ did not recognize racial difference," the report stated. The third paragraph, center of the dispute, declared:

"We confess that we are prejudiced on this question in spite of the desires that come to us at times to be otherwise. We believe that most Baptists are likewise prejudiced. We confess that we are fearful, that we are afraid—for political, or ecclesiastical, or social reasons—to follow the way of Christ. We believe that most Baptists are likewise fearful and afraid. We confess to God our sins in this matter and plead to God to make us more willing to be Christ-like in our relation to all races.

"We call upon our Baptist people to repent before God, and call upon the name of the Lord that He may forgive them and make them courageous and wise and willing to do His will as it is revealed in Jesus Christ."

The assembly split on Wicker's motion to delete the last part of the report. Jesse M. Johnson, Richmond attorney and a member of the committee, said he had objected to it, but voted for it to attain harmony in the committee.

Assembly Divided

A vote on Wicker's motion divided the assembly. Action to throw out the entire report also was defeated. One delegate said, "We were together when we condemned liquor wholeheartedly, yet on this problem we are afraid to vote."

Motions and substitute motions were piled on top of Wicker's action, arousing parliamentary complications which brought laughter into the otherwise heated debate. Each was removed in order until Wicker's suggestion to delete the third paragraph returned to the floor, and this action was finally approved by the assembly.

Wicker said that if the assembly acknowledge any sin of prejudice and did nothing about it, outsiders would conclude that Baptists were willing to "live in sin and just tell God they were sorry and that's all."

Other officers elected today were Dr. Wade H. Bryant, of Roanoke, first vice president; R. Stuart Grizzard, of Orange, second vice president; Kenneth Burke, of Burros, clerk, and Jesse Wood, Richmond, auditor.

NYT 12-14-48

CHURCHMEN PRAISE TRUMAN ON RIGHTS

Present Copy of Council Call and Laud His Drive and U. N.'s Declaration

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13—President Truman's devotion to the cause of human rights was praised today in a message in which the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America asserted that the United Nations' adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights inspired the hope that the world was developing a conscience.

Bishop John S. Stamm, newly elected head of the Federal Council, and Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary, read to Mr. Truman a statement on the council's views. After their White House visit they said the President had received the message in a friendly and appreciative spirit.

The Federal Council adopted a statement entitled "The Churches and Human Rights" at its biennial meeting in Cincinnati on Dec. 3, setting forth the responsibilities of the churches, the state and individual citizens in upholding such human rights as freedom of religion, conscience, speech, press, inquiry, study, political and social beliefs and assembly, and equality in civil rights.

Bishop Stamm presented a copy of the Cincinnati statement to Mr. Truman, and said:

"I believe that this statement is the most comprehensive in its scope, and the most definite in its commitments, ever issued by a great religious body on this subject. Its central interest is to insure that 'the rich gifts which God imparts to men should be made availabel to all without discrimination as to race, color, sex, birth, nationality, social or economic status or creed.'

"The statement commits the churches to working for measures which will secure full opportunity for all men to share in the economic resources of the community and its political processes and also 'to participate on a non-segregated basis in the social and public life of the community.'

"The Federal Council takes this stand because it regards these as 'God-given rights which society must respect and for whose realization it must make provisions.'

"We are grateful, Mr. President, for the convincing evidence which you have given of your devotion to the securing and maintaining of human rights in our country. We rejoice that political leadership and religious conviction can join hands to bring about conditions in which all men shall more fully enjoy the basic rights and freedoms which are their due as children of God."

U. S. OPEN TO STUDENTS

AT Journal 12/14/48 (39)

Atlanta Ministers Denounce the Klan

THE 45 MEMBERS of the Methodist Ministers' Association of Atlanta signed on Monday a resolution which said:

"The Methodist Ministers' Association of Atlanta is ashamed that Georgia is again afflicted with the Ku Klux Klan. Revolting to us is the cowardliness which moves Klansmen to mask their faces and to work under the cover of darkness. We are scandalized at the Klan's desecration of the Cross of Christ. We denounce as un-American and anarchical the attempt or threat by any mob to take the law into their own hands. We condemn as un-Christian the Klan's constant stirring of prejudice and hate.

"The Klan is self-condemned in the very fact that whenever a brutal crime is committed by masked cowards the Klan is compelled to rush to its own defense and loudly declare that the Klan did not do the dastardly thing. The fact that, in the public mind, vicious things have become inescapably linked with the Klan is a devastating argument against the Klan.

"We call on the City of Atlanta, the County of Fulton, the State of Georgia to pass legislation prohibiting the parading of any group under the cover of masks."

There was no dissent in the association from this powerful denunciation, just as there will be no dissent by any other citizen of good character whose intelligence matches his probity.

If the General Assembly does its duty next month and meets squarely the issue precipitated by present and recent happenings in our state, it will pass forthwith a law banning the parading of masked or hooded groups and thus put the official stamp of lawlessness on a movement which is not only vicious in intent but threatens to bring more bloodshed and grief to the State of Georgia.

A Challenge to Episcopalians

Department of

Christian Social Relations

of the Diocese of

UPPER SOUTH CAROLINA

DECEMBER, 1948

PREFACE

In this day of unrest and social tension the National Church, through its Department of Christian Social Relations, is seeking the realistic way to bring again a measure of security to all, believing, that with God's guidance and our sincere effort progress toward real happiness and peace is possible. The department of Christian Social Relations in the Diocese of Upper South Carolina, like its counterpart in the National Church, accepts the Christian responsibility to stimulate thought and action directed towards bringing peace and goodwill to man. This pamphlet is issued to serve as a guide to persons and parishes in their efforts to achieve these worthy objectives.

The Bible and the Church through the centuries have proclaimed certain essential truths to guide man in his relations with his fellow-man. The concepts of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man are basic to the Christian philosophy.

If it is true, and we believe it is, that all men are brothers, if we owe it to others, and we do, that which we want for ourselves, then we cannot say that a man's color, class, creed, or political belief is a basis for denying him the cultural advantages we want for ourselves. We must accept our respon-

sibility to see that the dignity and intrinsic worth of all is not only preserved but enhanced. Furthermore, we will have the conviction that every person has the right to a secure and happy home life, to education, to genuine economic opportunity, to participate to the fullest in civic life, to wholesome recreation, to sound health, in short, to all things which give him an opportunity to achieve his ultimate destiny as a child of God.

The Department of Christian Social Relations of the Diocese, in the light of this Christian philosophy, wishes to turn the attention of Christian men and women to certain of our social problems and recommends action which we believe will help our society to become more Christian.

Minority Groups

Before God all men are equal. As Christians we recognize in principle that we are brothers without distinction. But in no region of our country have we always honored our belief with our acts. In our State our principle minority group is the Negro. Gains have been made, but we have not yet permitted recognition of Christian kinship between the races nor equitable relations. The Church must deal with this problem with realism and fortitude. To promote better interracial understanding we recommend that:

1. Parishes form study groups to consider the obstacles blocking better interracial relations, and the methods whereby the Negro can be helped to achieve his human rights.
2. The needs of Negro parishes and Negro Episcopalians be made the subject of special Diocesan study, with plans for action brought to the attention of white parishes for their support.
3. Disparities in health, recreational, social and educational services, whether public or private, be studied and action taken to eliminate or reduce them. We should unite with others to achieve better child welfare services for orphaned, unwanted, abandoned and delinquent Negro children, for improvement in the care, education and social rehabilitation of boys committed to the John G. Richards (State) Industrial School for Colored Boys, and for the establishment of an adequate institution for the rehabilitation of delinquent Negro girls when rehabilitation cannot be effectively provided otherwise.
4. Episcopalians participate in the Southern Regional Council.

Family and the Child

The family is the fundamental group of society. The Christian home is essential to the growth and development of Christian personality. To encourage the preservation and strengthening of family life, we recommend that:

1. In addition to love and security which every home should cherish, parents, school, and church provide honest, forthright and clear instruction in sex and parenthood, in all relations between husband and wife, and in home management.
2. Family counseling services of the church should be strengthened through additional training in counseling for clergy and church workers.
3. Family welfare and other similar agencies should be given increased support enabling them to provide and strengthen their family counseling services.
4. Members of the church should support the enactment of sound adoption laws for the State of South Carolina, to replace the present archaic and often cruel method of adopting children without proper study and supervision; and to abolish the deeding and indenturing of children.
5. A vigorous effort should be made towards approval by this State of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Education

The school is one of the pillars of democracy. The strength of our society is tested in a large measure by the quality of education provided our people. A vital and progressive Christianity is supported by an intelligent, well educated public. Since church and school are interdependent the Department is concerned with our educational system. It recommends that:

1. Church members study more closely the problems our schools are facing. The Report of the South Carolina Education Survey committee should be read and generally supported.
2. Additional taxes be levied by the state to provide more adequate school services with higher salary levels for teachers and other school employees.
3. Means be found to consolidate our numerous schools into larger systems.
4. Federal legislation, which will provide federal aid with minimum educational standards, insuring good education for all children be supported.

Housing

Christian family life is extremely difficult if not impossible under conditions of housing to which many of the people of South Carolina are subjected. Christians and Churchmen have a clear obligation to see that good dwellings are furnished for all and that slums are destroyed. To achieve this the Department believes that Christians:

1. Should support legislation which will provide publicly subsidized housing for all families unable to purchase such housing from personal resources.
2. Should support legislation which will destroy all sub-standard housing as quickly as decent housing is available.
3. Should support ordinances requiring that all dwellings meet standards of decency, health, and safety.
4. Have a special obligation as landlords

to make certain that their rental property is above minimum standards of decency, health, and safety, and to avoid charging exhorbitant rental rates.

Mental Health Facilities

Perhaps no single service in America is rendered so inadequately as that for those suffering mental illness. Many areas have no resources; in others the services are little more than custodial. Reports show that not a single state mental hospital in the United States meets adequate standards. South Carolina is no exception. Christian people should not tolerate such conditions. The Department hopes that members of our Church will give vigorous support to any efforts which will provide more adequate financial support, more skilled personnel, and increased hospital and clinic facilities to all those needing treatment. Facilities for treating Alcoholics are also a distinct need.

Public Assistance

In 1948 Federal funds made possible substantial increases in assistance payments to needy aged and blind persons and to dependent children. Nevertheless South Carolina lags behind in its provisions especially for dependent children. Federal funds are not available for other classes of dependents, for these South Carolina is still making assistance payments on the basis of 50 per cent of recognized need. There are no public assistance funds for the unemployed. To remove these conditions support should be given to legislation providing federal social insurance for all, federal grants-in-aid for those not yet covered, and increased state and local funds.

A Parish Plan

It is the desire of every member of a parish to be of service to his Church and to be recognized as a part of the organization. One of the fundamental needs of the man, woman or child, is recognition of success,

and if this need is fulfilled one strives to do a better job on the next task. There is no better way to develop the spiritual and social talents of each individual in the parish than by recognizing the basic nature of this principle.

The prime unit of action in our Church is the parish or mission. Here the Church must come to grips with the many social problems lying on our doorsteps. But these problems can only be studied and dealt with by individuals who may feel the challenge and are willing to give the time needed. Church leaders must always be alert to tap the tremendous source of creative force and energy, latent in individuals and waiting only to be called into service.

One of the first steps a parish must take is to survey its membership with the idea of determining the talents and interests of every individual setting up a card file. Such a file provides the selection of the right person for the right job. Skillful selection will result in fewer refusals.

The appointment by the Rector of a parochial Committee on Christian Social Relations to assist him in planning and directing projects is also recommended. This committee might make a survey of the community and its needs and make recommendations to the Rector and Vestry as to how the parish might meet these needs and co-operate with local social agencies.

A Challenge to Episcopalians

Episcopalians of this Diocese occupy many positions of high trust and responsibility. All of us in our respective capacities have opportunities to help correct conditions which thwart moral growth and development of the citizens of this state. The Department hopes and believes that these suggestions will receive your prayerful and considerate attention, and that you will support all worthwhile social welfare programs as your judgment directs. Let us all resolve that we can and will help to achieve God's kingdom on earth, so that all our citizens as children of God, may share abundanly in the opportunities American democracy and our way of life offer.

THE CHURCHES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

An Official Statement adopted by The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

December, 1948

297 Fourth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

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Additional copies of this leaflet may be secured from
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.
Price: 5 cents per single copy; $4.00 per 100 copies.

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

The Churches and Human Rights

All men are God's creatures and have infinite worth in His sight; they are also included in the saving work of Christ. All men, and Christians in particular, are therefore responsible to God to love and serve Him; to live in such a way that the lives they live and the work they do shall be worthy of their capacities and gifts; and to regard other people as their neighbors whom they should love as themselves. They are also responsible at all times to obey God as the supreme Lord of conscience.

But men have not only responsibilities toward God and their fellow men which they must discharge; they have God-given rights which society must respect and for whose realization it must make provision.

The flagrant violation of human rights in our generation has denied basic Christian principles. It has outraged Christian feeling and has impeded the achievement of world order. Even in those lands which profess adherence to the Christian democratic tradition there are discriminatory restrictions and exploitations. The dignity of man and the obligation of Christian brotherhood are so clearly expressed in the Gospels that our own failure to live up to their precepts is a reproach against us among non-Christian peoples. The churches cannot view this situation with unconcern.

All of the rich gifts which God imparts to men should be available to all without discrimination as to race, color, sex, birth, nationality, social or economic status, or creed. Although man's life consists in fellowship with God and not in the abundance of things; although the Christian in privation and tribulation may be more than conqueror; yet the denial of freedom, justice, and security to others is the violation of basic rights. Opposition to such indignities is a Christian duty and it must be carried out by Christian means if it is to serve its purpose.

Every right with which man is endowed by his Creator contains a corresponding responsibility to use this freedom wisely and generously, for righteous ends, and with due regard for the similarly

God-given rights of others. Moral obligation is at the center of the Christian concept of human rights.

Social safeguards are necessary for the peaceful adjustment of conflicting rights and to prevent their violation or curb their misuse whether by individuals or the state. If these safeguards are not themselves to become a peril to liberty, free society must accept some risks that freedom may be abused by those who would destroy it.

A responsible society is one in which freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and to the people whose welfare is affected by it.

Personal Rights

Among the basic human rights, which are the due of every person, are the following:

1. Freedom of religion and conscience, including rights of all men to hold and change their faith, to express it in worship and practice, to teach and persuade others, and to decide on the religious education of their children.*
2. Freedom of speech, press, inquiry and study, including expression of economic, political, and social beliefs, with due regard to the protection of all from slander and libel.
3. Freedom of peaceable association and assembly.
4. Freedom from arbitrary arrest, police brutality, mob violence, and intimidation.

Although many of the above personal rights are in jeopardy at present, both at home and abroad, they have been for long generally recognized in our society. The social, economic, and political rights listed below must be further extended and established throughout the world in order that a more Christian society may be achieved. Since these rights cannot be obtained under a system of racial segregation, the Federal Council of the Churches of

* We endorse the more detailed Resolution on Religious Liberty adopted by the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. *(See Appendix I).*

Christ in America reaffirms its renunciation of the pattern of segregation as unnecessary and undesirable, and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood. As proof of their sincerity, the churches must work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society.

Social, Economic and Political Rights

These rights, which should be available to all without discrimination as to race, color, sex, birth, social or economic status, or creed, include:

A. Full opportunity to participate in the economic resources of the community, including:
   1. The right to a standard of living adequate for the welfare and security of the individual and the family.
   2. The right of every employable person to work under decent conditions, for fair compensation, and to be upgraded in keeping with character and ability; or to engage in an individual enterprise or profession.
   3. The right of all persons to organize into labor unions, corporate enterprises, cooperative ventures, and for social action.

B. Full opportunity to participate on a non-segregated basis in the social and public life of the community, including:
   1. The right to wholesome living space.
   2. The right to move within one's country, and to leave and return to one's country.
   3. The right to educational and professional training and to cultural opportunities.
   4. The right to recreational opportunities and facilities.
   5. The right to participate in the use of community social services.
   6. The right to adequate health services.
   7. The right to the use of transportation on the basis of full equality.
   8. The right to receive equal service from businesses and persons serving the public, such as stores, theaters, hotels and restaurants.

C. Full opportunity to participate in the political life of the community, including:

1. The right to vote with alternative choices and by a secret ballot.
2. Equal rights before the law, which include police protection, the right of an accused person to a fair and public trial, the right to counsel, the right to be confronted by written indictment, evidence, and witnesses against him, the right to present in his own behalf his own witnesses and evidence, the right to have the judgment of his actions depend upon an evaluation of the facts by an impartial jury of his peers.
3. The right to be a candidate for public office and to serve if elected.
4. The right to participate fully in any branch of the government, including the military.
5. The right to organize for peaceful political activity.

The churches, the state, and individual citizens have responsibilities for observance of these requirements of human rights. It is presumptuous for the state to assume that it can grant or deny fundamental rights. It is for the state to embody these rights in its own legal system and to ensure their observance in practice. It is for the churches to encourage the state fully to recognize these rights in law, but also, since the churches are under special obligation to obey God rather than man, they must go beyond the requirements of law and seek vigorously to realize these principles, wherever they apply, within their own fellowship; to support and encourage their members in conscientious endeavor to achieve these ends in the community and nation; and to seek solutions in the spirit of Christian reconciliation. The churches are likewise bound to offer a continual challenge to the conscience of the community and to seek to influence the government in its appropriate sphere to safeguard the rights of all.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
The Biennial Meeting
Cincinnati, Ohio
December 3, 1948

Appendix I

RESOLUTION ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Adopted by the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam, The Netherlands, August 22 to September 4, 1948, and Adopted by the Committee of the International Missionary Council at Oegstgeest, The Netherlands, September 7 to 10, 1948.

WHEREAS the Churches are seeking to promote the observance of religious liberty through the world;

BE IT RESOLVED that the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council adopt the following *Declaration on Religious Liberty* and urge the application of its provisions through domestic and international action.

A DECLARATION ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

An essential element in a good international order is freedom of religion. This is an implication of the Christian faith and of the world-wide nature of Christianity. Christians, therefore, view the question of religious freedom as an international problem. They are concerned that religious freedom be everywhere secured. In pleading for this freedom, they do not ask for any privilege to be granted to Christians that is denied to others. While the liberty with which Christ has set men free can neither be given nor destroyed by any government, Christians, because of that inner freedom, are both jealous for its outward expression and solicitous that all men should have freedom in religious life. The nature and destiny of man by virtue of his creation, redemption and calling, and man's activities in family, state and culture establish limits beyond which the government cannot with impunity go. The rights which Christian discipleship demands are such as are good for all men, and no nation has ever suffered by reason of granting such liberties. Accordingly:

The rights of religious freedom herein declared shall be recognized and observed for all persons without distinction as to race, color, sex, language or religion, and without imposition of disabilities by virtue of legal provisions or administrative acts.

1. *Every person has the right to determine his own faith and creed.*

The right to determine faith and creed involves both the process whereby a person adheres to a belief and the process whereby he changes his belief. It includes the right to receive instruction and education.

This right becomes meaningful when man has the opportunity of access to information. Religious, social and political institutions have the obligation to permit the mature individual to relate himself to sources of information in such a way as to allow personal religious decision and belief.

The right to determine one's belief is limited by the right of parents to decide sources of information to which their children shall have access. In the process of reaching decisions, everyone ought to take into account his higher self-interests and the implications of his beliefs for the well-being of his fellowmen.

2. *Every person has the right to express his religious beliefs in worship, teaching, and practice, and to proclaim the implications of his beliefs for relationships in a social or political community.*

The right of religious expression includes freedom of worship, both public and private; freedom to place information at the disposal of others by processes of teaching, preaching and persuasion; and freedom to pursue such activities as are dictated by conscience. It also includes freedom to express implications of belief for society and its government.

This right requires freedom from arbitrary limitation of religious expression in all means of communication, including speech, press, radio, motion pictures and art. Social and political institutions should grant immunity from discrimination and from legal disability on grounds of expressed religious conviction, at least to the point where recognized community interests are adversely affected.

Freedom of religious expression is limited by the rights of parents to determine the religious point of view to which their children shall be exposed. It is further subject to such limitations, prescribed by law, as are necessary to protect order and welfare, morals, and the rights and freedoms of others. Each person must recognize the right of others to express their beliefs and must have respect for authority at all times, even when conscience forces him to take issue with the people who are in authority or with the position they advocate.

3. *Every person has the right to associate with others and to organize with them for religious purposes.*

This right includes freedom to form religious organizations, to seek membership in religious organizations, and to sever relationship with religious organizations.

It requires that the rights of association and organization guaranteed by a community to its members include the right of forming associations for religious purposes.

It is subject to the same limits imposed on all associations by non-discriminatory laws.

4. *Every religious organization, formed or maintained by action in accordance with the rights of individual persons, has the right to determine its policies and practices for the accomplishment of its chosen purposes.*

The rights which are claimed for the individual in his exercise of religious liberty become the rights of the religious organization, including the right to determine its faith and creed; to engage in religious worship, both public and private; to teach, educate, preach and persuade; to express implications of belief for society and government. To these will be added certain corporate rights which derive from the rights of individual persons, such as the right: to determine the form of organization, its government and conditions of membership; to select and train its own officers, leaders and workers; to publish and circulate religious literature; to carry on service and missionary activities at home and abroad; to hold property and to collect funds; to cooperate and to unite with other religious bodies at home and in other lands, including freedom to invite or to send personnel beyond national frontiers and to give or to receive financial assistance; to use such facilities, open to all citizens or associations, as will make possible the accomplishment of religious ends.

In order that these rights may be realized in social experience, the state must grant to religious organizations and their members the same rights which it grants to other organizations including the right of self-government, of public meeting, of speech, of press and publication, of holding property, of collecting funds, of travel, of ingress and egress, and generally of administering their own affairs.

The community has the right to require obedience to non-discriminatory laws passed in the interest of public order and well-being. In the exercise of its rights, a religious organization must respect the rights of other religious organizations and must safeguard the corporate and individual rights of the entire community.

Appendix II

In view of the deep concern and persistent efforts of the churches, working through the Federal Council of Churches and the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, in behalf of an International Bill of Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, is printed herewith, for information and study.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore no distinction shall be made on the basis of political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or the territory to which a person belongs whether it be an independent, trust or non-self-governing territory or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

ARTICLE 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

ARTICLE 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

ARTICLE 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community, in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any state, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Churches speak

JUDAISM

and

RACE EQUALITY

☆ ☆ ☆

Issued by

THE COMMISSION ON JUSTICE AND PEACE
of the

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

1 9 4 8

JUDAISM AND RACE EQUALITY

MAN derives his worth from the fact that he is created by God in the image of God. This is an unconditional status. It is not dependent on any other circumstance. He may be black, yellow or white; he may worship nature or the spirit within nature; he may be born on mountainside or on the plains. He is still equal in the sight of God. Any differences in his worth are those he creates himself by his utilization of his potentialities through learning and industry. But these are only evaluative differences. They are not essential. In no way do they limit the inalienable rights inherent in man's status as a child of God.

These teachings were burned into the soul of Israel by his experience with Egyptian slavery. From the very beginning of his national existence he knew the heart of the stranger, and the leitmotif of his social discipline was, "Thou shalt have one law for the stranger and for him that is home-born."

We rejoice that the President's Committee on Civil Rights has recognized a similar emphasis in American history. In the foreword to its magnificent report, "To Secure These Rights," we read:

> "The central theme in our American heritage is the importance of the individual person. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed that every human being has an essential dignity and integrity which must be respected and safeguarded. Moreover, we believe that the welfare of the individual is the final goal of group life. Our American heritage further teaches that to be secure in the rights he wishes for himself, each man must be willing to respect the rights of other men. This is the conscious recognition of a basic moral principle; that all men are created equal as well as free. Stemming from this principle is the obligation to build social institutions that will guarantee equality of opportunity to all men. Without this equality freedom becomes an illusion. Thus the only aristocracy that is consistent with the free way of life is an aristocracy of talent and achievement."

We heartily commend the President's Committee for placing the spot-light of its inquiry on the faults and failures of our American democracy: lynching, Jim Crow, poll tax, the virtual peonage of tenant farmers, the inadequacy of educational, health and housing facilities for large sections of our population. We share the Committee's concern that the Bill of Rights is not as available to the non-white races in the American population as it is to the white race. We recognize the vicious cycle by which the denial of these rights forces the racial minorities into social degradations which make it all the more difficult for them to attain these rights. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the Federal Government use its present constitutional powers to abolish Jim Crow in the District of Columbia and to preserve the right to the ballot to all Negro citizens of the South. We endorse the Committee's recommendation that the proper restitution and compensation be made to the Japanese citizens who were forcibly removed from their homes during the war. We likewise affirm the Committee's recommendation to strengthen the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice so that its regional offices may be of more assistance to local officers who wish to protect the citizen's basic rights under the Constitution.

We are encouraged to note that the New York State Commission Against Discrimination is singled out as an example of the way in which administrative agencies can grant civil sanctions to remedy the denial of the right to employment to members of minority groups. Our Conference must be all the more resolute in supporting the movements to establish similar agencies in all the states of the Union.

We rejoice in the Committee's recommendation that Federal Grants-in-Aid to public or private agencies be withheld if they practice discrimination and we commend the President's Committee on Higher Education for making a similar proposal. Proposals such as these coming from distinguished bodies appointed by the highest officer of our government cannot but help to change the climate of opinion which has heretofore passively tolerated, when it has not actively sanctioned, the violations of our Bill of Rights.

Economic opportunity, political equality, social dignity for our racial minorities can be only partially guaranteed by strengthening our laws and implementing our administrative agencies. The major resistance to necessary changes lies in the moral weakness, in the prejudices and bigotries of many of our citizens. Legal sanctions, criminal investigations, Federal pressures will never be able to sterilize the seed bed of these prejudices. Since the cause is largely the moral weakness and ignorance of individuals, the remedies must be largely in the hands of our homes, our schools, and our churches.

The difference between the equalitarian promise of the American dream as revealed in our Declaration of Independence and in our Bill of Rights and the inequalities of American practice measures the challenge to the churches and synagogues of the land. We must ignore the pessimism of the cynical who regard this gulf between word and action as proof of the hopeless hypocrisy of human beings. Our faith must inspire and sustain us in our endeavor to bridge this gap. It was faith in the ultimate goodness of the average man that led our Founding Fathers to erect a structure of government for the people and by the people. We must justify that faith by removing the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which frustrate the fulfillment of the American dream. We have evidence today as we have never had it before that racial discrimination is not only a heavy drain on the human wealth and national competence of this country, not only militates against America's moral leadership of countries populated by non-white races, but is bringing about the steady erosion of the moral fibre of the nation. The persistence of discrimination and segregation justifies many of our citizens in holding to the belief that the victims of discrimination are basically inferior. This creates a split which goes through the whole structure of our democracy and threatens it with ultimate destruction.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis commits its membership to the ceaseless struggle for the abolition of economic, political and social discrimination. A decent regard for the integrity of our faith demands it. Loyalty to the spiritual foundations of American democracy requires it.

☆ ☆ ☆

Additional copies of this statement may be secured by writing to Rabbi Julius Mark, chairman, Commission on Justice and Peace, CCAR, 136 Seventh Ave., N., Nashville, 3, Tenn.

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Reports and Recommendations of Officers

of the

Southeastern Jurisdiction

See Pages 44-47

See page 46 Insert

1948

REPORTS

REPORT OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

There is no more interesting and challenging office in our Woman's work than that of Vice President of the Southeastern Jurisdiction! No doubt each of the other officers feels the same about her office—and she should—but the opportunity that is ours as vice presidents to capture the imagination and the interest of the women through programs, thereby enlisting them in Kingdom-Building is an opportuniay that is unsurpassed.

Assistance in program building is my first duty, and this duty was given a great deal of time during the year; in fact, it absorbed most of my time. Beginning during the last Jurisdiction Conference in Nashville, plans for the Program Building Workshop for Junaluska Summer School were begun. From then until the time of the Summer School my time was devoted to perfecting plans for the Workshop. Countless letters were written, consultations were held, and finally after much work the outline which was used for the Workshop was completed. All those attending the Summer School were enrolled in one of the five sections of the Workshop, and the reports of the Conference Vice Presidents attest to the fact that extensive results of our study have been realized. Practically every Conference emphasized Program Building in its School of Missions—those that did not were careful to give emphasis to its importance and place in our work in the fall Educational Seminars. Let me share with you excerpts from some of the Conference Vice Presidents' reports:

"I held a class of instruction on Program Building at Pastors' School and each District Vice President was present." "Here is a constructive endeavor which is being instituted throughout the Conference: to each district officer is assigned a group of societies to be visited at the society's regular meeting. At the quarterly district committee meetings notes are exchanged as to types (excellent, mediocre, poor) of programs listened into by these district leaders. Revelations no end have resulted. Gracious, co-operative approaches in many instances have been offered by these district leaders to those societies visited, with the purpose solely of improvement in the society's next program." "Mimeographed report blanks were sent out to each district vice president who in turn sent them to her local vice presidents. Helpful questions were asked which would be suggestive of better programs!" "From correspondence with my local vice presidents, I feel that all are more program conscious since our fall seminars." "Presented Program Building (40 minutes) in every Seminar held in the Conference. There were sixteen in all." "During 1947, I really worked on Program Building. I taught groups at four Schools of Missions and attended seven out of ten of the Fall Seminars. If my Conference isn't more program minded, it isn't because they didn't hear it." "Our women are reading more World Federation news, are eager to know more about the work that is being done in other lands, they are increasing their gifts," These are encouraging words!

The Holston and North Alabama Conferences were visited in the interest of Program Building. Each of these meetings was designed for leaders and afforded excellent opportunities for intensive training. A Program Building Workshop was conducted for the Tennessee Conference School of Missions and a Seminar was held for the Tennessee Conference Wesleyan Service Guild week-end.

Much time, prayer and thought were given as Chairman for the 1948 Jurisdiction Conference Program, but the Program itself will afford the major part of the report of this special responsibility.

Because of many inquiries and the fact of frequent turn-over in the Conference office, very early in the year I prepared a Work Sheet for Vice Presidents. Many Conference Vice Presidents adapted this to the local level and distributed it in their Conferences. This guide has been given the "new look" and is being used again this year.

A World Federation exhibit was arranged for our 1947 meeting. Each Conference Vice President contributed to the exhibit and it had a very busy "season." Besides its initial appearance in Nashville, it was used in seven Conference meetings, two Schools of Missions, all district meetings in one Conference, one United Nations Week observance, and three World Evangelism Classes! There were many more requests that could not be met because of conflicts in time, among them being the request from another Jurisdiction Vice President for it for her Jurisdiction Conference. It is beginning the 1948 "season" in Richmond, March 16.

It has been my happy privilege to speak to many groups—Conference, District, and local. Also, I participated in the Wesleyan Service Guild Area Expansion meeting in Louisville.

Five general letters were sent out during the year besides a tremendous amount of personal correspondence. This correspondence together with much travel seemed necessary to the promotion of my duties.

It was with a spirit of humility and a sense of obligation that I accepted the opportunity to attend the annual meeting of the Woman's Division at Buck Hill Falls, Pa. Help for the promotion of my office, and the inspiration for a more complete consecration to the task, which I received there are of inestimable value to me! These benefits shall be translated into service for my Master and my Church.

Working with you women of the Southeastern Jurisdiction in our common task has been an enriching experience. May we, as we work together, strive in a more life-inclusive way "To Know Him and to Make Him Known." MRS. E. U. ROBINSON, Vice-President.

REPORT OF TREASURER

For the Year 1947

Receipts

Balance in Treasury		$8,359.92
Conferences for Jurisdiction Cultivation:		
Alabama	$289.29	
Florida	534.78	
Holston	537.90	
Kentucky	278.00	
Louisville	241.50	
Memphis	342.66	
Mississippi	180.00	
North Alabama	421.68	
North Carolina	600.00	
North Georgia	800.00	
North Mississippi	233.49	
South Carolina	274.98	
South Georgia	397.74	
Tennessee	288.42	
Upper South Carolina	316.59	
Virginia	750.00	
Western North Carolina	781.86	
Total		7,268.89
Conferences for Wesleyan Service Guild Cultivation:		
Florida	42.06	
Holston	64.26	
Kentucky	19.08	
Louisville	17.14	
Memphis	64.25	
North Alabama	55.45	
North Carolina	59.82	
South Carolina	23.22	
South Georgia	45.99	
Tennessee	20.95	
Upper South Carolina	16.94	
Western North Carolina	96.84	
Total		543.48
Interest on Bonds		67.50
Life Memberships, N. Ga. and N. Miss. Confs.		75.00
Hillman Scholarship Fund in error, Western N. C. Conference		50.00
Expense money refunded		26.25
Refund from Board of Education		7.12
Total		$16,398.16

Disbursements

Officers for Department Cultivation		$657.72
Officers to Special Conferences		1,292.20
Officers to Division Meeting		394.77
Program Committee		186.56
Jurisdiction Conference and Convocation:		
Expense of Officers	$1,629.67	
Expense of Guests	430.06	
Expense of Jurisdiction Council Members	44.55	
Convocation Expense	600.00	
Miscellaneous, including programs, printing, materials, etc.	349.82	
		3,054.10
School of Missions:		
Expense of Officers	1,621.32	
Expense of Guests and Faculty	1,026.07	
Expense of Workshops	80.64	
Programs	24.00	
Tea at Mission Inn	18.00	
		2,770.03
Subsidies to Conferences		820.00
Delegates to Oslo Youth Conference		550.00
Cuban Cultivation Fund		250.00
Christian Social Relations Committee		55.45
Scholarship to Depauw Seminar		50.00
Representative to Institute on Human Rights		65.78
Expense of Miss Alice Walton		64.56
Life Memberships		85.00
Gift to Faith Cabin Libraries		100.00
Kodachrome Lectures		35.00
Journal		524.01
Stationery, postage, envelopes, etc.		70.73
Packet from Literature Headquarters		43.00
Money in error to North Carolina Conference		50.00
Terrace Hotel for expense of Youth speaker		7.12
Treasurer's bond		12.50
Balance in Treasury		5,259.63
Total		$16,398.16

MRS. C. O. HINTON, Treasurer.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF HOME WORK

The United States of America—A Christian Nation

Look, John 4:35. "Look round, I tell you" is Dr. Moffatt's translation of this passage of Scripture. In the work of the Home Department we are striving to see and meet our responsibilities in the total life

of all people so that America will be a Christian nation. Marked progress has been made in the work. I have tried to interest and inform women in circles, Woman's Society meetings, district conference and jurisdiction meetings concerning the work and workers in the Home Fields. I am seeking to make a personal acquaintance with the workers as fast as possible.

You will be interested in the following items from the reports of our executive secretaries.

Education Institutions

"Teaching is the stewardship of youth. The country as a whole is realizing this with a new sense of alarm, as it faces the unprecedented number of withdrawals from the teaching profession, the crowded classrooms of colleges with the inadequate housing for student veterans, the small number enrolling in the teacher-training institutions, the fact that 125,000 teachers are serving on emergency or substandard certificates, and the salaries that fail to keep pace with the rising prices, solutions are suggested on every hand with increased salaries given priority as a remedy."

Rural Work

"Our Rural Work reaches from the bayous of Louisiana to a mining community in Vermont, from the mountains of North Carolina to a community center on the border between Mexico and California.

"Cooperation is the keynote of rural work. The rural church if it is to be effective should cooperate with other agencies. There must be interdenominational and interracial cooperation in rural areas. The value of providing leaders with vision and ability for the rural areas of our land cannot be overestimated."

Urban Work

"A settlement is defined as a bridge to the abundant life built through changed standards of living, changed environment, through activities that develop a sense of neighborhood, through molding public opinion to favor Christian advancement. The community center or settlement plays an important role in meeting the needs of the people."

Social Welfare

"Among the many demands that are being made upon this Bureau are: imperative building needs which had to be postponed, the opening of two new residences for business girls, the transfer of a rest house for deaconesses and missionaries to our supervision, the tremendous expansion of the work in Alaska, a possible shift in the work in Hawaii. Many of the social problems of the day meet in this Bureau—family relationships, child care, juvenile delinquency, race relations, rural and urban living. We need both wisdom and vigor if we are to be adequate to meet them."

Medical Work

There are four schools of nursing in the Bureau: one in Los Angeles; one in Washington, D. C.; one in Jacksonville Fla., and one at the Hospital Internacional, Dominican Republic. All these schools have had all the student nurses that could be enrolled. "With the high cost of food, supplies and teaching staff the situation in some of these institutions is serious."

Deaconess Work

The Deaconess and Home Missionary represent the high ideals of the Master Builder as they serve with deep spiritual insight and consecration to their task.

There is still a great need for more workers.

In view of the increasing missionary interest and giving many inquiries for information relative to workers and missionary projects have been received during the year and given prompt attention. Letters from workers and news items from the executive secretaries have been sent to conferences.

Invitations were sent to all workers in the Jurisdiction to attend the annual meeting and plans were made for their entertainment during the conference. Christmas letters were sent to all workers.

In February it was my privilege to attend the dedication of a new building at Brewster Hospital in Jacksonville, Fla. In September I was invited to speak to the graduation class at Brewster.

Statistical Report

Reports received	17
Number of projects	273
New projects	25
Amount of projects	$118,909.72
Pieces of Literature	2,000
Number of talks made	30

May we look on the fields white unto harvest and "advance with great faith." MRS. C. C. SAPP, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF FOREIGN WORK

The work of the Foreign Department during 1947 was been diverse. Many hundreds of pieces of literature relative to our foreign missionary program have been mailed to the Conference Secretaries of Missionary Education and Service, and Secretaries of the Wesleyan Service Guilds; letters and greetings have been sent to all missionaries sponsored by the Southeastern Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service; a large number of missionary projects, adding substantially to the finances for foreign missions, have been arranged; reports and records have been compiled to date.

The newest venture of the Foreign department has been the issuing

of ECHOES, a two-page news bulletin, giving interesting items from the fields.

Realizing that in order to keep the mind of the church developing and expanding in its missionary interest, it is necessary to inspire with first hand information from our mission fields, hence numerous letters from the missionaries have been distributed widely throughout our seventeen Conferences within the Southeastern Jurisdiction. These letters have given us a sensitive appreciation and understading of the changing world conditions, and our resourcefulness in interpreting the Christian message to the peoples of today's world. These letters also show us the sacrificial work our missionaries are doing in helping to build bridges of Christian understanding and co-operation between classes, races and nations, and their unparalleled assistance toward world peace.

There has been an increased interest in supporting missionary projects, particularly missionaries' salaries from every Conference within the Jurisdiction, and it has been a source of real regret that we do not have enough missionaries to meet the demands.

The Florida Conference continues to carry the largest number of projects, while the Virginia Conference has the largest amount of money invested in foreign missionary projects, and also supports the largest number of missionaries.

Twelve new missionaries have been added to our list of foreign workers for the Southeastern Jurisdiction during 1946; two or "our" missionaries have married, and one has been retired; while two new ones were commissioned for service in December. We are grateful for these fine messengers of the Christian Gospel and Ambassadors of goodwill.

As a member of the Standing Committee of the Foreign Department, Woman's Division, I attended the annual meeting of the Division at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., in December, 1947. I have also attended the meetings of the Executive Committee, and the Summer School of our Jurisdiction, at Lake Junaluska, N. C.

The International Missionary Council has made this pertinent statement: "In this new age, when the whole of life and the whole world is being reorganized, the Christian Church has a continuing and enlarging world task. Christianity has always been a world religion. Its FOREIGN MISSIONS have not ended, nor have they been discredited, but the Church has never wholeheartedly accepted its responsibility for them, nor fully realized the urgency and extent of its duty. But now it is called upon to give itself totally to this adventurous enterprise, with instruments as sharp as the job requires to bring the Gospel to all men and to apply it to the whole of life."

Our Executive Secretaries, of the Woman's Division of Christian Service, in their reports to the annual meeting at Buck Hill Falls last December outlined the gigantic task for Foreign missions for the Woman's Section of the Boad of Missions, adding that—"the most discouraging aspect of the whole problem is that, in the present situation, any **actual advance** seems impossible. With the vastly increased costs everywhere, even the fine increase in the giving of the Woman's Societies leaves the Foreign Department with far less than pre-war

buying power, and the increasing number of new missionaries still falls far short of filling the ranks so grievously thinned during these last seven years. Again this year the Executive Secretaries have been faced with urgent request for missionaries whom they could not supply; for equipment, such as audio-visual aids, for which funds were not available; for 'cost of living grants,' for which no money was allocated. These problems continue, but ADVANCE is an absolute necessity. In some places, without an advance, the Christian community built up by decades of service, and sacrifices will die of exhaustion. In other places, without any advance, whole populations now cordial to the Christian message will turn away and listen to other voices."

The Woman's Division, therefore, has authorized its Foreign Department to associate itself with the other Boards of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in a great move forward. Certain general policies will be shared by the co-operating Boards, such as restoring the Protestant church life of Europe, pushing large-scale movements toward Christianity in primitive cultures, developing a Christian University for Japan, securing more missionaries with technical training, expressing Christian friendliness for foreign students in North America. At the same time, each of the co-operating Boards, including ours, is to strengthen its own program at the point of greatest need. The final plans for the FOREIGN MISSIONS ADVANCE will be released after the meeting of the Foreign Missions Conference in Columbus, Ohio, next October.

As we review the world's needs today, the question comes to us over and over again "Who is sufficient for these things?"—and the answer comes crystal clear, "Certainly we are not, but our sufficiency is of God." As you read this report will you keep in mind the need for more missionaries and more money to increase our foreign missionary program, and pray that God will give the increase through the efforts of His people?

"Give of thy sons to bear the message glorious,
Give of thy wealth to speed them on their way;
Pour out thy soul for them in prayer victorious;
Oh, may we haste to bring the brighter day!"

MRS. J. M. JOHNSTON, Secretary.

REPORT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

Culling from the reports of the columnists on the State of the World, January 1st, 1948, we have the following:

"Human hope is periously near being no more than a feeble reminder that 'something may turn up.' Nowhere on earth is there any confidence that the peoples have set their feet on the road to peace. There is a sense of being caught in a stampede toward destruction.

"Today the big problem is to prevent this year from becoming another 1939. War is easy to start when men have lost hope. When

there is nothing to lose they take terrible gambles. The big problem is to restore man's hope.

"The year begins with civil war in Greec, China, and with danger of open warfare in India, shooting is real in Palestine

"Modern history has revolved largely about the rivalry of the insular power of Great Britain and land power of Germany for the dominion of Eurasian-African land mass under conditions of the sea-power age. Now the power politics has suddenly shifted and has become rivalry between the giant insular power of the United States and the giant land power of Soviet Russia for dominion over the same land mass under conditions of air power. United States is now playing what since the time of Napoleon, has been the role of Great Britain in Greece, Turkey, Palestine, and Arabia. This, together with the presence of the American fleet in the Mediterranean and American air bases in Africa, brings about an almost confrontation between ourselves and Russia. It has blocked the writing of peace treaties. It has reduced the United Nations to stalemate in the Security Council and to shrieking exchange of insults in the Assembly.

"The failure of the Big Four Council; the problems of atomic control, of displaced persons, prison slave labor, of colonialism left with infant republics; the failure to write peace treaties with Germany, Austria or Japan are sad chronicles of 1947.

"Everywhere the builders of a foreign policy give the impression of men who are driving into rotten wood.

"In United States our domestic affairs made an unhappy year, wages were high, profits unparallelled; farm prices were in the stratosphere, inflation is upon us; passage of the Taft-Hartley bill did not bring industrial peace; in politics there is a drift toward increasing influence on the part of armed forces with greater participation by military figures in traditionally civilian responsibilities."

Over against this dark picture are the organized forces of the church. Faced with the stupendous problems of the world one feels insignificant and helpless and our program of work all too inadequate and inefficient. Who is sufficient unto this day? In His might and His power, we can but try and the women of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, as one arm of the church, did make their efforts toward the peace and security of the world.

The Southwide Conference on Human Rights and World Order, followed by the Conference workshops in the Tennessee, Florida Conferences, and the North Georgia District workshops, the North Mississippi Conference workshop on the Christian and Beverage Alcohol and the District workshops on this same problem in the Mississippi, South Carolina, South Georgia, North Alabama, and Western North Carolina; the many institutes and seminars; action following study classes, many interracial meetings; the general response to the call for overseas relief; the Upper South Carolina secretary bravely pushing an educational program against lynching after the Greenville court tragedy; the North Georgia Conference secretary courageously investigating a serious racial distrubance, making the long trips alone; the days

of study and planning at Lake Junalusaka School of Missions are but a part of the effort.

The reports of the Conference Secretaries read like the Book of Acts and as the Jurisdiction Secretary reads them, she always feels that 17 more names should be added to the roll call of the fatihful in the 12th chapter of Hebrews.

Culled from these reports we give the following excerpts:

Alabama Conference—The Secretary of Troy, Ala., sponsored a two-day institute on Family Life with outstanding speakers from the State University and other educational institutions. Six hundred registered for the institute.

At Clanton, Ala., the Secretary assisted in a Cripple Children's Clinic at which seventy-five children were examined and given help.

Florida Conference—Miami District Interracial Project. All the societies make comparative posters of educational facilities for white and Negro children, using pictures of school buildings and playgrounds, comparative statistics concerning equipment, pupil load to teachers, preparation of teachers and salaries. These were on display at Conference meeting and some of the findings were used by the Citizen's Education Committee who put through the Legislature the new Education Bill. Out of interest aroused, in Miami Negro and white leaders had numerous informal studies together on whole problems of education, health, and welfare.

Holston Conference—(Note, this conference is largely rural). A very small society reported: "By working and praying and trying to accomplish something that we might have something to report." Another reports, "Our Society has been holding on with six active members. Only one, and that's myself, has a car. The others walk, three of them over a mile, and when it's cold and rainy, it is impossible to walk on these dirt roads. We have remodeled the parsonage and the ladies put in 68 hours cleaning and painting, pieced two quilts, sent out 25 letters and cards in interest of church."

Kentucky Conference—"The outstanding piece of work, the Interdenomination Institute on the United Nations held at Fort Thomas with other women of District cooperating. This initiated by the W. S. C. S. of Fort Thomas church. Noted speakers brought for Institute."

Louisville Conference—"At Annual Meeting of the W. S. C. S. we had a Christian Social Relations room, where materials were available, where the Conference secretary met with District and local Secretaries. During one day, large posters were placed in the auditorium These were hand-painted. One each was on Juvenile Delinquency, Interracial Work, Broken Homes, Peace, Economic Security, Alcohol Problems, Rural Development, Overseas Relief, Community Cooperation. These were underlined with a long plaque saying, 'Some Christian Relations Projects.' "

Memphis Conference—"One Society contacted County Bar Committee in an effort to close disreputable places of business. One Society contacted local city press and registered protest to pictures and stories featuring All Capone as a hero. Substantial donations to Poland, Austria and Holland; Polish orphans financed."

Mississippi Conference—"Waynesboro has 42 members, all voters. Hazelhurst adopted a Polish child, Holly Bluff an Austrian family. First Church, Gulfport, has a literature rack in church through which they distributed 4,550 copies of the Gospel last year."

North Alabama—"The Alabama Legislature met May and June. The bill that our Conference had drawn up for the previous legislature was presented this time and passed, calling for syphilis examination for both men and women withon 30 days previous to applying for license to wed. To affect this examination, two or three days are necessary. This period of waiting makes the bill more effective.

"We had a large part in securing the passage of the Child Labor Amendment."

North Georgia Conference—Held six District Workshops on "Your Community, Yourself and the United Nations," Resource people were Sociologists, Physicists, F. B. I., Judges, Lawyers, Workers, Farmers, Ministers, Bankers and Teachers. More than 1,000 people attended.

North Mississippi Conference—The Greenwood Society with a CSR Committee of eight, has real study class with committee each quarter, works with young people of local church and Negro school and kindergarten, had study on housing and made survey to find homes for new people, wrote letters to Congressmen. The Secretary worked for three years "to make a go" of the Negro kindergarten which also serves as a day nursery.

South Carolina Conference—"Our women have given generously for World Relief through Church World Service and CARE. One average size society (Georgetown) reported 150 pairs of children's shoes collected for Overseas Relief. The women were careful to see that all were in good condition."

South Georgia Conference—"Cooperation in establishment of teenage recreation center. Remarkable response to requests for overseas relief."

Tennessee Conference—"One society helped furnish the Negro parsonage, another helped Negro school have hot lunches. Algood organized and is carrying through a Home Depoartment of the Church School for Negro shut-ins. Many societies are helping Bethlehem Center in Nashville. Gave scholarship to Lila M. Clay to Paine College."

Upper South Carolina Conference—"The play, 'Prisoner at the Bar,' put on in many churches. Our Woman's response to aid of Polish children splendid. Every mail brings in contributions. We will

go well over $3,000. This has been a rich experience. The letters from the smaller societies are an inspiration. We have tried to have study groups on lynching during the year and also on racial prejudice."

Virginia Conference—"I had long worried about the large sums reported for local work. This is the report of one society that may explain it." Hours given in work in local church community activities, 573. 224 calls on sick, shut-ins or to secure new members. $827.55 given for community and world needs (not reported through Conference treasurer). $547.20 value of clothing on World Community Day. Approximately 100 bags sent to New Windsor.

Western North Carolina Conference—"The societies have shown an unusual interest in the study of 'We the People' and in checking conditions in their own communities which are both undemocratic and un-Christian."

Of the work of the Jurisdiction Secretary. It makes me dizzy to think of the thousands of miles traveled by plane and train and the hundreds by car and bus. The Junaluska seminar, teaching in Kentucky, Florida, Mississippi and Georgia; speaking at the North Alabama annual meeting; putting on a South-wide Conference on Human Rights and World Order; making the many trips to Mississippi and Alabama in the interest of Race Relations; being sponsor of the Leadership School at Paine College; attending meetings of the Division Committee at Rack Hill Falls and DePauw and the Rural Life Conference at Lincoln, Nebr.; serving on the National Commission of Children and Youth and the national committees on housing and migrant labor, the executive committee of America for Democratic Action; the numerous boards relating to the affairs of the home State, City and County; the widening and thrilling yet heart disturbing experience of serving on President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, all filled many an hour and many a day.

The problems of our South are many. As Max Lerner said of Boston, we can of our South. "The South" is a battle ground in a war as old as human history and as new as the newest fascist propaganda lines. . . It is a battle between those who would exploit the hatred in it and those who would strengthen its fellowship in it. . . Violence may be infectious, but liberty and courage are also infectious. If the City of Man does not win over the City of Darkness, then God help America.

MRS. M. E. TILLY, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION

John Ruskin wrote: "Whatever we do, let us be doing it with a view to the future. Let it not be for present delight alone. Let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for." The work of the conference promotion secretaries has had the long range view; they have been able assistants to the district and local promotion secretaries. There have been successes, trends and problems. We have

room for stating some of the successes, a short paragraph on trends, and our problems we hope to report to you as our successes next year.

Societies: Three hundred one (301) new societies have been organized in this jurisdiction. Many of the new societies are on circuits. One circuit, Pleasant Hill Circuit, has seven churches on it. At each church a society has been organized.

Membership: 28,780 new members came into our group. (32,890 new members in total membership.) This has been a potent force in making His Way known throughout the earth. In one conference eight (8) churches reported 100% membership in the Woman's Society of Christian Service; seventy-eight (78) churches reported 75% membership.

Finances: The large increase in financial gifts has been due to many reasons: the vision of the great needs everywhere, the spirit of self denial, so evident now, the larger amount of money in circulation. The chief reason, we believe, is due to the Penny-a-Day-More plan.

Reporting: Every conference promotion secretary reported every quarter. The type of reporting is improving, due to tireless efforts of our secretaries. In one conference, all but six societies reported. This represented days of correspondence, visits, phone calls. It was worth while for the society and the conference.

District Organization: All but one conference has district organization. By next jurisdiction meeting we believe we shall be 100%. No adverse criticism on District Organization. The district officers are a fertile field for future conference officers. District meetings, as well as conference meetings, have been well attended. This indicates to us more interest, bringing more service power, more prayer power, more money power—totaling more Woman Power for His Cause.

Leaadership Training: According to the Promotion Handbook: "Leadership training in zone, district, conference, jurisdiction comes within the scope of the district, conference, jurisdiction promotion secretaries. Included in this type are: Schools of Missions, Officers' Training Days, Seminars, Workshops, Institutes. These have been held in our districts and our conferences. We await the day when they will become equally popular in the local societies.

Week of Prayer and Self Denial: This has been observed by a large number of societies—even more than reported. The gifts of money have been large, due to the interest in projects to be supported.

More Information: News Letters and Bulletins, published quarterly by some districts and conferences bring late information. The Methodist Woman and The World Outlook, the approved studies, the extra bulletins all give added help, wanted and needed.

Itinerary Planning: Missionaries, deaconesses and field secretaries have visited our section. They have always added to our vision by

their presentation of our world-wide enterprises. Miss Alice Walton, our distinguished visitor from the British Isles, was with us in October. Your Promotion Secretary had the pleasure of arranging her tour. She was the guest of nine conferences, and visited, at least, eighteen cities and towns. Her tour was, indeed, a Good Will Tour.

Correspondence: Stressing our desire for a society on every charge, many letters and pieces of information have been mailed. Included in our list of correspondents were all the bishops in this jurisdiction, all the district superintendents, many local pastors, plus many other officers and members of our own Woman's Society of Christian Service. It is due to the cooperation of all these that promotion work has progressed as far as it has.

Visitation Plan: Wherever the Visitation Plan has been carried on in earnest, with no additional stresses at the time, it has been a success. Added membership, added societies, added knowledge have been added to our work. We covet the visitation plan in every conference. In one conference every society was visited by a conference or a district officer, with excellent results.

Wesleyan Service Guild: Your Promotion Secretary has promoted everywhere the Triple Campaign of the Wesleyan Service Guild. She attended the area meetings held at Louisville and Montgomery, but was prevented from attending the meeting at Charlotte. The greatest of success is our wish in this undertaking.

Travel: Your Jurisdiction Secretary was present at the Annual Meeting of the Woman's Division at Buck Hill Falls. Also, I visited at the Memphis Annual Conference, the School of Missions (Junaluska), the Workshop of the Holston District Promotion Secretaries with their Conference Promotion Secretary, and gave a noon time meditation at a Central Jurisdiction Leadership School. Numerous district and local meetings, with the single motive of promoting any project undertaken by the Woman's Society of Christian Service.

Kodachrome Lecture: Realizing the value of visual education, the Kodachrome Lecture has been used a great deal. Its popularity has brought a demand for more slides to be made for future use.

Goals: Goals for each year are set, with a few changes. They are the indicator of a healthy society's achievements. All societies have used the goals, we feel sure. Many have failed to report to this effect. May we suggest you use your initiative, and find new ways to point up importance of using all the goals, and then reporting the same.

Doctor Stanley Jones declares: "There will either be a NEW WORLD or a NEW WORLD WAR. It is up to the Christian Church to say which." You and I as members of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of a Christian Church share this responsibility. The impact of our work must be to make a NEW WORLD Christian.

STATISTICAL REPORT OF ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION

Conference	No. W.S.C.S.	New W.S.C.S.	Total W.S.C.S Membership	New Members W. S. C. S.
Alabama	324	8	10,467	1,635
Florida	346	24	19,608	2,791
Holston	534	26	18,875	1,766
Kentucky	280	10	9,597	754
Louisville	260	16	8,064	694
Memphis	328	32	11,872	1,409
Mississippi	269	16	8,069	1,572
N. Alabama	413	32	16,131	2,373
North Carolina	537	25	20,987	2,466
North Georgia	519	28	19,623	2,169
N. Mississippi	220	9	6,804	702
South Carolina	260	14	9,934	1,296
South Georgia	368	25	14,208	1,303
Tennessee	291	16	10,023	1,103
Upper South Carolina	306	6	11,315	1,361
Virginia	890	18	38,935	2,863
Western N. C.	701	22	27,610	2,539
Total	6,846	327	262,122	28,816

Conference	W.S.G.	New W.S.G.	Total Mem. W.S.G.	New W.S.G. Members
Alabama	52	10	1,062	286
Florida	70	5	1,579	177
Holston	91	--	2,448	241
Kentucky	40	2	912	49
Louisville	24	3	664	17
Memphis	86	16	1,850	277
Mississippi	50	--	1,055	197
North Alabama	96	11	1,836	306
North Carolina	64	4	2,092	410
North Georgia	154	13	4,500	400
North Mississippi	47	7	1,147	129
South Carolina	28	--	852	88
South Georgia	79	5	1,916	304
Tennessee	52	6	1,478	242
Upper South Carolina	32	7	1,037	80
Virginia	79	17	1,719	469
Western N. C.	131	13	3,576	438
Totals	1,175	119	29,723	4,110

Conference	Total Adult W.S.C.S and W.S.G.	Student Sec.	Youth Sec.	Children Sec.	Spr. Life Sec.	Total Subscribers Methodist Woman
Alabama	11,529	141	174	193	232	2080
Florida	21,187	168	196	243	297	3508
Holston	21,239	209	251	278	328	3498
Kentucky	10,475	106	119	121	192	1713
Louisville	8,728	84	86	95	135	1535
Memphis	13,722	177	186	234	268	2658
Mississippi	9.027	175	189	193	179	2105
N. Alabama	17,556	196	248	251	336	2725
N. Carolina	23,079	314	377	415	434	3290
N. Georgia	24,123	220	222	267	319	2601
N. Mississippi	7,951	82	95	108	136	1443
S. Carolina	10,786	142	140	179	185	1589
S. Georgia	16,048	142	163	183	217	2636
Tennessee	11,501	82	104	153	223	1463
Upper S. C.	12,308	145	108	152	170	2361
Virginia	40,654	348	380	493	573	5535
Western N. C.	31,249	306	373	459	533	4772
Total	291,162	3037	3411	4107	4757	45,512

Conference	Total Subs. to World Outlook	Members Approved Classes	Study and Action Committee	W.S.C.S Observing Week of Prayer	Amount Week of Prayer
Alabama	1,742	7,973	163	258	$10,299.77
Florida	3,084	11,687	184	240	10,865.19
Holston	3,107	11,977	168	319	14,905.23
Kentucky	1,524	2,865	74	146	4,064.93
Louisville	1.328	4,113	67	171	5,274.41
Memphis	2,498	6,812	131	272	10,214.02
Mississippi	1,805	10,295	171	260	7,291.60
N. Alabama	2,183	12,419	278	263	7,920.21
North Carolina	2,694	16,172	280	453	10,809.35
N. Georgia	2,334	10,287	162	409	8,558.91
N. Mississippi	1,228	8,096	116	120	5,406.99
South Carolina	1,587	2,387	71	150	3,847.89
S. Georgia	2,337	5,432	130	215	9,489.55
Tennessee	1,095	6,346	122	227	6,069.89
Upper S. Carolina	1,950	6,527	52	244	5,914.34
Virginia	4,547	14,040	261	542	18,042.56
Western N. C.	4,001	23,948	302	155	8,977.71
Total	39,044	161,376	2,732	4,444	$147,952.55

Conference	Cash for Supply Work	Total Sent Division	Total Sent for CSR & LCA	W.S.C.S. Using Goals
Alabama	2,817.10	$62,971.88	$47,424.00	121
Florida	16,114.75	114,500.00	101,295.22	104
Holston	4,575.24	76,546.83	97,068.00	100
Kentucky	3,344.58	43,817.64	35,509.22	42
Louisville	2,235.96	40,416.50	40,543.63	35
Memphis	3,781.56	56,299.66	60,496.27	133
Mississippi	----	58,197.72	----	197
North Alabama	6,374.12	92,075.63	113,190.00	160
North Carolina	8,656.72	107,493.11	99,882.17	252
North Georgia	7,799.77	100,133.00	75,111.70	325
N. Mississippi	3,001.52	39,636.59	19,429.21	68
South Carolina	2,526.67	44,811.47	48,006.70	77
South Georgia	6,924.16	99,119.60	117,857.22	99
Tennessee	2,171.96	56,183.66	32,109.99	66
Upper S. Carolina	4,240.09	64,300.46	34,651.25	97
Virginia	6,766.93	164,910.03	175,345.27	363
Western N. C.	14,849.53	134,632.93	134,942.00	224
Total	96,180.66	1,356,046.70	1,232,861.85	2,463

MRS. R. M. HOWELL, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND SERVICE

The Kingdom of God comes as a progressive adventure. Surely 1947 has been a year of progress in knowledge, spiritual growth and service through the educational program of the Woman's Society of Christian Service.

The reports of the Conferences for 1947 show increases for all items except Special Jurisdiction Recognition Classes which had a decrease of 46 classes due to special ruling for the year against recognition for each society in a union class.

Because of discrepancies in some annual reports for 1946, definite figures of increases for 1947 cannot be given except in study classes. One thousand and ninety-eight (1,098) more approved classes were held with 21,722 more members—a splendid increase. There was an increase of 200 joint classes and 234 informal classes. Educational Seminars showed a marked increase in popularity when 10,745 more women attended them in 1947. May this interest and instruction bear much fruit in the coming year.

Nearly every conference appears in the "highest four" bracket in increases at least in one of the items reported. It is difficult to ascertain which conferences led, as they all did outstanding work. The Holston Conference appears the most times in the leading column; with Western North Carolina Conference in second place, and three sharing the third place—Virginia, Florida, and North Carolina Conferences; and fourth place is held by the Mississippi Conference. In

ratio to the number of societies in the Conference, Mississippi Conference leads with Florida Conference a close second.

The emphasis for 1947 was placed on reporting and use of program material—the goal for reporting being 60%, or more. The Florida Conference led with 80.9% of secretaries reporting, (2) Mississippi, (3) North Carolina, (4) Upper South Carolina, (5) Memphis, (6) Tennessee, (7) Alabama, (8) Western North Carolina, (9) South Georgia, 10) North Alabama, (11) Louisville, (12 Holston Conferences reached the goal and led in the order named. The Holston and Western North Carolina Conferences were first and second in increases in number of secretaries reporting and using program material. The Holston Conference led in **Increase** in approved classes, in joint classes, and informal classes, and was second in **increase** of Special Jurisdiction Recognition Classes and in members in approved classes. Again, Mississippi Conference led in Special Jurisdiction Recognition Classes and in increase of same and was second in increase of approved classes; North Mississippi had the largest increase in members in classes. (1) Virginia, (2) North Carolina, (3) Holston, and (4) Western North Carolina Conferences led in number attending Educational Seminars.

Sixteen Conferences held thirteen Conference Schools—the seventeenth conference, due to circumstances, held a weekend workshop instead. 862 enrolled in these schools. 835 credits were issued and 26 courses were held. This was an increase of 19 enrolled, 232 credits, and 5 courses over schools of 1946. Splendid work was done and did much to inspire the increases in the study work for the year.

The Secretary of Missionary Education met with the Division Secretary of Missionary Education and the Division Standing Committee on Missionary Education at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., November 29-December 1, 1947, when plans, policies, and recommendations for the department were made.

Surely God will bless the work of the Woman's Society of Christian Service when such numbers of women study to show themselves approved, increase in interest, service and gifts, and endeavor to help His Kingdom to come—"for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom.

CONFERENCE SCHOOLS OF MISSIONS

Conferences	Enrollment	Credits	Courses
Alabama	32	32	1
Florida	93	65	2
Holston	99	89	2
Kentucky	75	63	2
Louisville	38	37	3
Memphis	72	67	2
Mississippi	53	53	2
North Alabama	55	53	2
North Carolina and Western North Carolina	137	122	2
North Mississippi	70	35	1
North Georgia and South Georgia	59	53	1
Tennessee	90	88	3
Upper South Carolina and South Carolina	89	78	3
Virginia	Weekend Workshop		
Totals	862	835	26

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Conference	No. Soc.	Sec. Reporting	On Prog. Com.	Use Prog. Mat.	On Fin. Com.	Read-Circles	Lib.	Study Action Com.
Alabama	321	211	183	194	149	72	98	97
Florida	330	267	227	252	183	357	113	158
Holston	525	317	254	298	194	190	134	142
Kentucky	268	112	112	100	60	108	94	108
Louisville	254	158	92	158	80	66	44	68
Memphis	328	230	190	201	175	121	100	90
Mississippi	260	198	165	260	160	85	85	123
N. Alabama	407	260	240	250	175	412	100	117
North Carolina	537	403	327	366	256	207	224	202
North Georgia	519	307	271	257	235	128	132	159
N. Mississippi	213	110	90	105	83	87	78	83
South Carolina	249	103	97	119	106	45	62	83
South Georgia	351	226	173	191	113	70	73	104
Tennessee	291	192	151	291	103	139	63	209
Upper S. C.	300	220	173	210	134	59	48	70
Virginia	879	439	431	398	326	255	186	209
Western N. C.	693	446	327	381	280	150	144	302
Grand Totals	6725	4198	3503	4031	2812	2551	1778	2324

STUDY CLASSES

Conference	Approved	Members	S. J. R.	Jt.	Inf.
Alabama	439	6983	64	90	41
Florida	871	17584	90	137	146
Holston	965	17521	174	222	197
Kentucky	275	5310	67	23	5
Louisville	260	6762	33	35	29
Memphis	551	8916	156	52	81
Mississippi	762	11340	403	30	38
North Alabama	632	14335	89	96	64
North Carolina	1140	20152	98	166	57
North Georgia	607	10287	157	116	328
North Mississippi	365	11075	119	65	--
South Carolina	212	3945	147	36	18
South Georgia	608	13398	102	78	179
Tennessee	472	7666	69	64	30
Upper South Carolina	341	6585	90	32	20
Virginia	1046	18909	252	212	68
Western North Carolina	1390	23948	224	197	116
Grand Totals	10936	204716	2339	1631	1417

EDUCATIONAL MEETINGS

Conference	Dist. Conf.	Seminars	Institutes	Schools	Total Attendance
Alabama	1399	764	44	98	2295
Florida	2886	981	56	153	4076
Holston	2153	1468	248	689	4558
Kentucky	1600	266	--	65	1931
Louisville	639	571	--	47	1257
Memphis	1129	1291	49	127	2596
Mississippi	75	1372	81	152	1680
North Alabama	1983	994	167	55	3199
North Carolina	1664	1803	68	140	3675
North Georgia	2980	1347	--	573	4900
North Mississippi	1375	--	--	--	1375
South Carolina	824	596	33	92	1702
South Georgia	964	1320	105	17	2406
Tennessee	636	575	--	184	1395
Upper South Carolina	1751	743	--	--	2494
Virginia	2672	2329	120	781	5902
Western North Carolina	2467	1467	113	193	4240
Grand Totals	27197	17887	1084	3366	49681

MRS. D. R. LITTLE, Secretary.

STATISTICAL REPORT WESLEYAN SERVICE GUILD

Conference	No. of Units	No. of Members	Money for Missions
Alabama	53	1,017	3,565.07
Florida	69	1,594	6,893.48
Holston	97	2,224	8,457.16
Kentucky	40	912	3,910.00
Louisville	26	737	3,845.90
Memphis	87	1,797	5,616.65
Mississippi	63	975	3,421.68
North Alabama	94	1,910	6,822.03
North Carolina	64	2,092	7,929,66
North Georgia	157	4,135	13,666.22
North Mississippi	43	935	2,231.48
South Carolina	30	779	2,020.18
South Georgia	90	1,888	5,827.23
Tennessee	55	1,469	2,939.16
Upper South Carolina	38	964	3,226.16
Virginia	85	1,735	4,689.74
Western North Carolina	130	3,576	10,618.92
Totals	1,221	28,739	95,680.72

	Supply Work			
Conference	Cash	Magazine and Picture Fund	Week of Prayer	Special Memberships
Alabama	$279.56	------	$598.58	$145.00
Florida	970.23	6.25	605.35	110.00
Holston	1,299.46	18.75	1,204.97	75.00
Kentucky	471.63	15.25	315.18	225.00
Louisville	202.70	25.00	288.32	------
Memphis	460.25	------	995.80	195.00
Mississippi	315.96	------	521.63	330.00
N. Alabama	360.72	8.70	504.25	510.00
North Carolina	458.27	62.75	850.74	940.00
N. Georgia	1,196.24	58.00	1,632.56	850.00
N. Mississippi	1,034.00	------	243.04	210.00
S. Carolina	513.25	1.25	134.58	66.25
S. Georgia	929.26	21.75	1,009.70	619.00
Tennessee	1,186.75	226.20	616.93	204.50
Upper S. C.	543.14	1.75	366.05	180.00
Virginia	344.05	9.25	408.71	272.60
Western N. C.	2,308.34	149.75	1,184.49	500.00
Totals	12,873.81	604.65	11,480.88	5,432.35

Conference	Cult. Fund	No. in Study Classes Local	Conf.	Juris.	No. at Guild Weekends Dist.	Conf.	Juris.
Alabama	$367.04	80	5	3	682	80	2
Florida	------	73	--	--	139	67	--
Holston	109.90	106	10	--	33	15	--
Kentucky	95.60	103	1	9	168	66	14
Louisville	65.75	20	--	--	--	--	--
Memphis	321.29	295	--	36	882	--	8
Mississippi	60.55	389	--	--	252	87	--
North Alabama	199.40	116	28	2	656	127	17
North Carolina	411.30	342	--	--	192	219	1
North Georgia	398.11	508	--	32	1149	305	6
N. Mississippi	51.40	356	4	--	10	6	1
South Carolina	54.25	44	31	15	55	14	2
South Georgia	303.75	10	--	2	306	128	5
Tennessee	240.85	91	--	--	206	26	57
Upper S. C.	84.70	9	--	--	--	85	1
Virginia	262.10	310	--	--	470	105	1
Western N. C.	461.85	--	1314	43	652	194	40
Totals	$3,487.84	2852	1393	142	5852	1524	155

Conference	Subscriptions Meth. W	Wld. O.	Chr. Adv.	C.S.R &.LCA
Alabama	132	118	6	$3,743.07
Florida	106	114	112	6,549.53
Holston	178	131	166	6,745.85
Kentucky	108	83	100	2,763.65
Louisville	26	15	----	1,404.05
Memphis	217	197	316	5,067.57
Mississippi	79	72	79	3,009.20
North Alabama	131	122	334	5,080.10
North Carolina	232	190	206	4,888.54
North Georgia	291	232	286	13,662.12
North Mississippi	63	62	227	2,236.95
South Carolina	49	25	41	3,068.38
South Georgia	237	210	215	6,954.63
Tennessee	84	81	114	5,011.44
Upper South Carolina	36	32	10	2,442.81
Virginia	155	125	--	4,497.17
Western North Carolina	348	298	251	14,095.33
Totals	2472	2107	2463	91,220.39

MRS. K. W. WARDEN, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF STUDENT WORK

The student program of the Woman's Society of Christian Service has shown significant growth during this past year in the Southeastern Jurisdiction. The number of Methodist young people attending institutions of higher learning have grown to a staggering total during the past year. This growth has made it imperative that we as student secretaries enlarge our scope of service.

There has been a growing knowledge of the ramifications of the total student program of the Methodist Church and our relation to it. This knowledge has been gained through contacts made with the various related boards during this year. The Standing Committee met with the State Student Directors and the Student Secretaries of the Board of Education to discuss plans for more effective service. Especial consideration was given plans concerning work with foreign students, summer projects, and missionary personnel recruits. Dr. Harvey Brown sent a letter to all conference secretaries of student work of the Woman's Society of Christian Service expressing appreciation "for the splendid service which the student secretaries are rendering." He called attention to three particular phases of the student program in which the student secretary could help at this time. (1) Student Recognition Day, the last Sunday in December, to be observed in each local church. (2) Summer Service Propects, the recruiting of students for caravans, work camps, and other summer projects. (3) **Motive,** Methodist student magazine. He stated that subscriptions to **Motive** had increased greatly through the efforts of the student secretaries. Throughout the jurisdiction these three approaches were emphasized during the year. More local churches than ever before observed Student Recognition Day. Several conferences contributed sizable sums to summer service projects within the bounds of their conference. Financial aid was also given to Cuban Caravan. Many local churches sent yearly subscriptions of **Motive** to their college students. The Regional Student Leadership Training Conference held in Junaluska by the Board of Education was attended by four conference secretaries, and one campus secretary.

Conference secretaries have contributed several unusually fine pieces of work. Three published papers that were sent to student groups throughout the state. Seven secretaries held training days for district secretaries. Four conferences gave financial aid to the Methodist Student Movement within their boundary. Several conference secretaries have assisted district and campus secretaries in establishing a student religious program on campuses where none had existed.

Many local student secretaries have been untiring in their efforts to vitalize this department in their church. Many interesting accounts of banquets, parties and teas given for the student group have been reported. These took place prior to the students' departure in the fall and during the Christmas vacation. Numerous local churches sent **Power** to their student groups while away at school. Many local campus churches reported activities for students during the college year.

During this year the **Handbook for Secretaries of Student Work** has been published. The report blank has been revised and is now ready for use. A Calendar of Activities for Student Work has been published and may be secured free from the Publishing House. This was prepared by a conference secretary from the Southeastern Jurisdiction.

The number of districts reporting shows a gain over the previous year. Reports were received from all conference secretaries except one for one quarter.

Upon this foundation we hope to build in 1948 a larger, more effective program.

MRS. DAVID J. CATHCART, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF YOUTH WORK

Every adult should have the privilege of attending the Young People's Jurisdictional Conference. To be with several hundred young leaders as they study, plan, play and worship, and to see the earnestness and sincerity with which they talk about their own Christian experience and purposes and their hopes for a world brotherhood restores one's faith in the possibility of a new world—a new world that Christian youth are eager to help build. With trained, consecrated leadership the youth of this day are going to bring about a better tomorrow.

Youth Gatherings

The National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship held its seventh annual meeting in Stockton, California, August 28 to September 3, 1947. Besides the benefits derived from the special consideration given to youth's place in building a new world, the experiences of the trip were invaluable. One eastern conference group of five young men went by automobile. They took care of expenses and over-night entertainment by planning one-night Youth Rallies all the way across the continent.

The Second World Christian Youth Conference held in Oslo, Norway, July 22 to August 1, 1947, was the most outstanding event for Christian youth in recent months. Twelve hundred delegates from seventy countries met to proclaim their faith. Their theme was "Jesus Christ is Lord." One delegate said that it was milestone in the growth of world-wide Christianity, with youth as a "cutting edge."

Over twelve thousand Methodist youth and adult leaders attended the Methodist Youth Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, from December 30, 1947, to January 2, 1948. Delegates from every conference, twenty-one countries, all races, met under the challenge of the theme, which is the motto of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, "Christ Above All." Back in their local, sub-district and district groups these young people are sharing that marvelous experience with other young people in Cleveland Weeks, rallies, sub-district meetings, and in local groups.

Youth Caravans have gone into local churches over the jurisdiction reaching hundreds of young people and their leaders, strengthening

the total program and often beginning one where none has been going. One member of each team is responsible for missions and world friendship. Some conferences are using several Youth Fellowship Teams, trained in commission work, to go to places in their own conferences where such help is needed.

Youth Assemblies and Intermediate Camps are proving to be the greatest source for training and inspiration to youth in local churches to help them set their own program in motion. Churches wishing to have active youth groups can do so by sending large numbers of their youth each summer.

Mission Study

The study themes for 1947-48, "India" and "The Christian and Race," have been widely used as a part of the regular church school curriculum, evening meeings and in interest groups of boys and girls.

Methodist Youth Fund

Young people are becoming increasingly concerned about the needs of people at home and abroad as they study about other people and learn how their giving can be and is being used. This is seen in the healthy increase in the Methodist Youth Fund from 1941 until now. The Methodist Youth Fund Bulletin, which can be secured free upon request from 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tennessee, is used to acquaint youth with what is being done with their gifts.

The Challenge

The need is still desperate for trained Christian adult leadership. The church MUST rise to meet this need in this year of the Crusade for Christ emphasis on increased enrollment and attendance in church and church school.

As the youth of this jurisdiction sang:

> "We are not here to play, to dream, to drift,
> We have hard work to do, and loads to lift,"

a prayer went up from the heart of the jurisdiction secretary that they might have Christian guidance and many strong hearts and arms to help them lift the loads which they are tackling with so much courage.

MRS. DWIGHT L. FOUTS, Secretary.

REPORT OF CHILDREN'S WORK

Special Objectives During 1947

Bearing in mind the problems confronting children of the world and the ways of meeting these needs that the program of the Methodist Church presented; bearing in mind also the important contributions that the Woman's Society of Christian Service could make to this particular ministry of the Church, the following emphases for 1947 were brought before all secretaries of children's work:

1. Active co-operation of the Woman's Society members in the local church with the total plan for Christian Education of children and of the families from which they come.

2. Planned endeavor to minister to the tragic needs of children overseas.

3. Community co-operation with special agencies for the welfare of children.

4. Participation by secretary of children's work in leadership training opportunities, workshops and seminars.

5. The providing of leadership training to workers with children in local, district and conference societies.

This report reveals the attempts that have been made to realize these objectives.

The Conference Secretaries of Children's Work have been diligent and untiring in meeting the needs that the program of the Methodist Church presented for children. Through their efforts the number of local secretaries has increased 3%, although reports reveal that only 58% of the 6,846 societies elected a secretary of children's work last year. These secretaries in co-operation with district secretaries of children's work and with the Board of Education have promoted their work through workshops, institutes, laboratory schools and seminars, as well as at meetings of the Woman's Society, in the local church, zone, district and conference.

Results of Study of Program, "Of Such Is the Kingdom." The interest that the study aroused and the better understanding of the Church's program for children that was gained by members of the Woman's Society has been shown in many ways.

A few specific things were:

1. Members volunteered to help in additional sessions and to work with children in the Church school.

2. Members worked in visitation campaigns which gained members for Church school and society.

3. Societies provided materials for missionary units to use with children.

4. Societies gave leadership training opportunities to workers with children in Church school and in community agencies.

5. Societies have sponsored programs in Church school which depicted the needs of children of the world which resulted in offerings being sent to Overseas Relief and an increase in World Service Offering.

6. After the March program when needs of children in the local church were revealed, many societies helped to better furnish or equip the places where children meet.

7. Many sent cash, food supplies and clothing to children of Europe and other countries.

8. Some made possible better recreational opportunities and facilities for children in the community.

9. Several societies provided and served refreshments during vacation schools.

10. Weekly story hours were held for children by members of society.

Deep appreciation is expressed to each of those who have helped in any way to meet the needs of children of the local Church and throughout the world.

The Missionary Education Program for children has aroused the interest, responsibility and determination of not only the secretaries of Children's Work, but all those who have become aware of the needs of children that the world situation revealed. Missionary Units bearing on the emphases of "India" and "Negro-White Relationships" were studied by Primaries and Juniors. Surely the missionary spirit has been planted in the hearts and lives of the more than 40,000 children who took part in these units.

Additional Sessions and Vacation Schools. To supplement the time given to children in the Church School on Sunday, more than 1,800 churches, an increase of 300, last year have taken advantage of programs planned for additional sessions and vacation schools.

Sharing Opportunities. As an outcome of the missionary emphases, children of our Church have made contributions to meet the needs of the peoples of the world by sending gifts of food and clothing, as well as books, games and toys to countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Japan, as well as to institutions of the home field. Cash for supplies has amounted to approximately $8,000.00, an increase of $2,000.00. The regular offering that children gave through the Children's Service Fund has helped to make possible the on-going of the Methodist Church around the world. That offering of $6,258.00 is an $1100.00 increase over last year. Long is the list of varied activities in which children shared.

Reports. Each quarter of the year a report has been received from each Conference Secretary. The number of local churches reporting, 3,500, was 368 more than 1946.

The Needs of Children today show unlimited ways open to churches to serve today's children and their parents. The rise of juvenile delinquency in our own country is evidence of the fact that children need parents and friends to guide them in the Christian way of living. We read recently that millions of children are dying of disease and starvation, cold and neglect. They need food, clothes, warmth and love. That is a challenge to the Christian Church.

Emphases for 1948

1. (a) That the Missionary Units, "The Bible Goes Round the World" and "For Children Everywhere," be used in the local church, and that attitudes of friendship, goodwill, and co-operation be developed in the children of our Church.

(b) That when children realize the needs of other children of God's family that they be given an opportunity to share with these children.

2. A recogntion of the fact by every society and church that the

needs of children in our own country and in the lands across the sea are, in the long run, one and the same. That if peace is ever to come to the world, that all children everywhere shall have to have built into their lives an understanding and love for each other, as well as a knowledge of God the Father and all and of Christ the Saviour and Friend of all.

This is the task that has been "Committed Unto Us" who work with and for children of the world, and we must not fail!

Our prayer as we enter the new year is that wisdom and grace may be given to us so that with confidence and joy we may take up the task that is ours and be grateful for the glorious opportunity of serving Him who said, "Let the children come unto me."

MRS. H. R. COGBURN, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF LITERATURE AND PUBLICATIONS

During 1947 we were fascinated as we saw the possibilities in literature and publications being developed. Each quarter we went adventuring down unused avenues and we are eagerly continuing to explore.

Secretaries

The Conference Secretaries held training days for their District Secretaries, supervised the sale of literature at conference meetings, srved as librarians at conference schools of missions, and used many original methods to place our valuable "tools" in the hands of the local societies. Although the progress was slow, a comparison with 1946 shows some advance was made.

Lake Junaluska School

Nine of the Conference Secretaries attended the School of Missions at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, July 16-23, and participated in the Workshop on Program Building which gave excellent training for their responsibility in helping to make the Program Committee more effective. Brief conference periods during which the promotion of our literature and publications was discussed were also helpful.

Reporting

While our reporting reached the goal of "at least 50% of the societies reporting" we did not get far beyond that figure, closing the year with an average of 53%. During the year the Upper South Carolina Conference brought its reporting from 35% to 68%; the Louisville Conference from 28% to 50%; the South Carolina Conference from 38% to 53%. The Virginia Conference consistently stayed in the top bracket for the best report along all lines, and the Alabama Conference closed the year with an increase in every point. Every conference made some advance. The following comparison shows the increases for the Jurisdiction:

Annual Report (Percentage Basis)

	1946	1947
Societies Reporting	46	53
On Program Committee	66	70
Use Division Program	90	94
Use Methodist Woman-World Outlook	81	89
Use Annual Report	52	69
Use Girls Material	14	21
Use Children's Material	20	32
Every Officer Subscriber	18	19
Special Effort	51	65
Use Page 32	31	61
Use Literature Headquarters	41	69
Use Quarterly or Daily Literature	45	48
Use Wk.—Pry. Pos	38	37

Program Committee

We have continued the emphasis upon the importance of the Program Committee in the local society and through training days with the District and Local Secretaries of Literature and Publications have demonstrated how they may make a valuable contribution to the work of this Committee. We are delighted with the Program Material for 1948 which gives a choice of two versions of the same program and feel this is the answer to the continued requests for simplified program material.

Annual Report

Many societies are still interpreting the question concerning the "latest Annual Report" to mean the latest annual report of their own Conference. We hope by another year to have added to this question "of the Woman's Division of Christian Service." There has been a wider circulation of the Annual Report and a more extensive use of it as resource material for programs and study courses.

Group Material

Although the figures show a very slight increase in the use of our material prepared for children and for interest groups of girls, the following figures from the Fourth Quarter's report are interesting. Of the 17 conferences, 10 increased the use of the material for children and 11 increased the use of the material for girls. As a clearer understanding of the co-operative plan for these two groups develops, the use of the material increases.

Our Magazines

Our weakest point is the exceedingly small number of subscriptions to THE METHODIST WOMAN which is our "trade" magazine—our monthly "blue-print." We are reporting only 19% of the officers in the local societies as subscribers and our total number of subscriptions will not permit the continued publication of the magazine at its pres-

ent price. Since the WORLD OUTLOOK does not depend entirely upon the Woman's Society of Christian Service for its support, we have not made as intensive an effort to secure subscriptions to it, but have urged that every officer have the combination subscription. We have used every opportunity to suggest the use of our publications in program building, with study courses, and as a means of specific and general information.

Joint Materials

We have made an effort to increase the use of the excellent material issued by the Joint Division of Education and Cultivation by suggesting certain pieces at definite times.

Literature Headquarters

Attention has been constantly called to the announcement of new literature on Page 32 of THE METHODIST WOMAN, thus increasing the volume of material ordered from our Literature Headquarters, 420 Plum Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

For 1948

Since the Secretaries of Literature and Publications serve as "the link between mission stations at home and abroad and the membership of our Woman's Society of Christian Service," we, the Secretaries of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, accept our responsibility "for showing the women how to use the agencies of the printed page effectively and intelligently" during 1948 as we "Make His Way Known Upon Earth"

MRS. STANLEY WILSON, Secretary

REPORT ON SUPPLY WORK

The value of Supply Work may be seen from this excerpt from a Division Secretary. Miss Colony writes of India: "The lists above (playground equipment, libraries, refrigerators, youth camps, school equipment, etc., etc.) indicate something of the tremendous value and service your work means to India and Burma. These are days of very high prices and inflation. Appropriated funds are not adequate. Without cash supplies the work would be hopelessly crippled. Every missionary and worker wishes you to know her deep gratitude."

This is the message that should be given to the Supply Work secretary of every local society. It would give her encouragement to know that her effort in getting an amount in the budget each year is being rewarded by filling the great gap between appropriations and rising prices. It is a veritable lifeline to the women and children of the world wherever the Woman's Society has work. Thus the Supply Department has grown through the years from one of doubtful importance to one of essential worth to the effective continuance of our institutions.

Two important objectives have faced this department in recent months. The first was to help rehabilitate our missionaries in their

homes, so nearly destroyed by the war. The second was to modernize deaconess and missionary living, and to modernize school and settlement equipment in every home, school, and setltement of the Woman's Society. This is being done as rapidly as possible by providing the best equipment for health, travel, and living conditions, and the best equipment to teach the principles of the Christian religions in the school and settlement.

Much of the Cash Supply money has gone for these two things and one more—food for the hungry people of Europe and China in particular. In some instances this has been done through conference Love Offerings. Sometimes the offering has been divided between Home and Foreign work, or has been shared by different countries.

The use of the Sacrificial Offering has been stressed by some and the money sent for relief. During the coming year Sacrificial Meals will be stressed and food cartons sent to the hungry, underfed children of Europe. Would not our own food taste better as we eat and fellowship together if we first dropped a coin in the box to feed some one and add a bit of joy to their frugal meal? This is our Christian duty, and should be made a part of the Supply program of every society in 1948.

Several conferences responded to the call to adopt Methodist ministers in Europe. Thousands of dollars worth of new materials are continuously going to these worthy families. They, in turn, share with those in their congregations. This will continue as long as there is the urgent need.

Besides doing a splendid job on the Home and Foreign Supply Work Askings many conferences have accepted a large undertaking and challenged their women with fine results. Such was the case of the Florida Conference which reported $5,358 brought in the first quarter as a Love Offering to a hospital in the Belgian Congo. The Kentucky Conference bought a station wagon for a Rural worker. North Carolina and Western North Carolina sent in large offerings from sacrificial giving for the starving children of Poland and other European countries. Holston conference sent a special offering for hospitals and schools in India. North Alabama divides its Love Offering between some Home and Foreign project.

The Wesleyan Service Guild has accepted large Supply projects with very fine results. Miss Mildred Anne Paine received her jeep in August. She writes, "Your investment in the jeep and trailer is already doing wonderful service. In less than half a day we attended to business that, by any other means would have required two days. To be able to attend to business rather than spend all our energy on trains is really a great advance over the past, and today, it is a necessity." The Guilds are eager to supply these necessities to their workers. A local Supply Work Secretary can give them information as to how much work is reported.

The Youth program of Supply Work has not been promoted to a great extent as yet. Soon there will be more information to give to Youth and Supply Work secretaries.

The Children have done some Supply Work in most of the confer-

ences. Each conference Children's Secretary and Supply Work Secretary has a list of items that can be sent to the institution indicated for that conference.

One Conference, the Western North Carolina, undertook a large project through the Children's Department. They sent in $2,142 to purchase and ship a piano to Miss Lorena Kelly in Africa. This amount tells of the fine results achieved. It also indicates to us the great missionary lesson the children receive in supplying needs of others, which cannot be measured in money values. Other conferences will doubtless follow the example of this conference.

The Supply Work Secretary is the best friend the missionary and the deaconess have in each conference. When in need she may turn to her and be sure of receiving a sympathetic hearing and, if possible, will have her needs supplied. In turn the Supply Work secretary in every conference knows that the Methodist women will provide the necessary items that will make for more effective work, and give to those with whom they work a greater conception of the love of God as they see it manifested through His church.

The summary below shows a great increase in Supply Work giving over last year. It represents much love and labor in sending boxes, and sacrifices in giving.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF SUPPLIES

Summary

Conference	Home Mission Institutions	Foreign Mission Institutions	Ministerial Supplies	Totals
Alabama	$3,189.30	$2,060.93	$22.50	$5,272.73
Florida	8,475.10	12,645.33	11.80	21,132.23
Holston	9.377.10	5,649.85	139.50	15,166.45
Kentucky	3,812.06	2,851.88	30.00	6,693.94
Louisville	2,160.94	878.11	1,509.00	4,548.05
Memphis	5,521.80	5,400.88	233.15	11,155.83
Mississippi	2,855.16	1,066.00	----	3,921.16
N. Alabama	4.426.64	6,992.63	989.10	12,408.37
N. C.	1,908.94	10,839.49	288.00	13,036.43
N. Ga.	8,302.18	3,109.54	473.09	11,885.41
N. Miss.	1,588.54	1,135.52	280.00	3,004.06
S. C.	1,805.68	2,907.34	131.03	4,844.05
S. Ga.	7,807.22	3,985.11	110.77	11,903.10
Tenn.	2,741.42	3,786.65	1,857.24	8,385.31
Upper S. C.	4,138.07	2,280.30	9.00	6,427.37
Virginia	6,309.86	2,492.67	414.16	9,216.69
Western N. C.	10,178.12	16,992.06	----	27,170.18
Grand Totals	$84,598.73	$85,074.29	$6,498.34	$176,171.36

MRS. GLENN C. JAMES, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF SPIRITUAL LIFE

The Crusade for Christ has been the great movement in Methodism during this quadrennium. The women of our great church have been deeply interested in the Friendly Community Study, Evangelism, and Stewardship. The realization of the goals has been made possible, in part by the loyal cooperation of the Spiritual Life Groups in our churches.

The intense cultivation program in both Evangelism and Stewardship has brought to our women a new vision of the true meaning of Christian living and service. The reports of our Spiritual Life secretaries show a marked increase in all our work.

We are now in the last phase of the Crusade for Christ—increase of Church School enrollment and attendance. Our women will be happy to cooperate with the Board of Education in this great effort.

More women are observing a regular quiet time for prayer. The Upper Room and other devotional booklets are being used.

A larger number of prayer groups and study classes have been reported. This shows that we are coming to realize the importance of the cultivation of the inner life.

Conference and District Retreats, and Day-Apart services in local churches are making a great contribution to the spiritual life of our members and to our churches.

The Junaluska School of Missions was well attended and brought a great inspiration to us. Fourteen of our Conference Secretaries of Spiritual Life were present and made a fine contribution by leading the worship services each morning. The vesper services, conducted by Mrs. Alexander, were a benediction to us. We shall remember with gratitude the high hours in which she helped us to come into His presence for comfort, wisdom and courage.

The report of the Conference secretaries shows that the Week of Prayer was observed in more societies than ever, and a larger offering has been received in many conferences. We feel that the play, "The Power and the Glory," made a great appeal to our people. In many of our churches an earnest invitation was made for new workers in all fields of service, at home and abroad.

I am happy to report that we are having a better attendance upon the Conference Schools of Missions, and a deeper interest is being manifested in this important part of our work.

It has been a great joy and high privilege to serve as Secretary of Spiritual Life. The lovely fellowship of many women in Conference and District Retreats and in local church services has been a benediction to me. The happy hours that we have had together at Junaluska will linger in my memory. I deeply appreciate your loyal cooperation and prayers. My life has been greatly enriched. Our heavenly Father has been gracious and we desire to thank Him for His guidance and blessings upon this great work.

MRS. W. L. MULLIKIN, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF STATUS OF WOMEN

Whatever may be said about Status of Women it cannot be said that it is static. Women and their status are constantly changing. If committees and secretaries are to be up to date they must be alert, continually making surveys, finding new and different places of service for new and different types of women and bringing into the field of service that large group of women of the community with whom the committee and the church have had very little contact. The goal for Status of Women is a wider participation of women in the work of the church. A Secretary of Status who will seek ways to increase the number of women serving in places of leadership in the local church and in the community.

The Workshop on Status of Women at Lake Junaluska and the Seminar at DePauw the past year revealed the broad fields of service and the great need of Christian women to serve in these fields; home, church, economic and political fields. The past was reviewed in all these areas and progress noted, we were brought face to face with the present and had placed upon our minds and hearts the future with its grave responsibilities. We were challenged to make the future as fine as we knew it could be. This is why our goal this year is a wider participation of women in the work of the church and a larger group serving in church and community. If the future is to fulfill our dreams it is absolutely necessary that every woman who is a Christian shall assume the responsibility and render the service for which she has been endowed with talents, time and opportunity.

The reports from Conference Secretaries reflect a great growth in interest and activity of local committees. Originality in planning and executing aims and functions of Status and an eagerness on the part of Secretaries ad Committees to include all women in their surveys, to discover the latent talents and to find places of service where this talent may be used to the highest degree of efficiency.

Skits have been used in conference, district and local meetings to demonstrate the function and importance of the work of Status. Increases were reported in the number of Secretaries of local societies, surveys made, new Handbooks in use and Scrapbooks made. A large increase was reported in the number of women on official boards of local churches, Conference boards and elected as delegates to annual conference.

For the benefit of many who are new in this work some of the outstanding activities not listed on the report blanks will be enumerated so that they may be used if they will be of any help.

1. A service activity card listing abilities of each member of the church and a willingness to serve. This card to be kept on file and sent with church certificate when a member is transferred.

2. A Status of Women Calendar, with activities for the Committee on Status for each month. For example: January—Study Discipline for places of service for women on all boards of the church. Present work to local society each month.

3. Committee on Status of some conferences took the initiative in

the election of women as delegates to General and Jurisdictional Conferences.

4. A District Research Committee composed of Zone Leaders, Missionary Personnel Secretary with the Secretary of Status of Women as chairman secured officers for the district and have talent in reserve for future officers.

5. A large number reported the Conference Committee on Status made up of District Secretaries of Status.

We should continue to study the Findings and Recommendations coming out of the Workshop and Seminar. One recommendation from the Section of Women and The Church is of vital concern to every woman of this Jurisdiction because it is entirely our responsibility. The recommendation is: "That we direct our efforts to securing increased salaries for women employed by the church in local, home and foreign fields." Under Status of Women in the Methodist Church in the Findings from the Seminar at DePauw, the question is asked, "Why Discuss and Work to Change the Status of Women in the Church?" The answer in part is, It is Christian, it will give to full time workers, misionaries and deaconesses the recognition, opportunities, and security which they deserve. We should seriously consider this question and set our own house in order if there is the need.

MRS. MARVIN D. EBLEN, Secretary.

REPORT OF SECRETARY OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL

The first meeting of the six Jurisdiction Secretaries of Missionary Personnel was held last March at National Training School in Kansas City. This meeting was in the nature of an experiment; we all felt the need of formulating plans for concerted action. Guided in our thinking by the Division Personnel Secretaries and representatives of several colleges, these few days spent together produced a workable outline which was eagerly accepted. The fact was evident that whether we came from North, South, East or West, our objective was the same.

During the year your Secretary has attended three meetings of the Regional Personnel Committee at Scarritt College. With the needs of many fields before us it was gratifying to meet with well trained young women who planned to enter Christian service. A goodly number from Southern Jurisdiction have been commissioned during the year and are now at work in their chosen fields. All schools and colleges have large enrollments, and many have volunteered for life service.

This Jurisdiction is well organized, with seventeen Conference Secretaries, and reports indicate that where districts are set up, the District Secretary of Missionary Personnel has been chosen to direct activities in her district.

Meetings of Conference Secretaries with their District Secretaries have been held in various parts of the Jurisdiction, for the purpose of counseling and planning together. Other meetings have been held in connection with youth assemblies and schools. The needs of the

fields have been presented in schools, colleges, on the campus, in large groups and intimate gatherings. Individuals, churches and societies have undertaken to provide for the expenses of college work.

Excellent literature has been provided, and this has been distributed literally by the hundreds. Eagerly the young people have responded. You may accept the call to work and talk and pray where you are, but only they can answer the call to go.

If I could make my report a composite one, representing the activities, the sense of the joy of accomplishment that speaks in the messages that have come to me from Conference Secretaries, I would set before you a glittering strand of lovely jewels, each one a precious discovery made by some woman whose interest in Missionary Personnel has opened avenues of service to her. These women have been blessed indeed.

If I could bring to you a composite statement gathered from the expressions of our prospective workers, it would warm your hearts with gladness to hear them say, "To know you has meant so much to me," "Wherever I am, whatever I am doing, I will be serving my Master." "Whatever I have of ability is dedicated to His Cause." "My years in school have opened an entirely new world to me." "How can I ever thank you for your advice and friendliness." Another string of jewels we like to contemplate when we try to evaluate efforts.

We feel the duties of the Personnel officer must be long range in character. We may find the consecrated talented girl in high school and covet her for Christian service. How wonderful to find that God has already spoken to her, her initial impulse to Christian work came to her, perchance in her childhood. She needs the years of college for preparation, and through them all she needs the constant contact and encouragement you can give her.

With the echo of the great Cleveland meeting sounding through the church, we have a vision of a mass response to the calls for the ministry, the home and foreign fields, but so far it has been a person to person approach. The task as given to us is, "Go, find!"

There is an urgency about this matter that we recognize, many are being touched by the calls of the church, and we must seize the opportunity presented to us, mindful of the old proverb, "Dawn comes not twice to awaken man."

MRS. B. R. STOUT, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS
MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND SERVICE

I. In the Jurisdiction

We recommend:

1. That the Jurisdiction Committee on Summer Schools and Conferences plan and promote a School of Missions and Christian Service to be held during the summer of 1948 at Lake Junaluska, N. C., in cooperation with the Board of Education in accord with the policies recommended by the Standing Committee of Education and Cultivation of the Division as follows:

(1) The program should be planned each year primarily for the training of a leadership for conference and district work.

(2) The dean should adhere to the policy of the Board of Education and the Woman's Division of a maximum of sixty persons in each credit class in each Jurisdiction School of Missions and Christian Service.

(3) Courses shall be recommended and an instructor for each course provided by the Department of Missionary Education in consultation with the chairman of the Jurisdictional Committee on Summer Schools and Conferences and the dean of the School.

(4) A four-year plan be worked out by the Jurisdiction Committee on Summer Schools and Conferences whereby provision would be made for all conference officers to receive some special training during the quadrennium. The following are recommended for 1948: Study and Action Committee, the President of the Conference and Districts, the Recording Secretary and Secretary of Wesleyan Service Guild.

(5) Since the Jurisdiction and Conference Secretaries of Missionary Education are charged by the Woman's Division of Christian Service to promote study courses in conferences, districts and societies and to assist in planning and promoting Missionary Conferences, Schools of Missions, Educational Conferences and Seminars sponsored by the Woman's Division, and since the Jurisdiction Schools of Missions and Christian Service provide training for this specific responsibility, the Jurisdiction and Conference Secretaries of Missionary Education shall attend the Jurisdiction School of Missions and Christian Service each year.

(6) Since the Secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities and the Secretary of Spiritual Life share the responsibility of the Study and Action Committee with the Secretary of Missionary Education and Service as Chairman, they shall also attend the Jurisdiction School of Missions and Christian Service each year.

(7) The details of the Jurisdiction School program other than the courses and faculty shall be worked out by the Jurisdiction Committee in consultation with the Department of Missionary Education; the Jurisdiction Woman's Society shall finance these additional program plans.

(8) The plans for Educational seminars in the districts of the conferences be made at the Jurisdiction School by a committee composed of one representative from each of the following groups: Missionary Education and Service, Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, and Spiritual Life.

II. In the Conference

1. That the policies recommended by the Standing Committee of Missionary Education and Cultivation of the Division for schools, institutions and seminars be accepted as follows:

(1) Conference Schools of Missions and Christian Service:

a. That where Conference Schools of Missions and Christian Service already exist that the Study and Action Committee be included in the Conference School Committee.

b. That where there is now no Conference School of Missions and Christian Service the Study and Action Committee should, in consultation with the president, initiate plans for such a school, the plans to be submitted to the Executive Committee of the Conference Woman's Society of Christian Service and include the following elements:

1. Minimum time, five days.
2. At least one credit course. Additional course, either credit or lecture, may be added as needed.
3. Provision for daily worship experiences.
4. Platform hours, which may include missionaries or other guest speakers.
5. Workshop or discussion groups as advisable.
6. Planned recreation when possible.
7. For a credit school the dean must be accredited through the Department of Education, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tennessee.
8. Teachers, teaching credit courses, must receive credit through the Board of Education. Both the dean and teachers must be recommended to the Department of Leadership through the Executive Secretary of your Conference Board of Education.
9. Names of deans and teachers, their addresses, courses they are to teach should be sent to the office of the Division Secretary of Missionary Education.
10. The dean shall report the School to the Division and Jurisdiction Secretaries of Missionary Education.
11. The Committee on Conference Schools elect annually the dean for the School of Missions and Christian Service, and, where advisable, retain the same dean over a period of two, or more, years.

c. That the Executive Committee of the Conference include in the personnel of the Conference School of Missions and Christian Service Committee in addition to the Study and Action Committee, persons who have valuable contributions to make in the planning of such a school.

2. Institutes:

That institutes be planned for a minimum of three days by the Study and Action Committee of the Conference who shall name a director

to develop the program which shall be similar to the school program, except for credit classes for which there is not sufficient time.

3. Educational Seminars:

That the Educational Seminars held in conferences or districts shall be the responsibility of the Conference Study and Action Committee and shall be planned for either one, or two days. When held in dis-districts, where there are District Study and Action Committees, this district committee shall assume major responsibility in cooperation with the Conference Study and Action Committee. At these district seminars materials in study areas for youth and children be, also, lifted up.

2. That officers of the conference and districts attend the Jurisdiction School of Missions and Christian Service when special emphasis is given in the School upon the work for which they are responsible.

3. That the Conference Study and Action Committee make a detailed study of the educational program in the districts and local societies to plan methods of increasing—1) the use of program and worship material in the monthly meetings, 2) the number of approved studies, and 3) the cultivation of Libraries and Reading Circles, sending mimeographed lists of books (in order of importance) to local Societies and suggested sources for the books and periodicals. (World Outlook, Methodist Woman, Christian Advocate, etc.)

4. That, wherever possible, a conference library be established for the use of local societies, especially for those unable to provide one in their local church, or district.

5. That a Study and Action Committee endeavor to create interest in missions to inspire additional gifts above the regular pledge for special missionary projects within the appropriations, and to give information concerning their projects to those who have taken them.

6. That a goal be set for the conference of sixty per cent of the societies reporting at least once during the year.

7. That the Executive Committees of the Conferences consider the sending to each Conference officer and to the district president and promotion secretary material relating to her line of work.

III. In the District

That the Study and Action Committee:

1. Cooperate with the Conference Study and Action Committee in providing educational seminars in each district for the development of leaders and the cultivation and promotion of the educational work and activities of the Woman's Society of Christian Service.

2. Cooperate with the Church in the program of the district missionary institute, thus relating the Woman's Society of Christian Service to the whole program of the Church.

3. Promote and teach (when necessary) study classes in every society in the district.

4. Establish lending libraries for the use of the societies as supplementary material to study courses and to encourage reading circles.

IV. In the Local Societies

That the Secretary of Missionary Education:

1. Use the report as a standard of progress of the educational program of the society.

2. Assume the responsibility as chairman of the study and action committee in planning the study program for the year, using the approved texts, and promoting any informal studies when the need shall arise.

3. Cooperate fully with the program committee in planning the educational work of the society for the year and use every means to promote the use of the program and worship material in every society; as it can be adapted to the smallest group and be used as an educational means, even when other methods are omitted. Plan the programs with a purpose, expecting concrete results.

4. Cooperate with the finance committee in creating interest in larger gifts by providing information of missions and missionary projects and thus increase the total giving of the society.

5. Emphasize more reading circles and libraries in the educational program, using books of religious, missionary, and educational value as well as old study books, to create interest by information and inspiration through facts and knowledge, since all can read even if they cannot attend meetings.

6. Recommend to the Executive Committee that the following be the policies for setting up libraries.

(1) If the church does not have a library, cooperate with the church in establishing one.

(2) Appoint someone (Secretary of Missionary Education, or Secretary of Literature and Publications, or a Librarian) to be in charge of the library and see that books are read.

(3) Make books available at a given time at least once a week (according to local situation) for Wesleyan Service Guild, Young People, Church School Teachers, and promising young women not members (in order to interest them).

(4) Each member of the Study and Action Committee be responsible for promoting, circulating, and reading of the books.

(5) Place in the budget an amount for these books at the beginning of the year.

7. Increase interest in study courses by having at least one more approved study over the number held the previous year until the objective for four a year is reached, and at least one Special Jurisdiction Recognition class when possible.

(1) Approved study courses, 1948-1949:

a. China in the Asia of Today; text, "China: Twilight or Dawn," by Frank Price.

b. America's Geographical Frontiers; text: "On Our Doorstep," by Frand Mead.

c. Growth of the Spiritual Life; text, "Newness of Life," by Estelle Carver.

d. The Bible and Human Rights; text, "The Bible and Human Rights," by Kathleen McArthur.

8. Cooperate with the Secretary of Literature and Publications in encouraging the use of "The Methodist Woman" and "World Outlook" in connection with the monthly programs to inform the members and inspire them with the desire to subscribe to and read these magazines.

MRS. D. R. LITTLE SECRETARY.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR HOME WORK

1. That an intensive study be made of the Annual Report of the Woman's Division of Christian Service.

2. That Conferences use their missionaries and deaconesses on their programs so that they will become better acquainted with the workers and the work.

3. That copies of material edited by our executive secretaries and mailed to conference secretaries of Missionary Education be mimeographed or typed and sent to districts or local societies as far as possible as a means of missionary education and cultivation.

4. That we continue to encourage our young people to train for Christian service. There are many calls for trained workers in many fields.

MRS. C. C. SAPP, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FOREIGN WORK

Realizing that "knowledge is understanding," we recommend:

1. That local societies study the differences involved in Special supplementary gifts, supplies, and missionary projects, with a view of correcting past errors.

2. That no Missionary Project be assigned, or assumed, without first contacting the Conference Secretary of Missionary Education and Service.

3. That any changes desired in already assigned Projects be reported to the Conference Secretary of Missionary Education and Service.

4. That the policy of avoiding the giving of specific names of national workers or students to the patrons of projects be adhered to, as far as possible, giving such names only where it is obviously the strong desire of the person, making the gift.

5. That every effort be made to insure that a project newly assigned to a local Society adds to the pledge, in order that there may be an increase in the total giving.

6. That the Conference Secretary of Education and Service explain to local Societies the proper handling of gifts resulting from study classes, making sure that these gifts are not assigned as missionary projects, unless said gifts are recurring items, and then full information as to Country, Place, type of Project, Amount, Patron, with full address, be furnished for every assigned project.

7. That copies of the Newsletters from missionaries furnished Conference Secretaries of Missionary Education and Service, be mimeographed or typed by said Secretaries and sent to Districts or local So-

cieties as far as possible, especially to patrons of projects, as a means of missionary education and cultivation.

MRS. J. M. JOHNSTON, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

We have no intention to announce final solutions to the problems that vex mankind. In humble confidence, however, that God rules, that all who trust His grace and place their lives at His disposal may enjoy His guidance, we dedicate ourselves, under His guidance, to approach these problems in the spirit and along the lines we believe His spirit inspires. On that basis, we make the suggestions that compose the "Program of Action" for 1948.—From the Recommendations of the Division, December, 1947.

I. General

We recommend:

1. That the Conference Society—

a. Supplement the $10 appropriated by the Division for the Secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities to attend the School of Missions at Lake Junaluska.

b. Make it possible for the Secretary to visit the State Capitol and become acquainted with the Governor, the directors of the State Departments, especially of Labor, Health, Welfare and Education.

c. Sponsor Conference and District Workshops, across Jurisdiction lines, on "Human Rights and World Order," some time during the year.

d. Have a seminar on Christian Social Relations as a part of the schedule of the Conference School of Missions.

2. Realizing there is need for more time at Conference, District and local meetings to face the vital issues of life and death that are upon us, we urge that.

a. Time be provided for such presentations and discussions at executive and regular meetings of the local, District and Conference societies.

b. Ten minutes of every circle meeting be devoted to social problems and action. Materials—Information and Action Bulletin, Department page in Methodist Woman, current items from local, state, national and international scene.

c. The Conference Secretary hold meetings regularly with her Conference Committee to keep aware of the needs and to take co-operative action.

3. The Conference Secretary promote the use of "Why a Social Action Committee" in selected Societies as a guide for a co-operative effort in the local church, reporting the results of the experimentation to the Jurisdiction Secretary.

4. That the local society cooperate in the Crusade emphasis on in-

creasing Church School enrollment and attendance by—

(a) Providing workers for the Survey.

(b) Presenting the needs and qualifications for additional workers in the Church School.

(c) Cooperating in the training program.

(d) Constantly presenting the need for full-time Christian workers.

5. That all local Societies give full cooperation to pastors in making the observance of Commitment Day, February 15th, fully effective.

6. That every Society study its own practices and those of its church in relation to all groups, looking to action which will advance our Christian purposes, and we further urge, that every Society select a definite project affecting the welfare and well-being of two or more groups (labor, minority, etc.) in which the Socoety will work in cooperation with the members of the groups concerned.

II. The Church's Ministry to the Family

We recommend:

1. That the local Society cooperate with other agencies of the church in a program for stabilizing family life.

In preparatoon for the year of emphasis on Family Living, workshops or seminars be held at the Conference and District level.

2. That the local Society use the report on "Women and the Family" by Dr. Katherine Lenroot for special informal studies, circle programs and background material for forums and discussion in larger church and community groups, as a practical medium for continuing the interest of the 1947 programs on "Children of the World."

III. Family and Group Security

We recommend:

1. That we support the following legislation: (a) Anti-lynching Bill; (b) Anti-poll tax Bill; (c) Federal Aid to Education; (d) Legislation providing for full employment, full pay, full security and prevention of inflation; (e) Federal Housing legislation containing fundamental provisions of the Taft-Wagner Housing Act; (f) Material and Child Welfare Act; (g) Provision for adequate medical care for all people; (h) Social Security for agricultural and domestic workers.

2. That we unconditionally support the Methodist stand for collective bargaining as expressed in the Social Creed.

3. That we oppose—

(1) All efforts to weaken the rights of labor and management to arrive at mutually satisfactory agreements by collective bargaining.

(2) Uniform percentage tax cuts and encourage the raising of income tax exemptions as the fairer method of tax reduction for everyone.

4. That we give attention to our own employment and business practices in employment of domestic service and the employment standards and maintainence of clerical and profession workers in the church, and in renting sub-standard property for high rentals.

5. That we reaffirm our traditional Methodist position that total abstinence is the goal of alcohol education.

6. That Conference, District and local Societies not only work to strengthen laws but to strengthen the arm of state and local officers that they may have the courage to enforce existing alcoholic beverage laws.

IV. Christian Citizenship

We recommend:

1. That we seek to secure wider use of the ballot (a) through more intensive education of the people to the issues before them; (b) abolishing the poll tax; (c) by seeing that all citizens of the community exercise their voting rights without intimidation or restriction; (d) by abolishing the white primary; (e) by support of education program for new voters.

2. That as one of our obligations as Christian citizens, we educate against race being an issue in political campaigns and urge our women to use all their powers against this practice.

3. Realizing that the community is the sounding board of the influence of the church, we seek to strengthen and extend its influence so the "climate" of a community will be such that it will not stand for or condone, corrupt election practices, brutality of officers of the law, lynchings, travesties of justice in the courts, intimidation and destruction of property of any minority group.

4. That we study our Civil Rights laws, especially the "equal but separate" laws regarding health, education, etc., as they relate to the two races in our South, and that we study our pattern of segregation and its effect on our Southern life.

5. That we study the International Declaration of Rights, now being drafted, as a preface to the study of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights ("To Secure These Rights") and the approved study, "The Bible and Human Rights."

6. That we recommend the study and consideration of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights by the local Societies, Pastors' Schools and Leadership Training Schools as to its meaning for (a) local, state and federal action by citizens, (b) the institutions and practices of the church.

7. We urge the members of the local society to be watchful and help prevent the passage of local or state legislation which would infringe upon the civil rights of any group or individual.

8. Recognizing that the establishment of a Jewish State presents the likelihood of an increase of anti-Semitism, we urge women to watch for an indication of such feeling and take steps to combat it.

9. We urge the women to write to President Truman urging him to grant amnesty and the restoration of civil rights to all conscientious objectors. We further suggest that the local and conference societies study their state laws as applied to citizenship rights of the conscientious objectors now released from prison.

As never before in our history, mankind is bound together in a shrunken world. The disorders of our segment affect the whole. The old and familiar are passing. The new is being born everywhere. The eyes of the whole world are focused with hope on the United States -- a democracy with 60 million professed followers of Christ. We cannot fail to lead the way in securing human rights for the peoples of the world, including all people within our own borders. The basic christian faith which we profess will let us do no less. The democracy which preaches equality for all men must be demonstrated in action. As christian women of the Methodist Church in the Southeastern Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service we call ourselves, and the vast constituency from which we have come, to repentence for our sins and a renewal of our commitment to the task of making christian principles live in this nation.

Therefore, as specific and immediate steps in this direction, we recommend the following:

1. That Methodist women acquaint themselves with the content and full implications of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights by studies, discussions, and practical action to implement same in thie community and nation.

2. That every effort be made to make the South, the nation as a whole and the world know that christian women of the South oppose any effort, political or otherwise, to block progressive moves toward the achievement of Civil Rights for all people in this nation, including millions of citizens in this Southland. We call upon the Conferences, districts and local groups to stand up and be counted for human freedom.

3. That Methodist women work for Federal and state legislation to guarantee Civil Rights to the peoples of this nation.

4. Applications to institutions of higher learning in many Southern states are being made by Negro students, desiring special training and instruction. Sensing the impracticability of establishing regional schools, the exorbitant and unnecessary expense which would be incurred, the unchristian principle of discrimination which would be perpetuated, we recommend:

   That we work to implement the Supreme Court ruling relative to admission of all individuals , regardless of race or creed to educational institutions for graduate training in our schools, both church and state controlled.

5. That we look also to our practices in the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Methodist Church, seeking to remove every barrier that separates members of the family of God in the Methodist Church, and to build a christian fellowship where ideas, experiences, facilities, and action programs may be shared with freedom on a basis of full participation.

V. World Order

1. Believing that the time has come for the mobilization of Christian women of the whole world in a determined crusade for the prevention of war, we recommend that all Methodist women bend their efforts to combatting the menacing cynicism, fear and suspicion evident in our press and increasingly prevalent among our people—

a. By emphasis upon the accomplishments of the United Nations as opposed to the criticism of its progress.

b. By faith in the power of good will and cooperation instead of force in the settlement of international problems.

c. By study and exposure of propaganda whether in the press or in political action.

d. By cooperation with all efforts to comply with the pronouncement of the United Nations "against false reporting and inciting to new war."

2. In view of the critical issues facing the world, we reaffirm our convictions and urge continued support of such study and action as will implement the following:

a. Continued insistence upon international control of atomic power with emphasis on civil administration and its constructive use for the welfare of mankind;

b. Support of present plans for adequate emergency relief and long-range rehabilitation, utilizing as soon as possible the facilities of the United Nations.

d. Support of the ~~Marshall Plan~~ European Relief as proposed.

3. For the peace and security of the world, we oppose Universal Military Training in our country (or any other) and we recommend that women cooperate with the plans of the Commission on World Peace and the Crusade for World Order in defeating its passage.

4. We recommend study and action concerning the responsibility of the United States to cooperate with all U. N. agencies in the economic field, such as Food and Agricultural Organization, International Trade Organization.

5. We recommend that we urge our Congressmen to approve a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement which expires on June 12, and to approve the International Trade Organization Charter, to support the aims and purposes of UNESCO through appropriation of funds for its program of "defense of peace," comparable, in a measure, at least, to appropriation for military defense.

6. We reemphasize the continued need for relief through church and individual channels, using such facilities as the Methodist Overseas Relief Committee, CARE, Church World Service.

We recommend that we cooperate with the international Children's Emergency Fund through "American Overseas Aid" by publicizing the need and by giving the equivalent of one day's work on February 29 to this fund.

MRS. M. E. TILLY, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ORGANIZATION AND PROMOTION

We recommend: That the Visitation Plan be continued. Wherever possible we suggest the "visitors" be coached in order that the best possible presentation of the work be made. We urge that the weaker societies be visited first.

We recommend: That the large per cent of Methodist women, who are out of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, receive our earnest attention. Let us seek to enlist their interest, till every woman is enrolled in this organization.

We recommend: Circles of brides, young mothers and single women be promoted, wherever advisable—young mothers becoming members of other circles, as soon as possible.

We recommend: The unorganized charges be carefully studied by District Promotion Secretary, in cooperation with the District Superintendent. If possible, new societies be organized; if not, these churches be cultivated with a view to organization later.

We recommend: Increase in finances be emphasized, and that Penny-a-Day-More be impressed on the membership in various ways. It has been found helpful, financially, to give items from The Methodist Woman and The World Outlook.

We recommend: Local and District Officers' Training Day be promoted by Conference, District and Local Promotion Secretaries. The results of this Day have been better trained and more efficient groups of officers.

We recommend: More itineration of missionaries, deaconesses and field workers throughout our jurisdiction.

We recommend: The local society request the pastor to give one service a year to the Woman's Society of Christian Service. At this timie the pastor (or visitor) shall speak on the work of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, and a Thank Offering for this work be taken.

We recommend: Goals and Calendar of Activities be given more publicity and more use. Goals should be continually checked, to find our weak spots. Calendar of Activities is an excellent outline to cover the year's work.

We recommend: Clearer and quicker channelling of information to the local society. There is a road, straight and direct, from the Division to the Jurisdiction to the Conference to the District to the local society. We desire less time be used in conveying information on this way.

We recommend: That help, in various and definite ways, be given the Wesleyan Service Guild Triple Campaign. Local societies may find they are able to organize guilds in their own churches.

We recommend: Every local, district, conference Promotion Secretary have a Promotion Book Shelf, containing, at least, the Promotion Handbook, A Guide, The Methodist Woman and The World Outlook as a basis. (See Promotion Handbook for other materials for this book shelf).

We recommend: Reporting, at the end of each quarter, be done as fast as possible by all officers, so that all reports may agree with the Promotion Secretary's final report. We urge this, so that a true picture may be had of work done.

We recommend: That societies that are apparently lifeless (and almost hopeless) be nourished, tenderly cared for, cultivated and brought back to healthy, vigorous life by the District Promotion Secretary. Each year a number of societies die from lack of proper care. The District Superintendent has been most helpful in this cultivation program.

We recommend: The purpose of the Woman's Society of Christian Service be ever kept in mind in all our planning; that this be studied and discussed at local, district and jurisdiction meetings.

MRS. R. M. HOWELL, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STUDENT WORK

We recommend that:

1. The major emphasis of the student program for this year be on our students from overseas.

2. Each conference student secretary have a meeting as early as possible with her campus student secretary and the directors of Wesley Foundation and Directors of Religious Life within her conference.

3. Conference secretaries of student work attend the Regional Student Training Conference whenever possible. Newly elected secretaris are **urged** to attend.

4. **The Handbook for Secretaries of Student Work** be in the hands of every student secretary.

5. Every student secretary in the local society promote Student Recognition Day in December, Student Day in June and Summer Service Projects.

MRS. DAVID J. CATHCART, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR YOUTH WORK

The Unified Plan for Missionary Education of Youth places upon the Woman's Society of Christian Service the responsibility of sharing in the program of Missionary Education of all youth. This responsibility is carried out as the Secretary of Youth Work works with the Commission on Missions ond World Friendship.

We recommend:

That the Secretary of Youth Work advise with the commission on Missions and World Friendship as it carries out its function as follows:

1. To carry out the assignments from the department council within the area of missions and world friendship. The chairman of the Commission on Missions and World Friendship, who is a member of the council, takes part in initiating the plans for missionary education and accepts the task of developing them through the commission.

2. To initiate recommendations to the council for activities and pro-

jects of a missionary and world friendship nature for the whole department and to carry them to completion.

(a) This means the development of a program which shall include worship, study, and fellowship experiences for the whole department, boys as well as girls, through Sunday morning and Sunday evening sessions.

(b) Time shall be given other than Sunday morning and Sunday evening (Perhaps once a week for 4 to 6 weeks) for boys and girls to study the current Missionary Education Movement materials for youth. Activities and projects are a part of this study and should be given equal emphasis. (See Missionary Education Materials for Youth for 1947-48 for titles on the theme "World Evangelism.")

(c) In addition, a World Friendship Group of girls (Note new name for Interest Group of Girls) may be set up which will study the work of the Woman's Division of Christian Service. Such a group shall be a regular part of the Commission on Missions and World Friendship. The Secretary of Youth Work shall be counselor or resource person. After consultation annually with the Commission on Missions and World Friendship she calls together the interested girls. This World Friendship Group shall select a youth chairman, a program chairman and a hostess chairman.

(d) Other study and service projects may include: participation in a church School of Missions (study led by the pastor for the whole church), visits to missionary projects and institutions, study of Methodist Youth Fund projects, and the participation in overseas relief and rehabilitation projects.

3. Education for missionary giving and promoting the Methodist Youth Fund.

After a year of study on the part of of the Youth Department staff of the Board of Education and a study committee of the Woman's Division of Christian Service the following plan was approved.

We recommend:

That the Joint Committee on Missionary Education of Youth be discontinued in the local church. We further recommend that the adult adviser of the Commission on Missions and World Friendship be elected in the following manner:

1. The nominating committee of the Woman's Society of Christian Service shall consult with the council of the Methodist Youth Fellowship before making nominations for the Secretary of Youth Work.

2. The Secretary of Youth Work shall then be elected by the Woman's Society of Christian Service.

3. Upon confirmation by the council of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, the Secretary of Youth Work shall be the adviser of the Commission on Missions and World Friendship of the Methodist Youth Fellowship.

We recommend:

That the Secretaries of Youth Work

1. Keep informed through using Workshop, Highroad, Methodist Wo-

man, World Outlook, and other church school and missionary literature.

2. Make efforts to train district and local secretaries for their tasks in seminars, training conferences, small group meetings, and when possible, in local churches.

3. Continue contacts, quarterly at least, with local secretaries.

4. Urge the giving of supplies to projects and institutions under the Woman's Division of Christian Service.

5. Where possible, become accredited instructors in the area of world friendship and offer their services as teachers or counselors in camps, assemblies, leadership schools, etc.

6. Direct key young people to the vocational possibilities in the mission field at home and abroad.

MRS. DWIGHT L. FOUTS, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHILDREN'S WORK

Because a new stimulus and a stronger sense of direction has come into being in regard to the program of children's work as a result of a study of the program theme, "Of Such Is the Kingdom," the following recommendations are submitted:

1. **Continued Co-operation** by the local Woman's Society in the following ways:

a. By the election of a Secretary of Children's Work who is a worker with Primary or Junior children in the church school and who is capable and willing to lead the society into participation of all church, community, state and federal movements in the interest of children.

b. By the visitation cultivation of families to be reached in the area of the local church and the enrollment of children in the Church School, as a part of the Crusade for Christ emphases.

c. By the promotion of "Family Night Programs" and study groups for parents, using the magazine, "The Christian Home," as a basis of study.

d. By the provision for the children of the church, a meeting place that is comfortable and attractive.

e. By seeking to know the situation with reference to teachers needed and helping to bring about the appreciation of its teachers by the church as a whole.

f. By the provision of leadership training opportunities to the secretary of children's work.

g. By asking the Secretary of Children's Work to serve on the Christian Social Relations Committee.

h. By endeavoring to minister to the tragic needs of children and their parents in countries abroad.

2. Joint thinking and planning on the part of Conference and district secretaries with Cinference and district directors of children's work.

3. That Conference and disetrict secretaries of children's work seek the opportunity of presenting the program material for missionary education of children at district educational seminars, and that meetings of the local secretaries of children's work be held in connection with seminar.

4. That each Conference have a workshop for district secretaries of children's work. MRS. H. R. COGBURN, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LITERATURE AND PUBLICATIONS

I. General

We recommend that all Secretaries of Literature and Publications:

1. Magnify the importance of this office by giving their best efforts to a careful study and an enthusiastic presentation of the literature and publications and their place in the advancement of the work of the Woman's Society of Christian Service.

2. Be responsible for the distribution of all literature—in local, district or conference society—such as Program material, Week of Prayer and Self Denial material, etc.

3. Stress the importance of page 32 of **The Methodist Woman** for the announcement of the latest material as it comes from the press, also for changes in prices after the Publications Catalogue has been distributed.

4. Give wide publicity to the necessity for placing orders with Literature Headquarters at least three weeks before the material is needed. Time must be allowed for the order to reach Cincinnati, for the order to be filled, and for the package to reach its destination by fourth-class mail.

5. Make their goal for 1948 "Every Officer a Subscriber to the **Methodist Woman**" and "At Least Four Officers in Every Society Subscribers to **World Outlook**" (President, Vice-President, Secretary of Literature and Publications, Secretary of Missionary Education and Service.)

II. Local

We recommend that the Secretary of Literature and Publications in the local society:

1. Be active as a member of the Program Committee.

2. Serve as a resource person for materials for officers, committees, programs, study courses, etc., and that she assist the Secretary of Missionary Education and Service in establishing and maintaining a library for the society.

3. At regular intervals present to the membership of the society the value in becoming a subscriber to **The Methodist Woman** and **World Outlook**. Subscribers in the Wesleyan Service Guild are included in the total number for the local society.

4. Secure at least four copies of the latest Annual Report of the Woman's Division of Christian Service for her society's use, particu-

larly the President, Vice-President, Secretary of Literature and Publications, and Secretary of Missionary Education and Service.

III. District

We recommend that the Secretary of Literature and Publications in the district society:

1. Stress the necessity for electing a Secretary of Literature and Publications in every local society.

2. Hold a training day for the local secretaries as soon as possible after the annual elections.

3. Present the literature and publications at all district and zone meetings.

4. Have on sale at all district meetings the materials required by those on the program of school or workshop.

5. Cooperate with the Secretary of Missionary Education and Service in establishing and maintaining a library from which local societies may secure the use of materials, texts for study courses, etc.

6. Make an effort to secure quarterly reports from every society in her district.

IV. Conference

We recommend that the Secretary of Literature and Publications in the conference society:

1. Once a year hold training class for the district secretaries and use them in every way possible in promoting the work.

2. Present the literature and publications at the annual meeting.

3. Have on sale at all conference meetings the material required by those conducting the meeting.

4. Keep the channel from conference, through district, to local society always open and active by frequent contacts through letters, cards, etc.

5. Emphasize the importance of ordering all material from our own Literature Headquarters, 420 Plum Street, Cincinnati, 2, Ohio.

MRS. STANLEY WILSON, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUPPLY WORK

We recommend:

1. That each conference secretary inform the women of her conference of the importance of large gifts in Supply Work to fill the gap between appropriations and inflationary prices. This is done best by the use of generous amounts of Cash Supplies.

2. That we urge the use of:

a. A Sacrificial Meal (as presented in the Supply-O-Gram) early in the year. Send the gift of money through the treasurer, clearly marked, "Sacrificial Meal," or,

b. A Sacrificial Meal Box, passed or placed on the table at each general meeting, and especially where food is served. As we buy or eat

a bountiful meal we also provide food for another. This would be marked by the treasurer "Sacrificial Meal," just as the above.

3. That we send a continuous flow of boxes of new materials to our Missionaries abroad, which will be helpful in saving lives, and will implement the teachings of the Christian religion and the principles of democracy.

4. That conferences use more and more the challenge of the big Supply Work undertaking. Many a disinterested society has been awakened by such appeals. This is never to stand in the way of completing the list of Askings, however.

5. That still closer co-operation be sought with the Wesleyan Service Guilds. Each local secretary contacts the Guild Officer once a quarter to find out if any boxes of new materials have been sent. From the Woman's Society treasurer she learns what cash the Guild has directed to Supply Work.

6. That more conferences challenge the children with a larger project that holds a special interest for them.

7. That, in view of the inaccuracies in reports received by the Conference Secretaries of Supply Work, from now on they will use the treasurer's report for all cash received. The treasurer sends the report of Cash Supplies as soon as she has received it. The Supply Work Secretary assists in applying the funds to the many Askings for her conference.

8. That we continue to provide opportunity for training the local Supply Work secretaries in district meetings or smaller groups, once a year, and more if possible.

9. That, when members of a local society visit one of our institutions they bring back a message to the society, telling what they have seen, and what evidences of Supply Work they found. It may be evidences of Cash Supplies, or the Christmas gifts which they will see in action.

MRS. GLENN C. JAMES, Secretary.

SPIRITUAL LIFE RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend:

1. That we continue to stress our "prayer" program of (1) Personal Devotion, (2) The Fellowship of Intercession, and (3) the Spiritual Life Prayer Groups.

2. That we emphasize the value and need for family worship in the home, and help to bring about closer cooperation between the homes of our people and the church.

3. That we continue to cooperate with The Crusade for Christ in the emphasis upon increasing Church School enrollment and attendance.

4. That we stress The Day Apart in March as an important part of the Lenten program in the local churches.

5. That we urge our women to use Work Kit for new secretaries of Spiritual Life.

6. That we emphasize the importance of the new Spiritual Life Study

for 1948-49, "Newness of Life," by Miss Estelle C. Carver of New Haven, Conn.

7. That we stress the use of the new Prayer Calendar for 1948 as a part of our intercessory prayer observance.

8. That we provide our Conference Spiritual Life secretaries the $10.00 subsidy for the Junaluska School of Missions.

9. That we continue to conduct Conference and District Retreats and strive to make them more meaningful for our women.

10. That we cooperate on promoting our Conference School of Missions, Seminars, and Officers Training Day.

MRS. W. L. MULLIKIN, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS, MISSIONARY PERSONNEL

We recommend:

1. That the Methodist home be a truly Christian one, with the children encouraged and trained to consider the call of Christian service in making life plans. That the church and church school provide an atmosphere directing the thoughts of youth along this line. That the Woman's Society of Christian Service be constantly on the lookout for suitable recruits for missionary service.

2. That the Conference Secretary of Missionary Personnel and her Committee be actively concerned in the cultivation of all girls in the conference interested in full time Christian service. This Committtee to work closely with the District Secretaries of Missionary Personnel, and the committee set up for the local church. These persons should have information as to courses of study required for acceptance as missionary candidates, scholarships available and accredited colleges.

3. It is desirable that the committee have the applicant appear before them.

Supply applicant with literature, instructions for procedure, and all other information which can be of assistance to her.

Keep in touch with her through the months of preparation.

Assign each applicant to some society, providing her with friendly contacts.

When necessary requirements have been fulfilled, send name and all information to the Division Secretary of Missionary Personnel.

4. That the Conference Secretary have a meeting once a year with her District Secretaries, if possible. That she pass on to these Secretaries information coming to her from the Jurisdiction Secretary.

5. That both Conference and District Secretaries make use of the card system for filing as planned by the Division Secretary.

6. That the Personnel committee in the local church be composed of the following,—the Youth Secretary as chairman, working with pastor, the President of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, Wesleyan Service Guild and Student Secretaries.

7. That girls in your Conference who are preparing for Christian service be invited to attend local and conference meetings.

8. That the Secretary of Missionary Personnel be notified when a

girl from your conference enters school in another conference or state.

9. That a supply of suitable literature be kept on hand at all times for distribution.

10. That meetings by conferences and districts of students and volunteers be encouraged when practical, giving on opportunity for inspiration and acquaintance.

MRS. B. R. STOUT, Secretary.

RECOMMENDATIONS STATUS OF WOMEN

The Committee on Status of Women recommends:

1. That the working plans as outlined in the Goal Chart and the Letter File pertaining to the Status of Women be given emphasis in this year of changing quadrennium when new opportunities for service will be open to women.

2. (a) That in the final phase of the Crusade for Christ we seek opportunity for wider service for women by continuing the use of the service cards as an aid to the pastor and nominating committees in determining the interests and abilities of the women in the church.

(b) That the accurate number of women members of the church be secured as a guide to the goal of increasing the membership of the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild.

3. That in the presentation of the work of the Status of Women to the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild current information on the Commission on Status of Women of the United Nations organization be used.

4. That the place of women be recognized by listing in the roster of the church bulletin the name and office of any Division, Jurisdiction or Conference officer who is a member of the church.

MRS. MARVIN D. EBLEN, Secretary.

— NOTES —

Episcopalians Upper S.C. 1948 page 1

① Department of Christian Social Relations--pamphlet Dec. 1948
A Challange to Episcopalians

Upper Docese of S.C.
A man can't be denied cultural advantages we want for ourselves because of race, color, or creed. Every individual has right to secure home, education, economic opportunity. With reference to minority groups they propose.

1. study groups of interracial relations and methods whereby Negroes can achieve human rights.
2. Needs of Negro parishes as a Diocesan study with plans for action brought to attention of white parishes for support.
3. Unite with others to achieve better health, welfare, etc. (mentions specific agencies and problems)
4. Episcopalians ~~should~~ participate in SRC

Family and child
1. strengthenunit of family, etc.
2. provide counseling service
3. Support welfare agencies
4. Support better adoption laws
5. Work for good child labor laws.

Education--study school problems and participate in efforts for better legislation for education

Housing--
1. Support public legislation to build good housing and tear down substandard.
2. Work for decent ordinances and zoning
3. As landlords, require reasonable rent.

② Baptist--clip NYT, Jan 49

Hugh A. Brimm--ex. sec. Soc. Serv. Comm. of So. Baptist Convention asked pastors to refuse Klan bribes money (sent request in article to Baptist ministers in 21 states) prompted by Klan visiting church in Chattanooga. If Klan visits church invite them to stay if they remove masks. If they refuse dismiss service with a prayer.

③ Release --Catholic Committee of South. New Orleans Aug. 1948
Protest race discrimination and states righters
Denounced ~~strong~~ cursed terms----
Southern Tradition and States rights

④ Catholic --N.C. Catholic Comm. Release.
Msgr. McNamara spoke at Savannah Kiwanas --segregation is an aid to reds.

⑤ clip--Chatt. Times June 1948 Southern Baptist Convention

Reaffirmed principals of fairness to all races and doctrines of St. Lewis Convention 6 months before Truman's civil rts. declar.

⑥ ⑥ N. Ga. Conf. of Methodist Church.- pamphlet of Fed. Council of Chs.
Discourage injection of race or class prejudice into political campaigns. (no date)
~~WSCS of N. Ga. Conf. Mar 47~~

⑦ So. Fla. Episcopal Diocese --April 1948 letter from Alex Miller
Women's auxiliary adopted resolution approving merger of white and Negro units in the church.

(8) Episcopal -- clp Oct. 16, 1947 Constitution

Synod of the Episcopal province of Swanee-- Bishop John Moore Walker said to treat

Negroes as a special minority group in church affairs. Negroes said they wer inadequately represented within the church. (on committees) However, Bishop

Walker said that because of their proportions they would not be entitled to

a very large representation on a numberical basis. Negro communicants number only 10,000 of the 1,583,000 members.

He recommened that they be treated as a special minority group which should give active them more voice in church affairs .

(9) Virginia Council of Churches -- The Presbyterian Outlook March 1948

People should take initiative to work for justice and fair play for all ele-

ments of our population.
Recommend churches to push:

1. qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed or color.

2. That the constituti nal rights of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized and that Negroes along with other qualified citizens be empaneled for jury service.

3. Negro citizens be appointed to sch. boards and to boards of any other political or ~~private~~ civic or social, or ~~political~~ service agency on the same basis of merit as other citizens.

4. Since racial segregation in public carriers is a social and economic waste and is undemocratic in principle, and in view of the evid nce that the traditional policy of speapate but equal accommodations has proven a failure in fact, we recommend that racial segregation on common carriers and in public waiting rooms be immediately abolished.

5. That more municipal governments give equal opportunity to Negro citizens to hold appointive positions such as policemen, firement, etc. on the basis of their qualifications.

6. Be o the alert to prevent the development of any situation which might eventuate in the crime of lynching.

Recommend that opportunities for military service in all of its branches be open to Negroes for full and unrestricted participation; and that promotion to positions of responsibility be determined by merit and ability rather than race.

People should be employed according to the merits of their qualifications--this right should be safeguarded.

Virginig citizens are urged to support educational policies and legislation which will promote equitable industrial relations as they apply to racial and religious minorities.

Recognize advances of labor unions in their efforts to eliminate discrimination and encourage it.

Strive for equality of educational opportunity.

Continute efforts for more adequate gradute and professional education in Virginia and throughout the south for all people.

Public health and social services for all citizens be on an equal basis both in quality and extent.

Qualified Negro doctors and their patients be admitted to hospitals and existing accommodations for all people be improved.

Negro social workers and nurses be used more extensivey.

Slum clearance and erection of low cost housing be continued and extendd. Appointment of Negroes to boards controlling such work is strongly recommended.

Urge abolising of segregation in meetings where both races meet together for worship or conference.

Favor repeal of the state and city laws forbidding churches to hold unsegregated religious meetings in public buildings.
(resolution passed as result of discussions of Truman's program)

(10) Tennessee Baptist Reflector --Oct. 23, 1947.

X

Baptist Wolrd Alliance has unanimously adopted a statement denying the existence or racial discrimination at the rectnt Baptist Wolrd Congress in Copenhagen. Statement expressed regret that the papers were willing to publish such serious charges without now being able to rpoduce the evidence upon which the charges were based.

(11) 4-7-48 - clip U+G

X

Texas Baptist convention commened Truman for this civil rights proposal and guaranteed support .

(12) Constitution 3-22-48

Southern Baptist Convention favor full constitutional rights for Negroes, including the right to vote and adequate wages in healthful working conditions Spoke of Equal under God.

Southern Baptist Convention -- 39th Annual Report March 1948
All citizens should have equal political rights.

(13) 1947 Southern Baptist Convention-- Committee on Race Relations.Report. too early

1. Home Mission Board has increased its expenditures for Negro work and cooperates with Negro colleges and supports their Bible departments.
2. Lots of church literature is given to Negroes.
3. Woman's Missionalru Union have joint meetings and conferences between white and Negro Women.
4. Pasters and laymen participate in interracial matters and planned programs of helpfulness.

Doctrines.

a. Think of Negroes as people.
b. Strive to conquer prejudice and not use contempt terms in our speech.
c. Teach our children that prejudice is un-Christian.
d. Protest against injustice and indignities
e. Are willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution.
f. We.shall pay adequate wages and provide healthful working conditions.

g. Strive to promote good will between the races.
h. Strive to cooperate with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their miniters, and the promotion of theithmissions and evangelistic programs.

Convention recommends a program of education for improvement of attitudes in Baptists.
a. Sunday Sch. Board deal with race question in its literature.
b. publication and distribution of study course books and other literature dealing with race.
c, publication of editorials and contributed articles on race relatins in denominational papers.
d. inclusion of race relations in the social service reports of all state conventions and district associations.
e. introduction of courses in race relations and Negro life into the curricula of Baptist colleges.
f. Publication of summaries of work of Baptists in this field of service.
g. cooperation of pastors in bringing to the attention of their prople the basic Christian doctrines and principles of conduct that bear upon racial attitudes.

Methodist
6 - 5 - 47 (too early)
Ellaville, Ga. WSCS.--statement supporting equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.. We stand for the rights (equal) of racial groups and insist that social, economic and spiritual principles apply to all races alike.
Believe that to keep silent where injustices exist is to share the guilt of the oppressor.

Methodist
(14) Reports and Recommendations of Officers of the Southestern Jurisdiction 1948

1. Make it possible for the Secretary to visit the state capitol and become acquainted with the governor, the directors of state departments, especially of labor, health, welfare and education.
2. sponsor conference and district workshops, across jurisdiction lines, on human rights and world order some time during the year.

3. have a seminar on christian social relations
4. 10 minutes of every circle meeting devoted to social problems and action.
5. every Society select a definite project affecting the welfare and well-being of two or mor groups (labor, minority, etc.) in which the Socoety will work in cooperation with the members of the groups concerned.

Support
a. Anti-lynch b. anti-poll tax c. Federal aid to education. d. legislation providing for full employment, full pay, full security and prevention of inflation e. federal housing legislation containting fundamental provisions of the Taft-Wagner housing act. f. material and child welfare act. g provision for adequate medical care for all people h. social security for agricultural and domestic workers. h. support the Methodist stand for collective bargaining.

(16) Specifically Southern Methodist women should:

1. Acquaint themselves with the content and full implications of the r port of the President's Committee by studies, discussions, and practical action to implement same in the community and nation.

2. That every effort be made to make the South, the nationa as a whole and the world know that christian women of the South oppo any effort, political or otherwise, to block progressive moves toward the achievement of civil rights for all people in this nation, including millions of citizens in this Southland. We call upon the Conferences, districts and local groups to stand up and be counted for human freedom.

3. work for Federal and state legislation to guarantee Civil Rights to the peoples of this nation.

4. Work to implement the Supremem Count ruling relative to admission of all individuals, regardless of race or creed to educational institutions for graduate training in our schools, both church and state controlled.

5. Look to practices in WSCS seeking to remove every barrier that separates members of the family of God in the M. Ch., and to build a christian fellowship where ideas, experiences, facilities, and action programs may be shared with freedom on a bisis of full participation.

Southeastern Jurisdiction- Resolutionson World Order.

1. Crusade for prevention of war--combat fear suspicion, etc.
2. emphasize accomplishments of U.N. as opposed to criticism.
3. study and expose propaganda
4. internation control of atomic power with emphasis on civil administration and its constructive use for the welfare of mankind.
5. support ERP.
6. oppose UMT
6. urge our congressmen to approve a three year extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreement which expires June 12, and to approve the International Trade Organization Charter, to support the aims and purposes of UNESCO through appropriation of funds for its program of defense of peace, comparable, in a measure, at least to appropriation for military defense.

8. emphasize need for relief through church and individual channels
9. recommend cooperation with the international Children's Emergency Fund thur American Overseas Aid by publicizing the need and by giving the equivalent of one days work on Feb. 29 to this fund.

(15) Methodist -- green pamphlet-Preachers called to constructive fellowship. After Columbia riot Bishop R.R. Wright, of the African Methodist Church wrote a letter of appeal to promote better interracial good will, to prevent such outbursts of friction as the Columbia incident. The suggestion was this

In every community let the ministers, white and colored, particularly those of our united Methodism, meet at regualar intervals for fellowship, and for consideration of their common responsibility to church and community.

As a result ofthis statement a number of interracial committes within the church throughout the South were organized. Testimonials as to thier success and work appear in the pamphlet

Joint Church Groups

(17) I --Danville Va. Register Feb. 24, 1948

Virginia Council of Churches -- executive committee proposals

1. abolition of segregation on public carriers and in public waiting rooms and repeal of state and local laws forbidding churches to hold unsegregated relitious meetings in public buildings.

2. qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed or color.

3. That constitutional rights of Virginia citizens to serve on juries be more fully recognized that Negroes along with other qualified citizens be empaneled for jury service.

4. That Negro citizens be appointed to school boards and to boards of other political, public, civic or social service agencies on the same basis of merit as other citizens.

5. That qualified Negro physicians and their patients be admitted to hospitals throughout the state and that existing hospital accommodations for white and colored people be improved.

6. Specifically, we urge now the abolition of segregation in meetings where both races meet together for worship or conference.

(18) (18) II Virginia Council of Churches--annual report of the Exec. Sec.
Jan. 1948

Dept. of Social Education and Action studied public welfare in Va. - have tried to acquaint the citizens with the problems and conditions in this area--made recommendations to Gov. Tuck. People are urged to write their representatives.

Also sponsored a session on "The Church and the Care of Alcoholics.

3,000 copies of an article On the Way To Brotherhood were sent out to interested people in Va. (no copy of the thing in our file.)

(19) A Report fo the Ga. Council of Ch. Women -Mar 1949 Methodist (?)

It is our Christian duty to work for the rights of all, white and black, men and women, persons of all faiths.
Oppose any and all actions which deny the rights of citizenship-i.e. Voters Re -registration, County Unit system, use of violence and terror.
Work for Minimum Educ. Foundation bill. Question taxation that will fall most heavily on those least able to pay.

Our policemen must not be members of organizations which spread fear and terror. No one should suffer violence at the hands of officers because of his color or faith.

clip e3/6/49 --interreligious youth conference--NCCJ
Discussion topics-- Understanding the Faith of My Neighbor.
The Roots of Prejudice
Human Relations and World Peace
Building a Program for Better Understanding on the College Campus

(21) Seventh Day Adventists

Build Riverside Sanitarium--½ million dollar hospital at Nashville primarily to serve Negro patients--completed and opened June 1948--designed by a local firm of Negro architects and completely staffed by colored personnel. Institution has membership in the American Medical and Hospital Assn. and Blue Cross plan. 75 beds.

(22) Atlanta Journal april 1948 - 7th Day Adv. Doctrines of universal fatherhood & brotherhood of man are untrue & have no place in the Christian Church.

? (23) Methodist Church Women and the kkk

200 women (Jan. 27) strongly denounced the Ga. Legislature's recent action tabling a bill to unmask the KKK. A resolution passed unanimously at a workshop on "The Bible and Human Rights repudiates the action of the Legislature which said to the world that "the Klan is the way of life in the South." They commended representatives Luther Alverson, Muggsy Smith, H.O. Hubert, Jr. Hugh McWhorter, Raymond M. Reed and others for their courageous stand. The women called upon city and county governments to take action that would prohibit parades or assemblies of masked groups on highways or in public buildings. Urged ministers to preach sermons on true meaning of the cross -- Atlanta Constitution 1/28/49

(24) Baptist -- from bulleton Feb. 1949 Light --Southern Baptist Convention bulletin of social service

Texas Baptist Students conducted an interracial youth revival with outstanding success

University Baptist Church Austin Texas held a Christian Conference on Human Rights and invited Negro and white leaders to participate

First Baptist Church of Vicksburg for a number of years has shared all of their special program leaders with the Negro ministers of the community.

The following adopted in full by 1948 Baptist Conventions of Maryland, Fla., Oklahoma, Tennessee and in part by Kentucky

A Charter of Principles on Race Relations.
1. Think of Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.
2. Strive to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from speech terms of contempt and from our actions conduct of ill-will.
3. Teach children prejudice is unchristian
4. Protest against injustice
5. Be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted under the Constitution -vote, serve on juries, to recive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence, benefits from education receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers .
6. Be just with Negroes and pay adequately for his services in our employ.
7. Strive to promote good will between the races in every way possible.
8. Cooperate with Negro Baptists in building up their churches, education of their ministers, and the promotion of the missions.

Urge that.
1. Special Race Relations Committee be elected by this Convention with the responsiblility of study
2. Churches set up local study grous, forums, etc.
3. that individual members or churches be encouraged to inform themselves on the vital issues of the problem.

~~Episcopal Provincial meeting Oct~~. 1948 -Augusta, Ga.

Episcopalian ~~Symmxxx

34- Baptist Girls of North Carolina-- A resolution toward better racial understanding august 1948

35 -- Tennessee Baptist Reflector
Sept 1948--Ridgecrest, N.C.

Discussion group of So. Baptist laymen adopted proposals to improve race relations.

1. business men with investment capital should consider the building or financing of good hotels for Negroes, to be located in Negro sections of Southern cities.

2. finance companies and business promoters should own stock wholly or jointly with Negro business men, in good cafes, drug stores and dept. stores in Negro areas-- to be operated by Negro business men.

36 - Va. Council of Churches - a program of interracial cooperation.--Feb. we 1948

37 - clip atl. Const. Christian Council of Atlanta condemns Klan for using symbol of cross

38 - Methodist Churchwomen Jan. 28, 1949 denounced Ga. Legislature's action in tabling unmasking of KKK.

39 - Methodist Ministers Assn. of Atl. Journal 12/48 denounce Klan. ask for city ordenance for banning masks.

40 - Methodist Ministers Assn. of Chatt. atl. Const Feb 1949 passed resolution denouncing presence of Klan members into churches of any denomination.

AT CONST
JAN 28 1949

250 Women Hit Tabling Of Mask Ban

JAN 28 1949

Two hundred and fifthy Methodist churchwomen yesterday strongly denounced the Georgia Legislature's recent action tabling a bill to unmask the Ku Klux Klan.

The pronouncement was made at a workshop on "The Bible and Human Rights" by the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Atlanta East and Atlanta West Districts of the Methodist Church, representing Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Cherokee, Pickens, and Gwinnett Counties. The meeting was held at the Wesley Memorial Church.

A resolution, passed unanimously, declared the body "repudiates the action of the Legislature which said to the world that 'the Klan is the way of life in the South.' We would commend Representatives Luther Alverson and Muggsy Smith of Fulton County; H. O. Hubert, Jr., and Hugh McWhorter of DeKalb; and Raymond M. Reed of Cobb, as well as others, for their courageous stand in supporting the bill for de-hooding the Klan."

The churchwomen further called upon city an county governments to take action that would prohibit parades or assemblies of masked groups on highways or in public buildings. They urged ministers "to preach sermons on the true meaning of the cross."

The resolution continued:

"We express our disapproval in its entirety of House Bill Number 1, known as the Voters Bill, especially the re-registration provision, because (1) it perpetuates a political machine which endangers democracy and results in wholesale disfranchisement of people; (2) it puts power in the hands of a few people; (3) the present law, if enforced, will be adequate to keep the voters' list up to date.

The Atlanta meeting was the third in a series of six workshops on human rights being held by the WSCS of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church. Others have taken place in Newnan and in Gainesville.

SPURN KLAN 'BRIBES,' BAPTIST AIDE URGES

NYT, 29 Jan 49

By Religious News Service.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Jan. 28— Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, executive secretary of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, has asked Southern Baptist pastors to refuse "bribe money" offered by the Ku Klux Klan.

He made the request in an article sent to editors of Southern Baptist publications in a twenty-one state area.

Taking note of a recent incident near Chattanooga, Tenn., when the local Klan came into a Baptist church with a contribution, Dr. Brimm wrote that "the incident . . . will probably be repeated many times now that the Klan has sunk to such a low level in the thinking of decent and respectable people."

"These contributions," Dr. Brimm warned, "should be recognized for what they are, 'bribe money.' Bringing such bribes into the church ought to be openly resented and refused by Christian people."

He suggested to pastors "that when and if the Klan comes to your church * * * remember the following:

"(1) Keep cool—no one should be afraid of cowards who won't show their faces.

"(2) Remember that superficial piety is hypocrisy before God and man. These men cannot wash the blood stains of lynched victims from their skirts by merely walking into a church with 'blood money.'

"(3) Refuse any gifts and invite them to stay only if they remove their masks. If they refuse to unhood themselves, then dismiss the service with a prayer for them that they might see the light of God's love for all men and themselves come to love all men."

Klan Pastor Quits Pulpit Under Fire

FEB 2 1949

CONST

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—(INS) A Baptist minister in Chattanooga quit his church pulpit yesterday after members of his congregation objected to his espousal of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Rev. Hobart Linkous said following his resignation that:

"I have always been frank to admit that I am a member of the Ku Klux Klan and my congregation has always known that I was affiliated with the Klan."

The Baptist minister had been attacked by former members of his congregation for an appearance in a Klan robe at a recent rally of the Chattanooga hooded group.

Meanwhile, the Methodist Ministers' Association of Chattanooga passed an official resolution denouncing the presence of Klan members into churches of any denomination.

The action followed a recent incident in which Kluxers entered a local Baptist church, causing the church organist to faint.

Her husband, the musical director of the church, later resigned his position.

LIGHT

A Bulletin of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention

2825 Lexington Road Louisville, Kentucky

Volume II FEBRUARY, 1949 **Number 1**

The Two Day War Of 1968

History books of the future, if there are any, probably will call it the Two-Day War. They will also record that it was the most devastating war of all time, in spite of its short duration, and that it began the transference of the center of civilization from Europe and the Americas to Central Asia and the Belgian Congo.

The Two-Day War began on September 27, 1968 in the United States, the industrial and military center of the Western Bloc. Guided missiles with atomic warheads hit the heavily populated eastern cities at 5:10 P. M., as crowds of factory and office workers jammed the streets. Simultaneously with the striking of the missiles, submerged atomic bombs in the Atlantic were exploded, taking advantage of a strong onshore wind that carried deadly radioactive spray as much as 150 miles inland. Similar bombs along the Pacific Coast exploded the next day when a favorable wind developed there.

Every major city in North America was hit in the first attack, with bombs coming across both oceans and over the polar regions, and within two hours most of the other centers of population blew up as a result of the explosion of "planted" atomic mines, put there by saboteurs and spies years before.

The United States was, of course, in shambles. The bombs, as atomic scientists had warned for twenty years, were a thousand times as powerful as the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945.

Simultaneously with the attack on the United States, that country struck even harder at Russia. (It is still not known which of the two nations was the "aggressor;" each nation claimed to be merely "retaliating" for an attack on itself. The matter was of academic interest only, of course: both nations had carried on for twenty years an unremitting war of nerves, accompanied by an armaments ract that has brought each to the brink of economic ruin.) American guided missiles and supersonic planes winged their way toward every population center in the Soviet Union, and were equally successful in reducing

(Continued on Page 2)

Signs Of Promise For Better Interracial Understanding

Although the Klan still rides to spread its hate, and though mock demonstrations of so-called justice of the "Lyons, Georgia type" make the headline news, there are many indications that we, in the South, are moving forward toward a better, more creative basis of interracial and intercultural understanding.

Here are just a few of the recent events that were not spotlighted in the news but which mark clearly the "upward way."

* * *

"Arizona Baptist College will not deny a Christian education to any because of race or color."

* * *

"Texas Baptist Students conducted an interracial youth revival with outstanding success."

* * *

"University Baptist Church, Austin, Texas held a Christian Conference on Human Rights and invited Negro and white leaders to participate."

* * *

"Oklahoma City YWCA has opened an American Room where luncheon is served to anyone without regard to race."

* * *

"The Medical School of the University of Arkansas has enrolled a young Negro woman whose record put her in the upper half of her class."

* * *

"The United States Supreme Court has ruled that it is unconstitutional for the courts to enforce restrictive housing covenants."

* * *

"The right of Negroes to vote in South Carolina's Democratic primary has been upheld by the Supreme Court."

* * *

The First Baptist Church of Vicksburg, Mississippi for a number of years has followed the plan of sharing all of their special program leaders with the Negro ministers of the community.

* * *

The following was adopted in full by the 1948 Baptist Conventions of Maryland, Florida, Oklahoma, Tennessee; it was adopted in part by the Kentucky Convention:

(Continued on Page 3)

The Prayer Of A Modern Pharisee

BY ONE OF THEM

Luke 18:11, "The Pharisee stood up and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are."

I thank thee, Lord, that I am a North Carolinian and not from Virginia or South Carolina, those "two mountains of conceit bordering the vale of humiliation," full of pompous pride and unaware that their progressive neighbors have long ago outdistanced them; and I thank thee,Lord, that I am an **Eastern** North Carolinian, for is it not a proverb that "No gentleman was ever born west of tidewater?" Especially, Lord, I thank thee that I am a Southerner and not a Yankee—for there are many things one might endure, but not that! Grateful am I, O Lord, that I am a North American, and not a South American, for there is a vast difference, as everybody knows; and that I was born in these favored United States, and not among the gringos of Mexico or the Canucks of Canada. Thankful, too, am I, to be an occidental and not an oriental—one of those "lesser breeds without the law." True that Confucius and Gautama Buddha, Abraham, Moses and Gandhi were great men, but I never liked slanting eyes or the wrong shape of nose. I thank thee, Lord, that I am a Gentile and not a Jew. Yes, of course, Jesus was born a Jew and many others of that race were princes in Israel when my ancestors were Nordic barbarians, but that has been a long time ago. Why bring that up now? I thank thee that I am white, not yellow or red or brown or black. The Bible does teach that "While man looketh on the outward appearance, God looketh on the heart," but the outward appearance counts for a lot below the Mason and Dixon Line. I thank thee, O God, that I am civilized and not a savage, though they do say it is the civilized countries that are at war today, while the uncivilized nations are at peace."

"And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every man that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."—John A. MacLean, an Eastern North Carolinian!—(Reprinted from **Presbyterian Outlook**)

THE TWO DAY WAR OF 1968

(Continued from Page 1)

that country to chaos and her people to panic and despair.

While the so-called "common people" of both Russia and America died by millions, the professional armies of both nations, hidden in deep caves in the mountains continued to speed both atomic and bacteriological warfare at their enemies' cities, towns and villages. Within two days literally hundreds of thousands of missiles crossed continents and oceans, and paralyzed not only the two principal opponents but their smaller satellites as well.

In the United States, panic-stricken survivors, most of them radio-actively infected and doomed to die within a few weeks, fled from the vicinity of every city and town. They swept the countryside like a swarm of locusts, looting and pillaging in vain attempts to replace the supplies that formerly had been brought in by the now shattered railroad and trucking lines.

The war ended as abruptly as it had begun, on September 29. In America the launching sites for both missiles and planes had exhausted their supplies of fuel and ammunition. Deep earth tremors set off by atomic bomb explosions burried thousands of soldiers and technicians in collapsed caverns, while others fled in helpless terror from the deadly radioactive gases detected by geiger counters in the caves. Radio appeals by the Commanding General, whose office had been moved to one of the deepest caves after the President and Congress had been wiped out by a bomb on Washington, called on the common people to "help their brave soldiers" by bringing in supplies by sheer manpower. Since most power generators had been smashed or deserted by that time, however, the appeal was heard only by a handful of people.

Missiles from the Soviet Union ceased coming at about the same time, and later news revaled that much the same events had occurred in that country.

One aspect of the Two-Day War demonstrated again the tendency of military men to "prepare to fight the last war instead of the next one." In spite of all evidence to prove that mass armies and half-trained men would be of no possible use in such a war, the United States had adopted peacetime conscription twenty years before. At the time of the war, therefore, there were about ten million men supposedly "trained" for warfare.

On September 27, three hours before the first attack, the President issued an immediate mobilization call. This set in motion machinery to set up local draft boards, which were supposed to go through the process of calling up these so-called reserves for retraining. The whole process had been estimated by General George C. Marshall, one-time chief of staff, to require about a year. Actually, not even the first steps were taken, since the population was hopelessly scattered within twenty-four hours.

In the aftermath of this most terrible of wars, few means were left for gathering statistics. The best information available, however, indicated that well over forty million Americans and an equal number of Russians had been killed in the first blow. Cancer of the bone ,a very acute anemia, and a new liver disease, all fatal results of radioactivity, were to strike down millions more, while bacteriological warfare spread a grim blanket of plague germs over entire continents. Cities throughout America and Europe were vast deserted heaps of rubble impregnated with the stench of death. Even the rats, which at first fattened and multiplied, soon sickened and died of the results of exposure to the radioactive ruins. A few isolated centers of population were able to survive, though on a bare level of subsistence, but for the most part all the great centers of Western civilization became devoid of human life.

That was the Two-Day War, called by some the Last World War.

DOES IT SOUND FANTASTIC?

Does this story of the "next war" sound fantastic and unbelievable? Fantastic it is, but not unbelievable. Every point made in it is based on sober testimony, usually before Congressional committees, of top-ranking military and scientific experts. Here are a few of those statements and their sources. Some are condensed for convenience, but in none is the original meaning distorted:

"An atomic attack on the United States could kill 40,000,000 Americans in one night"—Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer, chief of the atomic bomb project, to the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

* * *

"Victory for an aggresive nation can be assured in a few terrible hours in an atom war of the future."—Dr. Morris Perlman, atomic scientist.

* * *

"For the forseeable future there can be no adequate military defense against atomic weapons."—**International Control ot Atomic Energy,** issued by the State Department, January, 1947.

* * *

"Anti-aircraft defense guided by radar eventiually reached such efficiency that 80 to 90 per cent of the V-1s aimed at London were shot down. But if the remaining 10 to 20 per cent had carried atomic warheads there would be no London today."—W. A. Higginbotham (atomic scientist), **New York Times,** November 3, 1946."

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"It is heartless cruelty to feed the people of Europe if we merely intend to fatten them and then kill them in the Third World War."—Harold H. Geistweit

An Affirmation For Peace

The following affirmation for peace has been sent throughout the Northern Baptist Convention by the Council on Christian Social Progress. This Council under the leadership of Rev. Donald B. Cloward is promoting an intensive World Peace Movement.

I Believe that as a disciple of the Prince of Peace I am under obligation to live continuously day by day as a peacemaker.

I Believe that peace is possible and that we can have a world in which we and our children can live out our lives without fear or hate, and free from the great burden of war and preparation for war.

I Believe that the longings of the mass op people in all other lands are the same as my own, and that war between us comes because we bring it by our ignorance of one another and by our blind self-interest.

I Believe that we should learn more about each other and come to understand each other's needs and desires, and help each other fulfill them. I want all people everywhere to be well fed and clothed and housed, to be healthy and to be happy.

I Believe that all people have a right to choose freely their form of government, their system of economic life, and their religion.

I Believe that my lot is common with that of all other men. What I do affects them and what they do affects me. We must work together if we are to solve our problems. I will support wholeheartedly such ways to common action as a strong United Nations, an international court for judgment upon our behavior, an international police force for law enforcement, and a reduction of armaments and hindrances to freedom of trade and travel.

I Believe that we can no more have our own way in international relationship than in the doings among men in my own neighborhood. For the sake of peace I am willing to curtail my pride, recognize my own faults, share to the point of sacrifice, and sincerely try to be a better international neghbor. I shall actively support such leaders and programs as move directly in these paths.

I Pray the Creator of us all to increase our respect for one another, to reveal to us our faults, to increase our understanding, our tolerance of one another's differences, and our willingness to share His blessings. I ask Him to bless us all, brothers everywhere, joining in this affirmation for peace. Amen.

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"Unless character controls this new atomic power, the beasts of the field have more hope of surviving a thousand years from now than man."—Samuel Macauley Lindsay

———o———

"We need to clothe and feed the people of the world to whom we wish to preach the gospel simply because it is futile to preach to people who are dead." —C. Oscar Johnson

A STATEMENT OF CONVICTION AND A PROGRAM FOR ACTION IN RACE RELATIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

We are fact to face with a problem of human relationships which, while serious in its local manifestations, has grown to world-wide proportions and is, at this moment, a critical and vital issue which calls for an answer and a solution. It is the problem of inter-racial and inter-cultural relationships. The currents of opinion are such that the time is now when Christian people and Christian organizations must assume the leadership and find a way through the maze of confused and irrational thinking to a vital, a creative and realistic solution which is predicated upon the basic principles of the teachings of Jesus concerning human relationships.

The Southern Baptist Convention has shown itself to be awake to the seriousness of the problem in its adoption, by unanimous vote, of "A Charter of Principles on Race Relations." This Charter recognizes that the critical problems of human relationships cannot be solved until we face squarely and honestly the deeper meaning of the Christian message which is God's thought and answer to man's dilemma. It sets forth the following:

Principles of Action

1. We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly.

2. We shall continually strive as individuals to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from our speech terms of contempt and from our conduct actions of ill-will.

3. We shall teach our children that prejudice is unchristian and that good-will and helpful deeds are the duty of every Christian toward all men of all races.

4. We shall protest against injustice and indignities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them.

5. We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right to vote, to serve on juries, to receive justice in the courts, to be fre from mob violence, to secure a just share of the benefits of educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences.

6. We shall be just in our dealing with the Negro as an individaul. Whenever he is in our employ we shall pay him an adequate wage and provide for him healthful working conditions.

7. We shall strive to promote community good-will between the races in every way possible.

8. We shall actively co-operate with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their ministers, and the promotion of their missions and evangelistic programs.

In the light of these principles we therefore urge:

1. That a Special Commitee on Race Relations be elected by this Convention and charged with the responsibility of earnest and prayerful study of the problems of Race Relations during the forthcoming year.

2. That the members of this Committee or representatives thereof be urged to participate in the Southwide study on Race Relations at Ridgecrest in the **Conference on Christian Living,** August 18-21, 1949 sponsored by the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

3. That our churches plan for specialized study within their local congregations: panel forums, audio-visual aids, special lectures, study courses, etc. should be utilized for this study.

4. That the individual members of or churches be encouraged to inform themselves on the vital issues of this problem by the study of good books, tracts and periodicals.

5. That the resources of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention be fully utilized in the accomplishment of the foregoing suggestions. Suggestions for reading, outlines for study and plans for action can be obtained by writing:

Social Service Commission
of the
Southern Baptist Convention
2825 Lexington Road
Louisville, Kentucky

* * *

NORTH CAROLINA

In North Carolina a group of Baptist girls adopted the following:

We, a group of Baptist girls of North Carolina, members of Girls' Auxiliary after a study of the American Negro in a class at GA camp, recommend that we unanimously adopt the following resolutions and pledge ourselves to their fulfillment:

1. That we speak with respect of all races and creeds and discontinue the use of such terms as "nigger," "darkey," and other disrespectful words.

2. That we read biographies of great Negroes so we may understand and appreciate their cultural and scientific contributions to our civilization.

3. That we treat all persons and groups with kindness and consideration, being courteous and polite as any Christian should, to the humblest as well as the greatest.

4. That we do what we can to see that opptrunities exist for Negroes and help them avail themselves of these: such as helping them have better schools, public libraries, playgrounds, helping them to participate in Negro health and clean up weeks, etc.

5. That we help them train their young people in their churches in any way that opportunity presents.

6. That we keep these resolutions before us by sending copies to our state young people's secretary, and the southwide young people's secretary, for publication in the state paper.

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"It is sheer suicide to trust and believe that military secrets we have learned for ourselves can forever be kept to ourselves."—Walter White

———o———

"Today humanity seems to be playing marbles with atomic bombs."—George Buttrick

Child Labor Legislation

According to **The American Child,** the two major gains in child labor legislation in 1948 were the revised laws enacted by Virginia and Kentucky. By adopting most of the standards recommended for state child labor laws, these two states moved into the group of states which rank first in child labor legislation.

The major defeats in child labor legislation were in Mississippi and Missouri where bills similar to the Virgina and Kentucky bills were killed. Both of these bills were the result of study and recommendations made by Children's Code Commissions appointed for the purpose of modernizing protective laws. The existing child labor and compulsory education laws in both Missouri and Mississippi fall far below adequate standards and it is to be hoped that in the future these states will give more serious attention to the recommendations of the Code Commissions which they appoint.

Bills to provide some much-needed strengthening of the South Carolina child labor law which had been introduced in the 1946 session, postponed to the 1947 session, and again postponed to the 1948 session, were allowed to die. The existing South Carolina law has a 16 year limit for employment during school hours and for manufacturing at any time but little else. There is no age limit for work outside of school hours except in factories, mines, and textile establishments; there is no regulation of daily and weekly hours of work except in textile mills; night work is prohibited only for children under 16 and between the hours of 8 P. M. and 5 A. M. and there is no provision for work permits. The bills which got nowhere in three legislative sessions would have established a 14 year limit for work outside of school hours, an 8 hour day, 40 hour week under 16, a limit of 4 hours a day, 28 hours a week under 16 when schools were in session, and a work permit system for minors under 18. South Carolina's failure to improve her child labor law leaves her far behind other Southern States in that region, which have gone forward in their child labor or compulsory education standards, or both, in recent years. These more progressive states are: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia.

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"Nothing is more untrue than that secular education can save us. Only one thing is worse than a devil and that is an educated devil."—George A. Buttrick

———o———

"Social reformation is a condition to be desired; it is not a substitute for soul regeneration."—G. Kearnie Keegan

What Not To Do In Race Relations

TOLLIE L. CAUTION
Secretary for Negro Work
Protestant Episcopal Church

1. It is not so much what we say, but rather what we do together, that fosters interracial understanding.

2. Do not just study a problem. Do something about it.

3. Do not let interracial group experience remain too long on the simple plane it began on, but constantly strive to improve the experience.

4. Do not deal with minority group members in a special manner. Avoid, for instance, having Negro staff members approach "their group."

5. Do not let your relations with other groups be confined to public platforms. Know a number of them as individuals so that you feel free to disagree with some of them without feeling biased.

6. Avoid cleavages on the basis of group loyalty by refraining from questions such as "Now what do you Negroes think of this?"

7. Avoid acceptance of a member of a minority group on the grounds that he is different from other members of the same group.

8. Avoid generalizations. Members of minority groups vary in their opinions.

9. Avoid stories or jokes which use minority "types" such as "darkies," "Japs," "dago," and so on. Even though your own motives are good, past connotations cannot be forgotten.

10. Do not write Negro with a small "n"; it stems from Negroid and is capitalized as in Caucasian, or Mongoloid.

11. Do not change your etiquette because members of a minority group are present. Be neither less nor more cordial. Accept them naturally.

12. Do not hold impressive isolated meetings in the interests of brotherhood. Make it a constant concern.

13. Avoid minstrels and similar entertainments since they perpetuate stereotypes which discourage progress.

14. Avoid unnecessary emphasis upon the interracial character of any group. Accept it casually. Undue stress can be divisive in its effect.

———o———

Minorities

STEPCHILDREN OF THE NATION

This is the title of a recent publication of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. The study points out that there are approximately 5,000,000 people of Mexican origin in the United States living principally in the western and southwestern regions of this country.

It points out that in the state of Texas where the tuberculosis death rate for Anglo-Americans is 31 per 10,000 population and 95 per 100,000 population for Negroes, the rate among Mexicans is 209 per 100,000. In other words in 1944, the Mexican death rate from tuberculosis was seven times that of the Anglo population.

As a rule, the report continues, Mexicans not only live in slums in the cities, but also live in slums in the rural areas. A government sample study revealed the following facts: 60,000 live in houses with no sanitary sewage disposal; 67,000 have no garbage disposal facilities; 10,000 use ditch water for drinking; 33,000 have no bathing facilities; 70% of the houses have no screens or very poor ones. The average house consists of two and one-half rooms and the average family of five people. The housing includes converted railroad cars, chicken sheds, barns and tent camps.

Write for the full report addressing your request to the committee, 23 West 26th Street, New York, N. Y.

———o———

"Full Sunday Schools today will prevent full prisons tomorrow."—J. Edgar Hoover

What You Can Do For Better Race Relations

1. As a church member, find out:
a—What other racial groups live in your community.
b—What their churches and civic organizations are doing to build a better community.
c—What your denomination is doing about race relations.
d—What your local church is doing about race relations.
e—What other community agencies are doing to improve race relations and how you can co-operate.

2. Seek continuously to understand the meaning of being a Christian in race relations.
a—When voting.
b—When discharging the duties of political office.
c—When seeking office.

3. Seek to be Christian in business by treating men, regardless of race, as the sons of God.
a—In selling. c—In employing.
b—In buying. d—In promoting.
e—In compensating.

4. Act as a neighbor in the Christian sense.
a—By learning the basic facts about race.
b—In speech (avoid generalizations, correct derogatory or incorrect statements based on race).
c—In refusing to join with others to restrict neighborhoods against others because of race.
d—In urging that every child have an equal opportunity to those things coveted for your own child, including education, recreation, health, etc.
e—In supporting legislation to guarantee rights regardless of race.

———o———

AMERICA—What America needs is less soiled conversation and more soil conservation.

LIGHT
A Bulletin of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 2825 Lexington Road, Louisville, Kentucky.
Published monthly except July and August
HUGH A. BRIMM, Editor

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SRC - The Churches Speak

SID McMATH
GOVERNOR

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

April 26, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 15, 1949 in which you enclose the latest issue of your Council's magazine.

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in forwarding this material to me.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Sid McMath

Sid McMath

SMcM/jah

RECEIVED
APR 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

APRIL, 1949
Vol. 4 No. 4

New South

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

The Churches Speak

SOUTHERN churches and church people have long played an important role in the effort to secure equal rights for all people in the region. The Southern Regional Council itself owes a large debt of gratitude to the various faiths and denominations that have supported its program.

During the past two years, in which the question of human and civil rights has become a leading national issue, religious groups in the South have shown a growing willingness to take a positive stand for a broader democracy. Following are some excerpts from statements issued by religious and church bodies — all but one of them Southern. Most of the statements were made within the past year, and none dates back further than 1947. They are broken down for convenience under three general headings — Safety of the Person, Citizenship and Its Privileges, and Equality of Opportunity.

This can only be regarded as a sampling; we have not attempted a complete summary of Southern church pronouncements in the field of human rights.

SAFETY OF THE PERSON

Southern Baptist Convention: "We shall think of the Negro as a person and treat him accordingly. . . We shall protest against injustice and indignities against Negroes, as we do in the case of people of our own race, whenever and wherever we meet them."

North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church: "It is . . . patent to all that prejudice and race hatred are a constant threat to law and order and the fruitful source of acts of violence and the detestable crime of lynching."

New Orleans Unit, Catholic Committee of the South: "As Catholics we know that incitement to ill will and hatred is contrary to the Christian principles of justice and charity, a grave violation of the great Commandment: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' "

Methodist Ministers' Association of Atlanta: "We are scandalized at the Klan's desecration of the Cross of Christ. . . We condemn as un-Christian the Klan's constant stirring of prejudice and hate. . . We call on the City of Atlanta, the County of Fulton, the State of Georgia to pass legislation prohibiting the parading of any group under the cover of masks."

Committee on Christian Relations, The Presbyterian Church in the United States: "That since our American Congress has seen fit to maintain its Committee on un-American Activities, the Assembly call upon this Committee to be no less concerned to investigate and expose the un-Americanism of organizations like the Columbians and the Ku Klux Klan — which are definitely akin to fascism — than it is to expose organizations whose subversive activities stem from their Communist character."

Commission on Justice and Peace, Central Conference of American Rabbis: "The essence of justice is the exercise of community responsibility. Yet where local authority neglects or fails to act, the federal government should — and must — have the power and authority to act vigorously."

Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction, The Methodist Church: Recommended "that Methodist women work for federal and state legislation to guarantee civil rights to the peoples of this nation."

Georgia Council of Church Women: "Our policemen must not be members of organizations which spread fear and terror . . . There is no room in a democratic society for those who, wearing hoods and burning crosses, practice hatred and violence. . . ."

Executive Committee, Virginia Council of Churches: Recommended "that the citizens and officials of Virginia, while deeply grateful for the record of our state in having no lynching in our borders since the passage of the anti-lynching law 20 years ago, ever be on the alert to prevent the development of any situation which might eventuate in the crime of lynching."

CITIZENSHIP AND ITS PRIVILEGES

Synod of South Carolina, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S.: "America cannot be a white oligarchy in which the Negro is required to abide by rules which he had no hand in formulating."

Commission on Justice and Peace, Central Conference of American Rabbis: "We urge the elimination of all disfranchising techniques, whether discriminatory or potentially discriminatory. Consequently we endorse Federal action to abolish poll taxes. . . Thoroughgoing protection of the rights of suffrage calls for recognition by the several states of their moral responsibility to assure these rights to all citizens and state action in accordance therewith."

Social Service Commission, Southern Baptist Convention: "We believe in democracy, according to which equal political rights are granted to all citizens on a common basis of qualification. The exclusive rule of one race in a multi-racial democracy, without regard to the right of other races to participate in the processes of self-government under a common law, is no more justifiable than the rule of one political party without regard to the rights of other political parties to participation in the processes of self-government under a common law."

North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church: "Resolved, that we appeal to our Methodist people and to all citizens to discourage by every possible means the injection of race or class prejudice into political campaigns."

Executive Committee, Virginia Council of Churches: Recommended "that qualifications for voting or service in connection with elections be set and administered without discrimination because of race, creed, or color . . . that Negro citizens be appointed to school boards and to boards of any other political, public, civic, or social service agency on the same basis of merit as other citizens."

Georgia Council of Church Women: "We must oppose any and all actions which deny the rights of citizenship."

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Catholic Committee of the South: "The term 'Southern Tradition' is misused and dishonored when it is employed to justify a continued state of unjust discrimination against the Negro laborer and privation of the Negro of the opportunity for higher education and professional training. . . ."

Committee on Christian Relations, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S.: "That the Assembly go on record as condemning all organizations and individuals in our country whose aim and purpose is to hinder any American minorities in the exercise of their civil rights, or that seek to deny such rights to any groups or individuals because of their race, creed, class, or color."

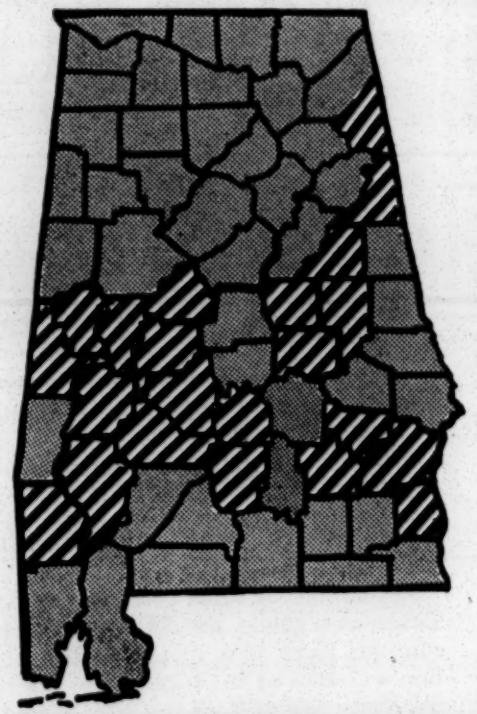
Southern Baptist Convention: "We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States, including the right . . . to secure a just share of the benefits of educational and other funds, and to receive equal service for equal payment on public carriers and conveniences."

Commission on Justice and Peace, Central Conference of American Rabbis: "A broad continuing program of public enlighten-

(*Continued on page 7*)

Lopsided Legislatures

I. Alabama



*Barbour, Bibb, Bullock, Butler, Cherokee, Clarke, Clay, Cleburne, Coosa, Dallas, Elmore, Greene, Hale, Henry, Lowndes, Marengo, Perry, Pike, Sumter, Tallapoosa, Washington, Wilcox.

ALABAMA'S legislature is a striking example of one of the South's chief stumbling blocks. The South rejoices in the fact that it is getting new industries, more urban centers, and a healthier balance between farming and manufacturing. But while we all work for a modern economy, our political machinery creaks on at a pace set half a century ago.

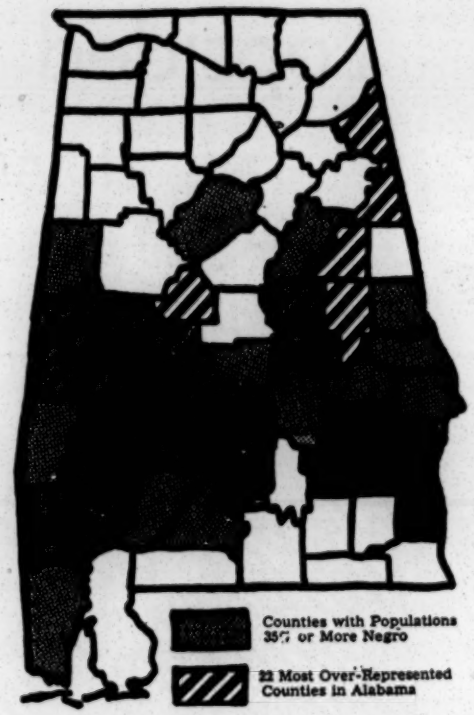
It was in 1901 that Alabama's present apportionment of state legislators was made. Since then there has been only one change — brought about by the creation of a new county in 1903 — despite major shifts in population and in the economic life of the State.

Age is not the only liability of the present system of apportionment. It was unequal from the beginning. For example, in 1901 one senator was allotted to Wilcox County, with a largely rural population of 35,631, and one to Jefferson County, with a largely urban population of 140,420. Other districts containing large urban populations were similarly under-represented and other small rural districts were favored. Thus at the start a pattern was set that has led to the gross inequality which exists today, as shown by the map above.

This is the first of a series of articles on unequal representation in Southern legislatures. Others will appear in NEW SOUTH *during the coming months. The figures used in this article were drawn primarily from two sources: the United States Census, and* THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN ALABAMA — LEGISLATIVE APPORTIONMENT *by Dr. Hallie Farmer, published by the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama.*

According to the 1940 census, an exact ratio of legislators to population in Alabama would be one per 20,092 people. Using this as a norm, we find that 43 counties out of the total of 67 are over-represented to a greater or lesser degree. For purposes of comparison, the 22 most over-represented counties were lumped together. This furnishes a useful division of the State into that one-third of its counties most clearly and significantly favored by apportionment, and the remainder of the State.

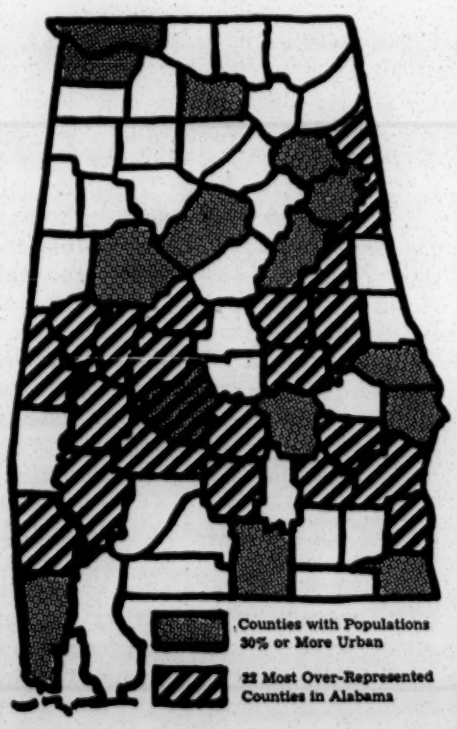
A glance at the map will show how the favored counties cluster together. A majority of them are in south central Alabama. With few exceptions, they are marked by large land holdings, a high tenancy rate, a large Negro population, and relatively little urban and industrial life. The rest of the State, on the other hand, is generally characterized by very different patterns of population and economy. In both the Piedmont area to the north and the wiregrass country in the southeast, landholding is more democratically organized, with greater strength in the family farm. The Piedmont area and the Piney Woods country in the southwest also contain by far the greater part of the



State's mineral wealth and industrial development.

Let us look at some comparative figures. Taken as a group, our 22 over-represented counties have 20% of the State's population and 36% of the legislators; the rest of the State has 80% of the people and 64% of the legislators. Add to this the fact that over half the population in the over-represented counties, as a whole, is Negro, as contrasted with 29% in the rest of the State. If the heretofore disfranchised (and one might justly say unrepresented) Negro citizens were subtracted, the disproportion would be much greater.

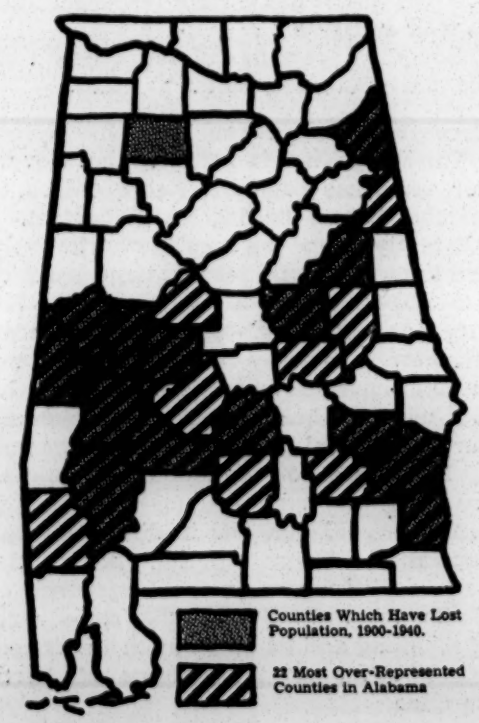
Who lives in the over-represented area? First of all, they are mostly rural people; only 9.6% of the people in our 22 counties are urban, while in the rest of the State 35.5% are urban. Secondly, they make their living at farming; 62% of them are employed in agriculture, as compared to 33% in the remaining counties. Though tenancy is high throughout the State, more of them are tenant farmers than in other counties; in the over-represented area, 68% of the farms are operated by tenants, as compared with 55% in the rest of the State. Finally, the average education is less in the 22 over-represented counties; there, 58% of the people twenty-five years

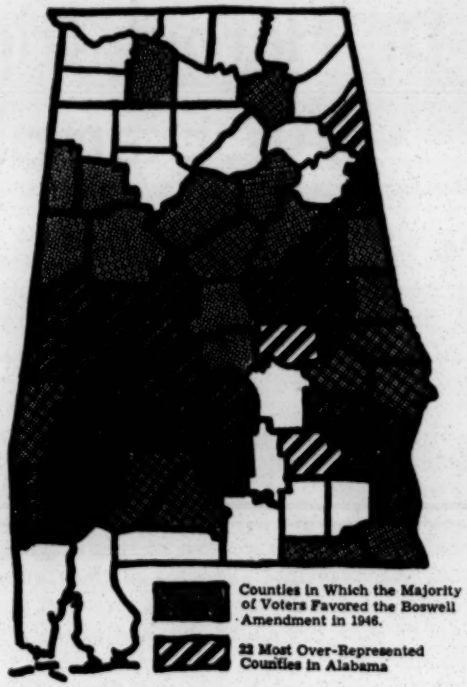


or older have completed at least five grades of school, whereas in the rest of the State this figure stands at 72%.

The historical reasons for this unequal representation are easy to see. It was first established at a time when south central Alabama was economically as well as politically dominant in the State — when the large plantation owners of southern Alabama were an unchallenged aristocracy. The pattern was continued at the beginning of this century partly as a defense of "white supremacy" and partly as a protection of the planters' interests in the face of expanding industrial centers.

Just how important this last reason is can be seen by a glance at population shifts during the last 45 years, in which apportionment has remained untouched. Between 1900 and 1940, fifteen counties lost population. Of the fifteen, all but one are among the 22 over-represented counties. The average loss for the 22 counties was 1,116 people each, as compared with an average gain for the rest of the State of 11,332 per county. The figures from the 1940 Census are the latest complete data available. More recent estimates, reflecting the heavy migration from farms to cities during and after the war, show only that this trend has been speeded up.





Thus the 1901 apportionment, unequal at the outset, has become steadily more so. The growth of Alabama's urban centers — part and parcel of the welcome industrialization — has meant that more and more people in the State have lost any semblance of equal representation in the legislature.

What are the effects of this unequal system on the political life of the State? A good indication was the adoption in 1946 of the Boswell Amendment to the state constitution. This amendment, recently declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, gave arbitrary power to registrars to declare the fitness of a citizen to vote; in purpose and in practice, it was aimed at denying the ballot to Negroes. Among our over-represented counties, a majority of the voters in 19 out of the 22 voted for the amendment. Of the remaining 45 counties, a majority of the voters in only 22 counties voted for it. The popular vote is perhaps more revealing. In the 22 over-represented counties, 70% of those voting favored the Boswell Amendment, as against 54% in the rest of the State. Let us keep in mind that this area, whose dominant attitude is shown so clearly by the Boswell vote, wields a large balance of power in the legislature,

(Continued on page 7)

Dr. Harold Trigg's Appointment — An Example for the South

THE appointment of Dr. Harold L. Trigg to the North Carolina Board of Education is a memorable contribution to Southern progress. The appointment marks the first time in at least half a century that a Negro citizen has been named to this position by a Southern governor.

Members and friends of the Southern Regional Council rejoice doubly in the appointment. Dr. Trigg's vision, wide knowledge, and deep interest in human relations are well known in this organization. As Associate Director of the Council in 1946 and 1947 and in his present position of vice president, he has given generously of his energy and leadership.

Governor Scott has served North Carolina well by this appointment. It is greatly to be hoped that other Southern States may soon act as wisely in the interest of all their citizens.

Following are some editorial comments on Dr. Trigg's appointment:

Raleigh News and Observer

The appointment by the Governor and confirmation by the General Assembly of a Negro as one of the 10 appointed members of the State Board of Education was a manifestation of the North Carolina way of dealing with the racial question. . . Dr. Trigg's qualifications for service on the Board are beyond question. . .

Asheville Citizen-Times

Governor Scott's appointment of Dr. H. L. Trigg as a member of the Board of Education was approved by the General Assembly without question; it will be approved by the people as a deserved and proper, though long-delayed, recognition of the State's Negro citizens.

Dr. Trigg, President of St. Augustine College in Raleigh, is the first Negro member of the Board in the history of North Carolina education. Because of his wide experience as a teacher in the State, and his consequent knowledge of educational problems, in general and as they apply to his race, it seems to be the unanimous agreement that Dr. Trigg is admirably qualified for useful membership on the State Board of Education. . .

Early in his administration, Governor Scott said he proposed to give Negroes larger representation on State boards and commissions. It is a policy supported by justice and common sense in the mobilization of the people's talents and energies for tasks that affect the destiny of all North Carolinians.

Norfolk Journal and Guide

Governor Scott's appointment of Dr. Harold L. Trigg . . . is significant for many reasons. (1) It places a Negro in an official position to make a contribution to the cause of education in his State which needs to be made, but which could not be made otherwise. (2) It marks a truly great forward step in education in race relations in North Carolina. (3) It proves that the government of North Carolina, while adhering to the doctrine of state rights, also believes that it has certain responsibilities as well as rights. . .

Governor Scott has blazed a new trail for other Southern States to follow.

Greensboro Daily News

The *Daily News* is delighted that Governor Scott has named a Negro citizen to membership on the Board of Education.

Patently no one can speak authoritatively and knowledgefully for this large group of our citizens save one of its own. . . Dr. Trigg as a North Carolina citizen, as an educator, and as a spokesman for the large group of fellow citizens of whom he is a member, qualifies. We are confident our educational progress will be spurred by his presence on the board and the contribution which he will make in intelligence, in guidance, and in direction. Our hope is that Negro representation on the board of education is the forerunner of similar representation at other state levels of planning and administration in matters which affect all the citizens of North Carolina.

The Churches Speak

(Continued from page 2)

ment and information is necessary and desirable to condition the public mind to a fuller appreciation of the meaning of equal opportunity; this is a long term approach. To implement and accelerate this process legislative action must be taken, for it not only serves as an educative device but immediately eliminates to some extent discrimination in actual practice."

Department of Christian Social Relations, Diocese of Upper S. C., The Protestant Episcopal Church: "We will have the conviction that every person has the right to a secure and happy home life, to education, to genuine economic opportunity, to participate to the fullest in civic life, to wholesome recreation, to sound health, in short, to all things which give him an opportunity to achieve his ultimate destiny as a child of God."

Executive Committee, Virginia Council of Churches: "Since racial segregation in public carriers is a social and economic waste and is undemocratic in principle, and in view of the evidence that the traditional policy of separate but equal accommodations has proven a failure in fact, we recommend that racial segregation on common carriers and in public waiting rooms be immediately abolished. . . Regarding industrial and service occupations, we recommend . . . that all people be safe-guarded in their opportunity to be employed at their greatest skill and for compensation equal to that of people already engaged in similar work."

Georgia Council of Church Women: "Limited as opportunities are for our white children, our Negro children are even more shamefully treated. Their schools are the poorest of the poor. Their teachers have been the most underpaid. We cannot pretend to believe in justice and allow such inequality to continue."

Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction, The Methodist Church: " . . . we recommend that we work to implement the Supreme Court ruling relative to admission of all individuals, regardless of race or creed, to educational institutions for graduate training in our schools, both church and state controlled . . . that every effort be made to make the South, the nation as a while and the world know that Christian women of the South oppose any effort, political or otherwise, to block progressive moves toward the achievement of civil rights for all people in this nation, including millions of citizens in this Southland."

Lopsided Legislatures

(Continued from page 5)

thanks to its disproportionate representation.

Surely, it may be asked, the majority of the people of Alabama are not content with this outmoded and unequal system of representation? The answer is that they probably are not. But so far all attempts to secure reapportionment have failed. The state constitution provides that apportionment shall be examined, and necessary adjustments made, by the legislature after each ten-year census. Unfortunately, too many legislators have found the 1901 system advantageous and have stoutly refused to consider any changes. The most recent attempt at action was in 1939, when a reapportionment measure was introduced in the lower house of the legislature; it was defeated by a vote of 60 to 31.

As Dr. Hallie Farmer says in her monograph, *The Legislative Process in Alabama — Legislative Apportionment*: "The legislators, and they alone, have the power to reapportion. They not only have the power to reapportion: the constitution makes it their sworn duty to do so. Serious discrepancies in representation exist because the legislature of Alabama, in respect of legislative apportionment, has for 40 years ignored or defied the constitution which it is sworn to uphold. No excuses, no explanations, no protestations of patriotism should be allowed to gloss over this plain fact."

Alabama is not alone in this failing. As we shall show in subsequent articles, other Southern States have ancient and unfair systems of apportionment of which they can hardly be proud. Meanwhile, those States can hardly expect to enjoy the fruits of industrialization while they deny an equitable voice in state affairs to the people in industrial areas. Unless the South moves forward governmentally as well as economically, its rate of general progress will be held back.

Notes and Comments

At its general membership meeting of April 20, the New Orleans Committee on Race Relations voted to become a part of the Southern Regional Council. Details will be worked out by the Executive Committee and Steering Committee during May.

The Council extends a hearty welcome to the New Orleans Committee. It has an impressive record of achievement, and the new relationship between it and the Council promises to be a fruitful one. Officers of the New Orleans Committee are Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, chairman; Dr. A. W. Dent, vice chairman; Mrs. Harry B. Kelleher, secretary; Dr. Harold N. Lee, treasurer; and Mrs. Irving H. Cohn, executive secretary.

Annual meeting of the Tennessee Division of SRC will be held at Nashville on Tuesday, May 17. The meeting will begin at 2 P.M. at the YMCA. Speakers will include the Rev. Jonathan N. Mitchell, of Nashville, who will talk on penal conditions in the State, and Dr. Michael Bent, Dean of the School of Medicine of Meharry Medical College, who will discuss the regional education plan as it affects Meharry. Mrs. Henry Havens, SRC field secretary, will review Council activities in the State. All members and friends of SRC in Tennessee are urged to be present.

The medium of radio has so far been little used in the South to teach better human relations. This is true at least partly because local groups are not alert to the possibilities of education by radio. The Houston Commission on Interracial Cooperation is one group that has not only seen the possibilities but has made use of them. Recently the Houston Commission joined with several other organizations in sponsoring a series of six broadcasts dealing with minority groups in our society. The series, entitled "The American Way," consisted of four recorded dramas and two live discussion groups, in which prominent local citizens of both races took part. Another series is being planned for the fall.

Other groups interested in sponsoring such a series on their local radio stations can get recorded broadcasts from the Institute for American Democracy in New York City.

The first full annual meeting of the Alabama Division of SRC was held at Alabama State College in Montgomery, February 22. The program included a discussion of Alabama prisons, led by Dr. Hallie Farmer, professor of government and history, Alabama State College for Women; public education, by Dr. C. P. Nelson, of the state Department of Education; Southern politics, by Mr. Osburn Zuber, journalist; and civil rights, by Mr. Arthur D. Shores, Birmingham attorney.

By-laws of the Division, which was organized last year, were adopted and officers for 1949 elected. Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Talladega College, was reelected chairman and Dr. H. C. Trenholm, president of Alabama State College, vice-chairman. The new secretary is Dr. Ruth T. Brett, of Tuskegee Institute, and Mr. Arthur D. Shores was elected treasurer.

NEW SOUTH

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Paul D. Williams.....*President*
Guy B. Johnson.....*Vice-President*
Carter Wesley.....*Vice-President*
Harold L. Trigg.....*Vice-President*
John H. Wheeler.....*Vice-President*
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Subscription rate.....$1.50 a year

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, APRIL, 1949

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

SRC - Churches Speak

May 13, 1949

Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary
Department of Christian Social Relations
and Local Church Activities
150 Fifth Avenue --Room 604
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Stevens:

We have put into this latest issue of New South a roundup of pronouncements of southern church bodies. Here are ten extra ones. We would be happy to send you more if they would be of service.

We are always appreciative of the help of the Department of Christian Social Relations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SRC - Churches Speak

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

O. H. FINNEY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 17, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Governor wishes to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending him copies of your monthly bulletin "NEW SOUTH", which we find quite interesting.

He appreciates the remarks you made concerning his message to the Legislature.

With kindest regards, we are

Sincerely yours

O. H. Finney Jr.

O. H. FINNEY, JR.

OHF:S

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Southern Regional Council

SRC - Churches Speak

740 RUSH STREET • CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

T. OTTO NALL
Acting Editor

May 17, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

We appreciate the copies of the Council's magazine which have been sent to us. I shall read them with great interest.

Very truly yours,

T. Otto Nall

TON-EJA

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

S PC - The Churches Speak

Sent to
Bishop Moore
Rev. Moody
Fred Brownlee
Channing Tobias
Msgr James McNamara
Rev. O'Connell
Paul D. Williams

May 23, 1949

Rt. Rev. John Moore Walker
2744 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Walker:

You will be interested in the success of this latest issue of New South.

We released it to the press May 15.

The Chattanooga Times used it as the basis for an editorial, and we have seen stories quoting many of the excerpts in the Atlanta Journal, Greensboro Daily News, Montgomery Advertiser, Asheville Citizen Times, and the Columbia State. We do not doubt that our clipping service will turn up many more papers that used it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Churches & Race

From the "Advanced Report of the General Board
of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, 1949"

REPORT ON SOCIAL SERVICE AND CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS

* * * IV. Race and Minority Groups

In the opinion of the members of your committee, the time is upon us when we must face more squarely and honestly the situation of racial and minority groups in this country, especially in the southern region where the problems are more acute. We must re-examine our faith and lay fresh hold upon Christian principles and make the the basis of action.

Your committee would suggest the following principles which we as Christians and churches should recognize, respect, teach, and act upon in the field of race and minority group relations:

1. All Christians are brothers in Christ.

2. Every member of a racial or minority group is a person and should be treated as such.

3. No racial group because of biological inheritance is superior or inferior to any other group.

4. The members of all racial and minority groups should be recognized as citizens, constituting one state under one government, with equal rights.

5. All citizens have the right to equal privileges and treatment in our local, state, and federal governments.

6. All racial and minority groups have a right to be represented by members of their own group on bodies concerned with the general welfare of the community -- police, education, courts, elections, and so forth.

7. Christians should protest injustices and discriminations against any group and strive to promote community good will between all groups.

8. The members of every group should eliminate from their speech terms which degrade or show contempt for other groups, especially in the

presence of, and the teaching of children.

9. As Christians we must believe and teach that prejudice or ill-will toward any group is un-Christian.

As a positive expression of good will, brotherly love, and co-operation, we would suggest that our pastors set an example of Christian fellowship by having joint meetings of local white and Negro ministerial unions, by an occasional exchange of pulpits, by utilization of Negro choirs in our white churches and vice versa, and by working closely with Negro ministers in improving social conditions in the community as a whole. These are only a few of the ways in which our church leaders can effectuate the gospel they preach -- "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

We commend to all of our people the reading and application of the principles as set forth and adopted on Race Relations by the Southern Baptist Convention at St. Louis in 1947, and published in the annual proceedings of that year, and also Southern Baptists and Race Relations, published by the Social Service Commission of the Convention, 2825 Lexington Road, Louisville, Kentucky.

***VI. General

At a recent session of the Catholic Committee of the South, composed of a group of bishops, priests, and members of the laity representing 1,250,000 Catholics living in the Southern diocese from Virginia to Louisiana, a resolution was passed urging Catholics to take the leadership in eliminating the segregated school system. The general aim of the committee is stated as the application of Christian principles to the problems of the South. They are also making an especial appeal to labor, and in some areas students of Theology are required to include industrial labor as part of their educational preparation for the priesthood.

It is not for us to condemn others with whom we disagree in religion or government, but rather it is our challenge and obligation to make democracy and Christianity work more effectively than these other systems and philosophies. In this connection, we wish to commend those communities that are making serious efforts to erase group discrimination, to provide equal edcuational and recreational facilities, to see that better housing and sanitation are provided, and higher standards of living encouraged, especially in slum areas, regardless of race.

We commend the city commissioners of Raleigh for their recent appointment of a Negro attorney to membership on the city School Board. Likewise, we commend Governor Scott for appointing an outstanding Negro educator to the State Board of Education. We look with favor on the attitudes of the Baptist Student Union, The Women's Missionary Union, and some of the other Christian organizations in trying to work with other racial groups toward better understandings, and in the applications of the teachings of Jesus to social relationships....

FROM CHURCH STEEPLE TO CAPITOL DOME

A Report

of the

Georgia Council of Church Women

on

Spiritual Foundation Seminars

March 9, 1949

"But they are not heart-sick for the ruin of Joseph. Therefore they shall soon go into exile, at the head of the exiles . . ."—Amos

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"O God, help me to follow hard after Thee. May I not choose the ways of ease! Help me to take the steep road when that is the way of life."—Prayer

SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS . . .

The work of Christians has its roots in spiritual foundations. The sacredness of human prsonality and justice in human relations are cornerstones of the Judeo-Christian ideal. This is the meaning of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. The nature of man's relations with his fellow man depends on the nature of his relationship with God. We cannot be in harmony with Him unless we live in justice with all His children.

This principle of our faith has stood the test of history. The sovereignty of God as the Lord of all life and of all the provinces of life — the economic, the political, the cultural, as well as the moral and spiritual — assures us of all the resources we need.

THE CONSCIENCE OF GEORGIA . . .

Citizenship. The conscience of Georgia must find its expression through us. We cannot hide behind words alone, for faith without works is dead. Unless the church people of our State take part as citizens in their government, we will awake to find that we have lost our political rights, our human rights, and all the rights to which every person is entitled. It is our Christian duty to work for the rights of all, white and black, men and women, persons of all faiths. Each has equal value under the Constitution, which we love and cherish. Each is a child of God.

We must oppose any and all actions which deny the rights of citizenship. Such subterfuges as the Voters Re-registration Law; such unjust measures as the County Unit system, which robs many of our people of their full vote; such evil acts as the use of violence and terror to prevent any among us from voting—all these injustices we must oppose with strength, courage and determination.

"Ye are the salt of the earth. But if the salt hath lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?"

UNTO THE LEAST OF THESE . . .

Education. The children of our State hold the future in their hands. The hope for a brighter tomorrow depends on how well they are prepared, in heart and in mind. Yet the education which we offer our children is shockingly poor. In some schools of our State, there is only one teacher for eighty pupils, and in many cases for that reason the schools are not accredited. Many school buildings are dilapidated, overcrowded, poorly heated, and poorly equipped. Some classes must operate in double shifts, and school busses often make four or more trips a day. Our teacher's salaries, low by any standard, cannot compete with the salaries paid by neighboring States.

Limited as opportunities are for our white children, our Negro children are even more shamefully treated. Their schools are the poorest of the poor. Their teachers have been the most underpaid. We cannot pretend to believe in justice and allow such inequality to continue.

The Minimum Education Foundation bill sets up the requirements for better education for all the children of Georgia. It is up to us to take an active interest in the financing and carrying out of this program. We must let our representatives know that while all the people of the State should assume their fair share of the burden, we must question taxation that will fall most heavily on those least able to pay. It profits us little to give better education to our children at the expense of their food, clothing, and other necessities.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

THE THINGS THAT ARE GOD'S . . .

Law enforcement. It is good to respect authority when it is properly used. But, where authority trespasses against the way of God, it is our responsibility. We as citizens dictate who shall be in authority and the paths that they must follow.

Our policemen must not be members of organizations which spread fear and terror. On this day, we have commended the actions of the young men of the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, who have proposed that all officers of their city take oaths that they are not members of any terroristic organization; and we have resolved to work for similar measures in our own communities. There is no room in a democratic society for those who, wearing hoods and burning crosses, practice hatred and violence.

Our police should attain standards which will guarantee that they are capable of interpreting and carrying out their proper duties. No one's house, regardless of his race or creed, should be entered without a warrant. No one should suffer violence at the hands of officers because of his color or faith. The police, as guardians of law and order, must treat all persons as equals before that law. It is our duty, as citizens and as Christians, to work for a humane, intelligent, and diligent law enforcement machinery. Then shall we be able to "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

UNITING OUR SPIRITUAL FORCES . . .

"If the foundations be destroyed," cried the writer of the Eleventh Psalm, "What can the righteous do?" Are there spiritual foundations in the people of Georgia to sustain the kind of government we ought to have? We are interested in the educational and recreational facilities, the laws, the opportunities, the general structure of government, and the leaders who administer it. It is part of our task as Christians.

We hope the Church Women will carry back to their groups something of the spirit of inquiry engendered here today, and that together we shall study to show ourselves approved as builders. We each can give a hand in laying the foundations, good solid foundations . . . . for, if the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?

THIS WAS OUR PROGRAM . . .

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN

"CHURCH STEEPLE TO CAPITOL DOME"

SPIRITUAL FOUNDATION SEMINARS

TO UNITE THE SPIRITUAL FORCES OF OUR STATE

CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ATLANTA, GA.

* * * *

MARCH 9, 1949

10 A. M.

WORSHIP

Organ Preparation ..... Mrs. H. B. Taylor, Organist
Silent Meditation
Solo—"O Young And Fearless Prophet" ..... Mrs. Jack W. Patterson
Prayer ..... Dr. Harrison McMains
Spiritual Foundations ..... Mrs. Lester Rumble

UNITING OUR SPIRITUAL FORCES ..... Mrs. Chester Martin, President

SEMINARS ..... Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chairman

I. CITIZENSHIP ..... Mrs. Fred Bridges, Leader
Voters Qualification ..... Mrs. Walter Harrison, Mr. Morris Abram
County Unit System ..... Mr. C. E. Gregory, Mrs. R. L. Turman
Participation in Government ..... Discussion Leader—Mr. John Griffin

LITERATURE ..... Mr. Alexander Miller

OFFERING

THE COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN ..... Mrs. A. H. Sterne and Board Members

BENEDICTION ..... Dr. R. L. Russell

* * * *

1:30 P. M.

WORSHIP

Hymn—"This Is My Father's World"
Prayer ..... Rev. Rembert Sisson

SEMINARS

II. EDUCATION ..... Mrs. J. F. Whitehead, Leader
Equal Education for All ..... Mr. R. L. Cousins, Miss Johnnie Williams
Minimum Foundation Bill ..... Mr. M. L. St. John
Legislative Aspect of the Bill ..... Discussion Leader—Dr. Geo. Mitchell

III. LAW ENFORCEMENT ..... Mr. James Mackay, Mr. Muggsy Smith
Weaknesses ..... Mr. John Greer
Opportunities ..... Discussion Leader—Dr. E. G. Mackay

DEDICATION TO THE TASK ..... Rev. Dow Kirkpatrick

WOULDN'T A SEMINAR HELP YOUR GROUP?

ALL
ACTION
IS
LOCAL

Human Rights—
Our World Mission

RECEIVED
APR 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

CHRISTIAN
SOCIAL RELATIONS
and LOCAL CHURCH
ACTIVITIES

GOALS FOR ADVANCE

Within the Local Society and Guild

(1) A working Committee on Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities in every local Woman's Society and Wesleyan Service Guild.

(2) At least one new or continuing community activity or social action emphasis each quarter, in every local Society and Guild, related to any phase of the "Advance" in Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities. This plan should include the opportunity to present some crucial living issue regularly at general and circle meetings.

(3) Every local secretary attending *each year* an officers' training day, district or conference meeting, and other institutes or conferences, for special training in methods of promoting the "Advance" in Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities.

(4) At least one social action institute in every district this quadrennium, related to the "Advance," working toward an annual church-wide social action institute in each district.

(5) Every local Woman's Society and Wesleyan Service Guild using the observance of such *special days* as United Nations Day, World Community Day, Race Relations Sunday, World Temperance Sunday or National Family Week, as a means for measuring advance in human relations.

Within the Jurisdiction, Conference and District

(1) A working Standing Committee on Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities within jurisdiction, conference and district.

(2) Joint planning of Standing Committees from overlapping jurisdictions for co-operative promotion of the "Advance" emphasis in Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities.

(3) A more adequate promotional budget for the secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities in jurisdiction, conference and district.

(4) Definite plans each year through seminars, workshops, summer schools or institutes, related to the Advance, for training secretaries of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities.

(5) The planned promotion of the "Five Goals" in the local society.

"HUMAN RIGHTS—OUR WORLD MISSION"

During almost a century of changing and increasing world needs, women of Methodism have gathered together their resources to make use of the ever-expanding opportunities to share Jesus Christ with a troubled world. *This quadrennium in Methodist history presents with sharpened challenge the only basis by which our Christian faith can be justified and kept alive.* We must work, pray and give until we hear again the voice that says, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his peoples, and God himself shall be with them and be their God. . . . . and make all things new."

In this spirit and for this purpose the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities calls the women of every local church to a renewed commitment to make the Church of Jesus Christ fulfill its mission in the world, and makes the Department's recommendation for a 7-point program of Advance this quadrennium related to "Human Rights—Our World Mission."[1]

It is well to remember that "Advance" simply means "to go forward." In this setting that means working harder and using better methods to accomplish the purpose that is implicit in every phase of this Department's program. In this quadrennium that program must attempt to relate itself to the over-all "teaching and preaching mission" of the church. From year to year specific guidance with special materials for implementation will be made available for the use of local groups. These plans will be created by the members of the Department as they meet from year to year to discuss the timely and crucial needs of the world that fall within the scope of the Department's responsibility.

The recommendations relate themselves in a large measure to issues that are not new. Their urgency is more evident however as new opportunities for action present themselves.

1. Influencing Church and Community Practices

The local church assumes a larger place in the life of the community and must be recognized more and more as one of many community agencies. It has a distinct and unique function, that of actively concerning itself with an over-all ministry to human need. The program of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities must lead

[1] The basic study for 1948-49, "The Bible and Human Rights," may well be the springboard for the program. Packet available at Literature Headquarters, 90 cents.

ALL ACTION IS LOCAL

more effectively larger numbers of women into broader concepts of the relation of "activities" in the local church to the church's ministry in the community locally and in its larger outreach. This aim may be approached through increased planning and promotion of the following specific interests:

a—Recruiting and training more local church women for active volunteer service in the church and community. This must be done in co-operation with the Committee on Status of Women, the local Board of Education, and other committees and agencies functioning in the local church.

b—Co-operation by the local church and its agencies with other agencies and groups of the community working for similar purpose. The local church woman will always be a link between her church and her community. To strengthen that link is a must in this Advance.

c—Strengthening the fellowship within the local church itself and in its larger community outreach.[2]

d—Co-ordinating the educational program of the Woman's Society and Wesleyan Service Guild with the living issues of the day.

2. Building Safe Foundations for Family Life

A stable, secure family life around the world means a world at peace. The many government and community agencies with responsibility for education and action related to family life recognize the years immediately ahead as a time for increased effort to interpret the needs of the family. The White House Conference on Child Welfare called for 1950 is but one milestone indicating the urgency of the problems confronting the family.

The Methodist Church must find ways to co-ordinate its own program in the area of family life, so the impact on the local church will have more vitality, and get better results. During the years immediately ahead, the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities must "Advance" as it plans in practical ways to implement the following needs:

a—A simple basic educational program related to Christian vocation and the family. One of the approved studies for 1950-51 will relate to the vocations of Christians with special emphasis on current economic practices of society, that confront Christians, and tie into the third year of Advance for the General Church.

b—Enlarged but specific emphasis on employment opportunities for women. Guidance for "Advance" in understanding this issue may well come out of the program of the Wesleyan Service Guild. The Standing Committee on the Status of Women will be invaluable in securing facts about employed women.

c—A definite plan for implementing the Findings of the White House Conference on Child Welfare, with the possibility of a major study on some phase of Family Life for 1951-52, the fourth year of Advance for the General Church, when the *family* will be one of the major emphases.

d—A program for the family that uproots and prevents racial and group prejudices.

e—Special guidance in working for better housing, education and health for all families in the community.

3. Arousing the Voice and Vote of the Christian

The voice and vote of a Christian citizen can go far toward healing the wounds of the world. Today more than ever before governments and rulers of the world listen to the voice of the people. That voice must sound increasingly from an informed Christian conscience with an urgent concern for the well being of the world. The church must take its place in the vanguard of agencies working to train the people of this nation and other nations to "speak up for democracy" by vote and through all the other channels open to a people in a democracy. In the approach to this purpose the Department's program must relate itself more effectively to the following needs in the realm of political action:

a—Increased attention to political action seminars on a national, state, and local level.

b—Simple guidance for individuals and groups in the interpretation and evaluation of propaganda.

c—Co-operation with other agencies in citizenship classes for training new citizens and potential citizens.

d—Promoting through church, schools, and colleges, of a training program for citizenship and service in public office locally and nationally, such a program to include simple education on political issues of local and national concern.

4. Strengthening the Moral Forces At Work Today

The moral forces in the world must be motivated with all the

[2] The study for 1949-50 on "We the People of The Ecumenical Church" will undergird this purpose in a world setting, and relate to the second year of the General Church Advance.

"Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." II Cor. 3:17.

ALL ACTION IS LOCAL

Christian resources at hand. Wars have always increased the momentum of moral decay. World War II was no exception to this. Its aftermath has found an accelerated growth of immoral influences and "a break in the dam" that contains the traditional ideals and standards that have held together the forces for good. Increased crime, juvenile delinquency, alcohol consumption, and all the related evils face the church with an accusing voice, indicating the need to look at the causes of fear and emotional insecurity and tension everywhere. The program of "Advance" for this Department must relate itself to the larger program of the church in promoting a positive emphasis on the following:

a—Increased emphasis on a basic program of alcohol education and action in the church and community, emanating from the church as well as the public school.

b—A community-centered church program that undermines the causes of crime and delinquency.

c—New emphasis on mental health in individual, family and community life.

5. Safeguarding Human Freedoms Around the World

In the book recently published entitled *In Henry's Backyard,* by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, we find this sentence, "One night Henry had a remarkable dream. He dreamed that the whole world became so small that it fitted nicely into his own backyard and all sorts of people had become his neighbors." When he waked up he found this to be literally true! The church and its agencies will *advance* in proportion to their inclusion, on a basis of full fellowship, of all the people of the local community and of the world. The program of this Department must implement this purpose in specific action related to the following:

a—The enactment, into law and practice, of the recommendations of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

b—The acceptance and adoption by this Nation of a strong International Bill of Rights stemming from the United Nations.

c—The removal of all discriminatory immigration policies, and an open door for the displaced peoples of the world.

d—The removal of all forms of segregation within The Methodist Church.

6. Applying Christianity to Economic Life

The church must make its influence felt on the economic life of

"Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." II Cor. 3:17.

the world through the decisions of its members in their various *occupations* and as *citizens* of the community. The church itself is an institution which employs labor, owns property, invests funds, and accepts contributions. Its practices must be made more Christian lest it continue to violate personality and sanction injustice. This aim can be approached through:

a—Simple educational program giving guidance to members concerning their decisions in various occupations and as citizens.

b—Every local church and church body examining:

(1) its practices as an employer of labor
(2) its choice of investments
(3) the sources of gifts it accepts.

7. Undergirding the United Nations

The United Nations is the only organized agency in the world today with channels to generate a spirit and active program of international friendship and co-operation adequate to bring peace.

The *advance* program of the Department in the immediate years ahead must be concerned with specific methods of action related to the following:

a—Strengthening the agencies of the U.N., and working through the channels of U.N. to achieve a world government that will assure permanent peace.

b—Co-operating in definite planning to generate more understanding and concern for women's responsibility in world affairs in all nations.

c—Analyzing and interpreting propaganda methods used to build or to block world co-operation among nations.

d—Finding specific ways to influence the foreign policy of the United States toward world co-operation.

e—Working for the full participation of the United States in the reduction of trade barriers.

f—Relating in practical ways the above aspects of our international responsibility to the missionary enterprise around the world.

ALL ACTION IS LOCAL

BY WHAT AUTHORITY DO METHODIST WOMEN WORK FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

The basic Christian imperative for social action as embodied in the teachings of Jesus.

The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States.

General Conference pronouncements of The Methodist Church, including the Social Creed.

The social action pronouncements of the Woman's Division of The Methodist Church.

Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions and Church Extension
The Methodist Church
Literature Headquarters
420 Plum Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio
Free for postage

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The Churches and Brotherhood

RECEIVED
APR 23 1951
Southern Regional Council

"Greater Love Has No Man . . ."

Columbus, Ga., is believed to be the only city in the world which has erected a marble monument for a Negro laborer. The inscription on the stone reads: "Erected by the City of Columbus to mark the resting place of BRAGG SMITH, who died on September 30th, 1903, at the age of thirty-two in his heroic but fruitless effort to rescue the city engineer from a caving excavation on Eleventh Street. 'Honor and Fame from no condition rise, Act well your part, there all the honor lies.' "

Used by Permission of The Atlanta Constitution

METHODIST CHURCH

". . . We, as Christians, must address ourselves with patience and perseverance to the infinitely complicated task of removing racial discrimination, root and branch, from our common life, both in the Church and in the nation in which we live. . . . We recommend:

"That complete equality of accommodations for all races be provided in national and international meetings of The Methodist Church and its agencies. . . .

"That we individually and, wherever possible, collectively stand for equality of political franchise and of economic and educational opportunities for all races.

Discipline of The Methodist Church, 1948.

CHURCH OF GOD

". . . There is a general feeling among our group that it is better to demonstrate good race relations than to continually be preaching about it. In keeping with this feeling, our colleges are interracial and no one is barred from attending these institutions. We have a very good cross section of various races in our institutions today. Some of our churches are also interracial in their membership. . . ."

Lawrence E. Brooks, Executive Secretary
Executive Council of the Church of God,
Anderson, Indiana.

CATHOLIC CHURCH

"The Department of Race Relations of the Catholic Committee of the South accepts the Negro as Catholic theology establishes him — a creature of God with identical essential rights — calls upon the Christian conscience of this Southeast region to face fearlessly as Christians this problem of race relations. . . .

"To the end that we might contribute to a full expression of the Christian conviction, we urge that in all Catholic churches there be no segregation according to color. . . .

"In the field of education we urge that in all our graduate and professional schools we immediately admit qualified Negro students. . . .

"We also suggest that the facilities of all our Catholic hospitals be made available to patients on the basis of need rather than on the basis of race."

Resolution Adopted, Annual Convention, 1950
Catholic Committee of the South.

The 1951 resolution on the racial question quoted an Encylical of Pope Pius on "The Unity of Human Society," saying: "We feel a special paternal affection, which is certainly inspired of Heaven, for the Negro people dwelling among you; for in the field of religion and education, we know that they need special care and comfort and are deserving of it."

JEWISH SYNAGOGUE

". . . Every Jew who believes in Judaism, every man who believes that God is the Father of all, must take up the struggle against discrimination. Man, we believe, is created in the image of God. Therefore, no man may say of another man, created in that same image, that he should 'keep his place.' We who believe that to love our neighbor as ourselves is life's highest aim must lead in efforts to ameliorate the condition of our colored brothers. . . .

"Only by the achievement of a truly free America in which all men, regardless of color, have equal opportunities for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, can we lead the world toward a society in which all nations may live together in harmony and build together in peace. . . ."

Commission on Justice and Peace,
Central Conference of American Rabbis

BAPTIST CHURCH

"At this time when Negroes are making their greatest progress, when racial feeling the world over is at greatest tension, the Christian spirit is breaking through. Steady progress is being made against irrational prejudice. In short, we are seeing as never before that Christians must be Christian in practical morals.

"This is reflected in the resolution passed by the Southern Baptist Convention without a dissenting voice, and it is commended to every Baptist with the conviction that if followed out it will mark a new advance in racial understanding and good will: 'That the Convention recognize its responsibility for the promotion of inter-racial good-will, and urge upon our Baptist people and all Christians the duty of ordering our racial attitudes and actions in accordance with Christian truth and Christian love'."

Adopted by Southern Baptist Convention, 1947
Reaffirmed, 1948

VACATION BIBLE SCHOOL

Woman's American Mission Society

GEORGIA SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION, 1951

". . . That we hereby proclaim, if necessary, our traditional stand that every man has the same right to participate in the blessings of our American way of life, and that no man shall be discriminated against because of race, creed, or color. . . ."

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

"We express our gratitude for advances made during the past year in the direction of 'a nonsegregated society,' and toward the elimination of racial discrimination in serving the needs of human beings.

"We commend Governmental units and private agencies for specific achievements. We commend local churches in which membership and full participation are accorded to persons without distinction based upon race or national origin. We urge our members to exert their influence and to utilize every opportunity to fulfill our declaration for a 'nonsegregated Church and a nonsegregated society' (*General Assembly Pronouncement, 1946*) by working for and supporting such developments in human relations locally and nationally."

Presbyterian Church — U. S. A.
Social Pronouncement of General Assembly, 1950

Presbyterian Summer School — Lincoln University

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — U. S., 1950

"This year the management of Massanetta Springs outside Harrisonburg, Virginia, received and assigned all commissioners alike regardless of race. The Negro commissioners were put in rooms in the hotel and there was no separate provision for them in the dining room. . . ."

The Presbyterian Outlook

EPISCOPAL CHURCH

". . . Underprivileged peoples in all parts of the world look to this great country to set an example of justice and equal opportunity. The first step in establishing equality for all is a vigorous effort, expressed in legislation, to secure full civil rights for every citizen of the United States. The Church must demand, both corporately and through its individual communicants, that the brotherhood of man and the equality of all in the sight of God, be thus recognized by the nation, immediately and fully."

Christian Social Relations at General Convention, 1949
Protestant Episcopal Church

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

"Whereas, God has revealed to us, both in the nature of man and in the word of Scripture, that He is no respector of persons but that He has made of one blood every nation under heaven; and

"Whereas, the Gospel of Christ lays upon us the obligation to establish in all our relations such conditions as will nurture the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of all persons regardless of color, culture, or race; . . .

"Therefore, Be It Resolved:

"That we rejoice in evidence of progress in matters concerning equal opportunity for all citizens, especially as indicated by recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States holding restrictive covenants written into property deeds unenforceable by law.

"That we commend to the churches the Report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, and urge them to study it with diligence and with sincerity and to seek ways and means of achieving the ends of equal justice, freedom, and security to which this Report is directed."

International Conventions of Disciples of Christ

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

"The General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church solemnly reaffirms its commitment to the goal of a nonsegregated church in a nonsegregated society. It would express its gratitude for the foundations which have been laid and its hope that upon them our church may grow into a more truly inclusive fellowship of Christian people. . . .

"We would invite the administrators of our schools, hospitals, and homes to investigate practical methods for bringing students, residents, patients, nurses, and doctors of all racial groups into their respective institutions on a basis of complete mutuality."

STUDENT GROUPS — Evangelical and Reformed Church

Installation of Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers as Race Relations Secretary for the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH

". . . be it resolved that this General Council reaffirms the principle of a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society and urges our pastors and local churches to recommit themselves to the Grinnell Resolution and to examine their own life from the point of view of their inclusiveness of all people without regard to their race, color or national origin, and to take steps to widen their ministries to the whole community without discrimination or segregation.

"Be it further resolved that the General Council endorse the action of the United Student Assembly at Defiance College, in standing 'unqualifiedly for immediate removal of all segregation rules, quotas and practices in American universities, colleges, and schools of higher education, especially emphasizing the importance that schools of the Congregational Christian Churches . . . henceforth accept students on an equal basis . . . of equality and brotherhood'."

Report of the Resolutions Committee
To the General Council, June 23, 1948

National Executive Committee on Church and Race, Congregational Christian Church.

MORAVIAN CHURCH

"Resolved: That Synod records its convictions that Jesus Christ came to be the Saviour and Lord both of every man and every relationship and activity of men. Therefore in obedience to the Lordship of Jesus Christ, be it . . .

"Resolved: That Synod declares its conviction that Christian submission to the Lordship of Jesus Christ includes making His Spirit and His Will dominant, both in business, in inter-racial and in international attitudes, and in placing love and service above the desire for private gain."

Resolutions Adopted by The Provincial Synod of the
Moravian Church, 1936

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

"The Church of the Brethren believes in living according to the New Testament principles. We, therefore, commit ourselves unhesitatingly to the belief that, regardless of race or ancestry, all men deserve equal rights, opportunities, and privileges and should bear responsibility according to their individual capacities. . . .

"People of all races should be freely welcomed into the membership of any and all congregations with no requirements or restrictions other than those ordinarily asked of anyone.

"Fellowship in pews and at meals should be equally available to all."

Adopted at Annual Conference, June 17, 1950

STATEMENT BY VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

"We recommend that the advances made by labor unions in admitting Negroes to their membership be recognized, and that they be urged to continue and broaden their efforts to eliminate discrimination in their practices on account of race, creed or color."

Atlanta Religion and Labor Fellowship luncheon.

Edited by Lucy Randolph Mason and John G. Ramsay,
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 40 Pryor St., S. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

10

HCP

CYPRESS 5065

Organizing Committee

40 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

JOHN V. RIFFE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ORAL L. GARRISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER

April 20, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Secy.
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Lucy Mason and I want to express our thanks to you for your help in the preparation of the leaflet "The Churches and Brotherhood."

There was much excellent material that was sent to us. It was really difficult to reduce it all to fit into a limited space.

We are enclosing a copy for you and will be happy to send you additional copies for free distribution. Quantity orders can be had at the price of $35.00 per 1,000.

It is our hope that this leaflet may be used to help many Americans realize that racial prejudice is morally and spiritually wrong.

In working on this leaflet, we again find that there is a wonderful unity in the pronounced expression of all religions.

Yours sincerely,

John G. Ramsay

John G. Ramsay,
Director of Community Relations

JGR:es
Enc.

RECEIVED
APR 23 1951
SOUTHERN
Regional Office

Chuck Spinak
"Work" (Catholic Labor Alliance) Dec '49

Northerners, Take Note:

Southerner Says 'Segregation Is Sin Against Justice'

WHENEVER the "race problem" is brought up, many Americans have a habit of passing the buck. Southerners blame Northern "agitators" for racial friction. Northerners give themselves a clean bill of health in race relations and point a pharisaical finger to their "publican" neighbors south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Often there is less pussy-footing in the South than in a city like Chicago. It's a well known fact that in certain sections of Chicago colored people looking for a place to live not only are not welcome but also would be greeted with violence if they tried to move in.

In these Chicago communities, the neighborhood leaders are frequently guilty of double talk on the principle of interracial justice. Instead of acting as leaders they turn out to be followers — following and tolerating the race prejudices of the people they are supposed to lead. In fact many a Southern leader has a lot more courage and is certainly a finer Christian than his pussy-footing Northern neighbor.

Take the case of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, Texas. Last month he told a meeting of Catholic women in his city that, "Segregation is a sin against charity but it is also a sin against justice. It denies to certain minority groups the exercise of their rights. It is based on the idea of inequality and this assumption is false and unjust."

The Archbishop warned the women, most of whom were mothers, that they should not hurt children by teaching them prejudice. "A child," he said, "needs to be free from race prejudice. Happily, children are naturally free from this atrocious sin. But sometimes parents stand in the way. On the other side of the picture are the children who are the victims of race prejudice, suffering all the inequalities and discriminations heaped upon them by the 'master race.'

"Segregation," the Archbishop said, "hurts the white man; it is a heavy burden to carry. It robs him of his freedom to select his own circle of intimate friends as he may choose.

"If he does not comply with an evil old custom the penalty of social ostracism will be hurled upon him.

"If he is a business man he knows that lack of purchasing power is harmful to our economy and millions of citizens cannot buy the products of field and factory because segregation keeps them poor.

"If this white man is an American he hates the Nazi philosophy of racial superiority because it is a denial of democracy, and yet we have it in our nation.

"And if this white man is also a Christian, the sin of segregation hurts his conscience because he remembers that what you do to the least of the brethren you do to Christ, and the idea of a segregated Christ seems like blasphemy to him.

"In the divine plan of redemption does the color of a child's skin make any difference? When Christ referred to the least of his brethren as representing Him did He exclude the colored child and the Latin-American?

"Is it not Catholic doctrine that when a brother is excluded, rejected, segregated, it is Christ Who is insulted and humiliated?

"In this republic we recognize in every citizen the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But where are joy and gladness in a life clouded with discrimination, legal restrictions, and all the taboos and hatreds of racial injustice. For millions of people Jim Crow has made a mockery of happiness."

(6)

"Vital

. . . to the stability of a democratic society

is the right of each individual to physical freedom, to security against illegal violence, and to fair, orderly legal process."

(*President's Committee on Civil Rights, October,* 1947)

* * *

The Lynching Situation in the U. S.
Some Churches and Editors Condemn It.
What You Can Do To Help Abolish It.

Lynching and Mob Violence Persist in the United States

At the same time that the Nation celebrated Brotherhood Week, February, 1947, a mob of 35 men dragged Willie Earle, 25, Negro, from the Pickens County Jail, Greenville, South Carolina, and lynched him. In a court trial which followed later in the year, the confessed lynchers were acquitted by an all-white jury.

Mobs sprung up in other sections: At Jackson, North Carolina, a Negro youth outran a shooting posse; In Clinton, North Carolina and Columbia, South Carolina, Negro youths in both places, accused of rape, were removed to the penitentiary for safekeeping from mobs. ***Mayor Hugh Vann of Hurtsboro, Alabama, out-talked a mob there on June 10, saving the prospective Negro victim's life when the rope was already in place. ***The deputy sheriff at the county jail at Carrollton, Georgia, during July, held off 300 members of a mob until reinforcements arrived and rescued a Negro murder suspect. ***A mob of twenty tried to lynch a Negro the night of October 26, in Aberdeen, Mississippi, and left him wounded, apparently thinking he was dead. Police Chief said the Negro apparently was the "wrong man."

Eight Negro convicts were shot to death on July 11 at the Glynn County prison camp near Brunswick, Georgia. In a Federal court indictment the warden and four guards at the camp were charged with depriving the convicts of their life without due process of law; a special committee of the State Legislature reported to the Governor that the slaying of the men was necessary to end a mutiny and prevent a mass escape. At the trial, November 4, the jury which deliberated only 13 minutes acquitted the warden and four guards.

During August, 1947, six young white college students, working on a credit union project in Columbia, N. C. and living in a Negro home there, were ordered to leave town, by a group of 200 or more white men and women. ***A special police detail was assigned to a northwest Atlanta (Ga.) section on October 23, 1947, after officers reported white men had set fire to a house in a white residential area, into which a Negro family had just moved.

* * *

According to figures from the records of Tuskegee Institute (Alabama), there were at least 31 instances in which lynchings were prevented during 1947: 24 by officers of the law; 4 by persons who saved themselves from mobs; 2 by persons not officers of the law; and 1 instance in which the victim, left as dead by the mob, survived bullet wounds. ***44 persons were under indictment during 1947 as participants in lynchings or attempted lynchings; and 44 were freed.

The Church Should Mould Public Opinion Against Lynching and Mob Violence

The Church believes that God revealed by Jesus Christ is the Father of all races; that the practice of justice must apply to all men regardless of race; that the dignity and worth of human personality should be respected regardless of race; that lynching and mob violence contradict and destroy the operation of these principles in society.

What Have Some Churches Said Against Lynching and Mob Violence?

The North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church:

"Resolved, That we appeal to our Methodist people and to all citizens to discourage by every possible means the injection of race or class prejudice into political campaigns. . . .

"It is further patent to all that prejudice and race hatred are a constant threat to law and order and the fruitful source of acts of violence and the detestable crime of lynching. . . ."

The Women's Society of Christian Service of the North Georgia Conference, The Methodist Church, Atlanta, Ga., March 27, 1947:

"We urge and will continue to expect full justice to be given in all our courts to all citizens regardless of station in life, creed or color, and we urge all Methodist women to lift their voices both in support of good government and law enforcement and in protest against any acts of unfairness or brutality on the part of any officer of the law and against injustice wherever found. . . ."

The North Carolina State Baptist Convention meeting at Asheville, N. C., November, 1946:

"Faced with the grim reality of . . . lynchings and the demonstrated hopeless inadequacy of laws to cope justly with this barbaric disgrace, we advocate the immediate passage by the Congress of the United States of a Federal Anti-Lynching law."

The General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, June, 1947:

"We deplore and heartily condemn lynchings."

Annual Meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, St. Louis, Missouri, May 7-11, 1947, adopted an interracial charter. Under Principles of Conduct in the charter the Convention said:

"We shall be willing for the Negro to enjoy the rights granted to him under the Constitution of the United States including the right . . . to receive justice in the courts, to be free from mob violence. . . ."

The Mecklenburg (N. C.) Baptist Interracial Commission, May 31, 1947:

"Therefore, be it Resolved: . . .

"That we lament the fact that certain enraged groups have taken upon themselves the prerogatives of law enforcement which rightfully should be executed by the state; . . . That we take cognizance of the fact that if such promiscuous miscarriage of justice is allowed to prevail in the South where racial tension is increasingly ominous, . . . the future relationship between the two races will be jeopardized and the progress of mutual understanding and goodwill will be impeded."

The Saxon Baptist Church, Spartanburg, S. C., (June 1, 1947) after the acquittal of the 28 lynchers at Greenville, S. C.:

"Resolved: 1) That we go on record as advocating a Federal anti-lynch law as an aid in protecting all citizens and as an instrument for meting out proper punishment to all who undertake to be a law unto themselves; 2) That we give the press a copy of this resolution and that a copy of it be sent to our Congressmen and our Senators with a request that they use their influence to have enacted a Federal anti-lynch bill."

The Greenville (S. C.) Christian Ministers Association, March 1947:

"Resolved: that the Greenville Christian Ministers' Association does hereby go on record as deploring the lawlessness exhibited in the recent lynching murder of Willie Earle. We desire to state our emphatic disapproval of this act of infamy as being contrary not only to the principles of Christianity but to the American standards of fairness and justice for all."

The Virginia Council of Churches (June 20, 1947):

"New lynching outbreaks concern the church . . . In the light of its Christian convictions and its desire to abolish lynching, The Virginia Council of Churches urges its constituent churches to take the following action to:

Educate the people of their community against lynching.

Develop an enlightened opinion by getting other organizations to take similar action.

Work for legislation that will secure all persons equal protection under the law.

Request their ministers to set forth the evils of lynching.

Urge church members to pray and act for its elimination.

Ask church members to write letters to daily newspapers denouncing the crime."

The Executive Committee of The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America:

Voted March 16, 1948, that the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches authorize the Department of Race Relations to appear before any hearings in Congress on the anti-lynching bill on the basis of the resolution adopted March 23, 1934, in which the Executive Committee declared that it

"believes that national legislation is a moral necessity to bring the Federal Government into prompt and effective cooperation with the state and local authorities in the prevention of lynching and the prosecution of lynchers."

The action at the March 16, 1948 meeting was adopted by a vote of 28 to 8. The representatives of the Presbyterian Church in the United States asked to be recorded as dissenting from the advocacy of Federal legislation. This action was forwarded in letters to the Chairmen of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, respectively, for record.

Recognizing the reduction in the number of actual lynchings and the progress made in centering the attention of the Nation on Civil Rights, the Executive Committee at this meeting also voted unanimously that

"While there is difference of opinion among us as to the best method of eliminating lynching, we are one in our resolve to eliminate it."

Organization Needed.

Information from Greenville, South Carolina, indicates that while many church people deplored both the lynching and the subsequent acquittal of the twenty-eight lynchers they were powerless to prevent either because the churches were not organized for action against lynching and mob violence.

Is Not The Lack of Action a Sin of Omission?

Public Opinion Registered Against Lynching.

The Richmond (Va.) *Times Dispatch,* May 1947:

"Mobs which seek to take the law into their own hands are the forerunners of anarchy. Whenever a mob sets itself up as judge, jury and executioner, it undermines the foundation of the state."

Events and Trends in Race Relations, (Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.) June 1947:

"The month of May (1947) was marked by an unprecedented number of editorials, with almost one half of a total of 556 clippings dealing with the Greenville, South Carolina, lynching trial and the attempted lynching at Jackson, N. C. Geographical classification of these clippings concerned with the lynchings showed that out of 257 editorials 143 were from Southeastern states; 81 from the Northeast; 13 from the Middle West; 11 from the Far West; 8 from border states; one from the Northwest."

In the *Atlanta* (Ga.) *Journal,* July 7, 1947, Ralph McGill says:

"We cannot for a moment condone lynchings or murder. We cannot excuse violence and not do great and lasting damage to our personal moral values and to the values of our whole program of law, upon which our civilization is based. They are, when they occur, our crimes and our responsibilities."

Public Opinion Favors Anti-Lynching Legislation.

A release of July 1, 1947 by George Gallup, Director, American Institute of Public Opinion, reports that 69% of a true cross-section of the voters of the 48 states favored federal anti-lynching legislation, allowing the United States Government to step in if the state doesn't deal with the crime justly; 20% voted no and 11% had no opinion.

The release pointed out this in contrast with the Institute poll of the country on the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill (debated by Congress in 1940) when it was found that 50% favored passage and 41% were opposed.

(*Richmond* (Va.) *Times Dispatch,* July 1, 1947.)

The *Kannapolis* (N. C.) *Independent,* May 14, 1947:

". . . The trial in Greenville is not alone for . . . white men who are accused of lynching a Negro. The whole south is on trial. The south has claimed that it can handle its own problems justly without interference from the federal government or modern carpet-baggers. The south now must prove it."

The *Macon* (Ga.) *News*:

". . . We are not ourselves too enthusiastic over a Federal anti-lynching bill. But it is a fact that state laws are impotent against the lynching evil and we are willing to take the best way we can get which, under the circumstances, seems to be a Federal law. . . .

"In any case, a Federal anti-lynching law, whatever its defects, is better than unrestrained and unpunished murder. Without it we can't do worse, and with it we might do better." (quoted from *The New South,* July 1947.)

"Devastating Consequences."

Said the Report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, published October, 1947:

"While available statistics show that, decade by decade, lynchings have decreased, this Committee has found that in the year 1947 lynching remains one of the most serious threats to the civil rights of Americans. . . .

"The devastating consequences of lynchings go far beyond what is shown by counting the victims. When a person is lynched and the lynchers go unpunished, thousands wonder where the evil will appear again and what mischance may produce another victim. . . ."

Decisive Action Needed

Said President Truman in his Message on Civil Rights to Congress on February 2, 1948:

"A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching — against which I cannot speak too strongly. . . . It is a principle of our democracy, written into our Constitution, that every person accused of an offense against the law shall have a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. . . . So long as one person walks in fear of lynching we shall not have achieved equal justice under law.

"I call upon the Congress to take decisive action against this crime."

* * *

Bills Against Lynching — Past and Present

The period between 1921 and the present has been marked by repeated efforts to secure Federal anti-lynching legislation. Three times anti-lynching bills have passed the House of Representatives: the Dyer Bill in January, 1922; the Gavagan Bill, April 15, 1937; and the Gavagan-Fish Bill in January, 1940. The Dyer and Gavagan bills failed in passage by the Senate because of a filibuster. Although the Gavagan-Fish bill was reported favorably to the Senate, it did not reach the floor during that session of Congress.

Many bills were introduced in the 80th Congress, the two claiming the most attention being the Wagner-Morse Bill S.1352, and the Case Bill H.R.5673 (practically identical).

The Case Bill was favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee.

It is directed against not only lynching but violence or attempted violence by an assemblage of two or more persons upon a person or his property because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, religion; or because the victim is suspected of or charged with a criminal offense. Any person aiding or inciting a mob, or any member of a mob shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, by imprisonment not exceeding 20 years, or both. Officers of the law wilfully failing to prevent lynching or to prohibit lynchers shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $5000 or by imprisonment, or both. The bill provides for compensation to families of the lynch victims. Criminal prosecution will be brought in a Federal Court.

What You Can Do

Ministers should still preach sermons against the evil.

Editors and magazine columnists should still write against this violation of human rights.

Study should be made of the entire Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and community plans projected for its implementation. (Obtain from Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., $1.00)

Community committees should be organized to prevent lynching and mob violence and to demand effective enforcement of the law.

Make inquiry concerning the activities against lynching of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Send to the Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. a brief report of what you are able to do in your church and community in this effort.

Published by

DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN AMERICA
297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

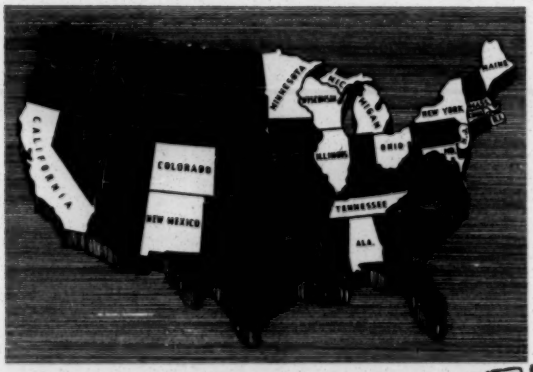
Interracial Publication No. 70

5 cents — $4.00 a hundred.

Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada

CIVIL SERVICE AGENCIES
IN THE UNITED STATES

A 1940 CENSUS



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Pamphlet No. 16 July, 1940 Price 50c

Whither the Merit System?

Practices—Prospects—Possibilities

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National Civil Service League

The Elements of

A COMPREHENSIVE PERSONNEL PROGRAM

Henry F. Hubbard

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A MODEL STATE CIVIL SERVICE LAW

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PREPARED BY

National Civil Service League
Civil Service Assembly of United States and Canada
National Municipal League

Price Fifty Cents

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YOUR PATRONAGE PROBLEM

and

CIVIL SERVICE

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December 14, 1948

Mr. J. J. Donovan, Acting Director
Civil Service Assembly
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Donovan:

How very kind of you to send me so full and helpful a letter on an approach to civil service improvement in the South.

We will study with care the materials you sent.

I had already talked with Mr. Swain and one or two of the others, and shall be in touch with them from time to time.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

CIVIL SERVICE ASSEMBLY
of the United States and Canada

An association of public agencies and officials for
the improvement of standards and practices in public personnel administration

Headquarters Office • 1313 East 60th Street • Chicago 37, Illinois
Telephone FAirfax 4-3400

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J. M. MITCHELL, *Director* (on leave)
J. J. DONOVAN, *Acting Director*

December 10, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of December 6, asking for sources of information that may be of use to you in preparing your proposed pamphlet on civil service in the various southern states and municipalities. We will be very glad to be of assistance to you in the matter.

In the accompanying enclosure I am sending you a number of publications that should prove useful to you, both as general background material, and as direct sources of information. They are as follows:

"A Model State Civil Service Law."

"The Elements of a Comprehensive Personnel Program."

"Civil Service Agencies in the United States—A 1940 Census," (including a 1943 supplement).

"Whither the Merit System?"

"Your Patronage Problem and Civil Service."

The pamphlet, Civil Service Agencies in the United States, together with its supplement represents a fairly up-to-date listing of the various states, counties, and municipalities having civil service programs. At present we are working on a revised edition of this census, but it will not be ready for publication for some time yet.

One additional source of information that should be of particular value to you is the pamphlet, "The Awkward Age in Civil Service," published by the National League of Women Voters. Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained at 40 cents a piece from the offices of the National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

I would also like to take the opportunity to mention a number of people there in Atlanta who are familiar with the operation of civil service programs in govern-

ment, with the thought that you may wish to confer with them from time to time as you are preparing your pamphlet. Their names and address are as follows:

Edwin L. Swain, Director, Georgia State Personnel Board, 412 Twenty Ivy Street, Atlanta 3.

Carl T. Sutherland, Director, Atlanta Personnel Board, 203 City Hall.

Mrs. Ruth Knight, Secretary, Fulton County Civil Service Board, 601 Fulton County Court House, Atlanta 3.

Orie Myers, Regional Director, 5th United States Civil Service Region, New Post Office Building, Atlanta 3.

I am sending a copy of this letter to each of the persons mentioned above, in order that they may be informed in the matter in the event that you have occasion to solicit their assistance.

Sincerely yours,

J. J. Donovan

Acting Director

December 6, 1948

Civil Service Assembly
13 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

I am turning my mind to producing a pamphlet on the present condition of state and municipal civil service laws and ordinances in the thirteen southern states.

The idea would be to appraise the present situation, give some ready measure by which local citizens could tell whether their existing so-called civil service laws do any good or not, and urge the spread of true civil service devices in official southern employment of all kinds.

Has anybody in your show got time to write me a letter steering me some as to main sources of information and main boners to avoid?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Enclosure: Fleming pamphlet

C1-D

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Regulations concerning operation of Taxis Atlanta, Georgia

Date:

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Code, City of Atlanta, 1942. 62-121.

Races to be separated in cabs and hired automobiles. It shall be the ~~dity~~ duty of all owners and operators of taxicabs or autos for hire within the city of Atlanta to indicate on the side of such vehicle whether the taxicab or auto for hire is to be used by and shall serve white or Negro passengers. The sign so indicating shall be painted under the owner's name and shall read "For White Passengers Only" or "For Colored Passengers Only" as the case may be. This sign, as well as the "Auto for Hire" or "Taxi" sign shall be painted on both sides of the vehicle in an oil paint of contrasting color to the vehicle, and in paint that cannot be rubbed or washed off. Such sign shall remain on said car as long as the operator holds a permit and license to operate that machine. No such taxicab or auto for hire owner or operator shall carry both white and Negro passengers in the same vehicle, but shall serve one or the other of said races to the exclusion of the other. There shall be white drivers for carrying white passengers, and colored drivers for carrying colored passengers. Applicants in filing their petitions for permits shall state on their application whether the taxicab or car for hire is to be used for hauling white or colored passengers. (May 7, 1940)

62-122.
Penalties. Any person violating any of the provisions of this article shall, at the option of the Mayor or General Council, have his permit or license, or both, revoked and shall be fined not less than $50 nor more than $200 for each offense or imprisoned not less than 30 nor more than 60 days or both, within the discretion of the Recorder. (April 20, 1939; May 7, 1940)

C.E.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Hertz Drive-Ur-Self Cars for Hire Date: August 7, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

The clerk curtly informed me that "We do not rent cars to colored." She referred me to the other stations.

C-E

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Belle Isle Drive-Ur-Self Service Date: August 7, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

The manager said there were no cars available at this time. He wanted me to go over to other companies for service. I asked him when he would have cars available. He replied that he didn't know, probably 6:00 P.M. I told him I would return at this time.

This station was called before 6:00 P.M. The manager stated that two cars were available. Carter went down to get one and was told that, "We can't handle colored rentals."

1

C-E-

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Dixie Drive-Ur-Self Cars for Hire Date: August 7, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

I was told that all cars were leased out to the telephone company and referred to other companies.

ATLANTA JOURNAL, Tuesday, August 21, 1945 (page 12)

"NEGRO TAXI DRIVER STABBED TO DEATH"

"The body of a Negro taxicab driver, Porter Flournoy Turner, 49, of 641 Greensferry Avenue, was found in the street in front of 1040 Springdale Road early Tuesday morning in what De Kalb County police reported was an apparent robbery and murder. The driver had been stabbed in the chest and back and death had occurred several hours prior to it discovery, according to De Kalb Chief Leo Nahlik.

Turner operated a white-passenger car for hire for Albert Wade, Negro cab owner, according to Nahlik. The cab was found, headed into the curb, across the road from where the driver's body was discovered. No money was found on the dead man's person, leading police to conjecture robbery was the motive."

Form I
Number ___

FACILITIES AND SERVICE FACTORS TO BE BOSERVED RELATIVE TO

CITY AMBULANCE SERVICE

James S. Hadley

I. City Ambulance Service

A. Facilities 6

1. Number (for use by races) 2

a. for whites _____

(1) make Chevrolet

(2) year 1935

(3) model _____

b. for colored _____

(1) make S

A

(2) year _____

M

(3) model _____

E

B. Service

1. Working arrangement between city and private ambulance services No working arrangement with undertakers except that different ones are on "call" each week. They are called when the deceased has not made other arrangements.

C. Remakrs: Mr. Wilson, superintendent of Grady hospital states that no difference is made between races in ambulance service. "If we get a call, we go out, if it's white, we pick them up. If It's colored, we pick them up. We make no difference. We have six ambulances, two in service." No compensation is given private ambulances.

(Mr. Ivey) Some time ago there was an agreement between Grady and local undertakers to furnish free ambulance service (undertaker) for consideration in return By the hospital for dead bodies. This does not hold true at present.

He stated that it is generally thought that Grady has two ambulances, one for white, and one for colored. Mr. Ivey's ambulance driver says he is sure that they do not use the same ambulance for both races.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Negro Taxi Transportation Date: August 22, 1945

Informant: William Schley Howard, Attorney

Reporter: James O. Slade

The following questions were directed to ~~Mr. Howard:~~ the lawyer: Have you represented any Negro taxi drivers of late in the courts? If so, with what were they charged? What are some of the problems which confront Negro taxi operators?

~~Mr. Howard's~~ The lawyer's reply:

"I have interceded in many ways for Negro taxi drivers. Countless ones of them have come to me for help.

"Let me tell you something. There are about three corporations and one association in Georgia that just about have their way in politics and everything else. I'd include in this group the Wholesale and Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, our public utilities, such as the Georgia Power Company and Southern Bell Telephone Company. Transportation interests are strong in this state. But I've always been an anti-corporation lawyer. Some years ago, Georgia Power Company offered four of us $50,000 a year to work for them. Sometime before this offer, we had successfully sued Georgia Power Company for (our clients) thousands of dollars, of which we got one third; so I told those men it was more profitable to remain independent of these interests, and what's more, I did not like some of their (Georgia Power Company's) methods.

"Now, in Atlanta, ~~Belle Isle's~~ the owner of yellow cabs for white and harlem taxis for colored he is strong. I'll bet you right now that ~~Belle Isle~~ he is contributing to the campaigns for both mayors so that he'll be on the safe side no matter who wins.

"This man ~~Masters — there was a man named Smith who had the job before Masters got it —~~ who issues permits to taxi drivers probably takes his orders from ~~Belle Isle~~ the owner of the cab company. Now, they have been putting the pressure on these boys who drive taxis. What they'd do is to try to find some record of these boys (Negro taxi drivers) or have them picked up on any little old charge so as to give them a record, and, in time, revoke their license. It's this kind of thing that made so many of the boys come to me for help.

"I actually had a policeman removed from his station at the Greyhound Bus Terminal because he was making charges against those boys for everything. After he was taken away from there, he came by to see me and asked what I had against him. I told him he was rotten, in fact, he had no business on the police force at all.

"I suspect if you would go down to the police station ~~and see Maddox~~, you'd find more than two hundred cases on record for the last few months against these colored men who have actually been trying to make a decent living for the most part."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: "Car for Hire" (colored operators and their problems)

Date: August 24, 1945

Informant: Willie Conley

Reporters: J. O. Slade and F. D. Carter

Note: Willie Conley, the informant, has driven a "car for hire" for "white only" for a number of years. His borther, Emmett Conley, is also a driver of a car for hire for white only. He (Willie Conley) has been arrested many times, spent time in jail for charges made by policemen in Atlanta for illegal operation. In his statement which follows, he tells of the activities and collusion of the police and Yellow Cab Company in contriving to force colored operators of cars for hire for white only out of business. The informant, in his statement, reveals many other problems which confront colored drivers of cars for hire for white only.

"In 1939 the City Council passed an ordinance which prohibited Negro drivers of cars for hire from carrying white passengers. Prior to this time we (Negro drivers) had been hauling white passengers. The law passed by the Council was placed in the City Hall where everybody could see it. It was kept in view for ninety days.

"A. T. Walden was our lawyer at the time. We had an organization known as the Car for Hire Association.

"When the ninety day period expired, the police began to make cases against all of us who were hauling white passengers. By reason of a writ of certiorari, we were able to continue operating our cars for hire in spite of the cases made against us after the ninety days. By 1940, they (the policemen) seemed to have decided to lay off of us. Only two policemen kept making arrests — Johnnie Sykes and F. Jones. By 1941 they jumped on us again. Anywhere they caught us they'd unload us; sometimes they'd put us in jail. A little later they'd put our cars in jail.

"Then we went to work to get a bondsman to get us out when they'd put us in jail. We got Mr. Lumpkin and Mr. Marvin as bondsmen. They were able to get us out at $3 per man. Later they stopped giving us bond. They would keep us in jail until the case came up.

"Lawyer Walden was about forced to give over about September 1942. They would not put off any more cases for him; neither could he any longer get an injunction.

"About this timewe were required to get liability protection on our cars for $350 per year. Yellow Cabs had no such requirement as far as we knew. In addition to this we (drivers of cars for hire) were required to 'satisfy' the police committee of the City Council.

"What do we have to do to operate, we began to ask ourselves??

"Colonel Sheats, a white lawyer we engaged, advised us not to buy the insurance. Sheats filed an injunction so that they could not arrest us. We rocked on for a while without

any trouble, then, suddenly they began making arrests again. In each arrest we were charged with violating the law, having no license, having no permit, and carrying white passengers.

"Belle Isle (Chairman of the Board of Directors of Yellow Cab Company) had said in 1939 to some of his colored drivers of Harlem taxis that 'I am going to get these cars for hire off the streets.' Some of his drivers would come to us weekly and suggest that Belle Isle was going to stop us from operating.

"Lawyer Walden (colored) decided to draw up a brief on our case and send it to Washington. Lawyer Sheats (white) told Walden that would be all right but that it would be better for Walden to go to Washington also and state the case or have it done. Sheats said it should be made clear that the Negro drivers do not mix white and colored passengers. Sheats suggested further that a lawyer should show the court that the car for hire is unlike many modes of transportation, busses and street cars for instance, where the mixing of races is permitted. 'They don't seem to be kicking on anything except cars for hire,' Sheats said.

"I know this to be a fact (Conley continued) that Negro drivers of Harlem cabs(for Negroes) were sometimes hauling white passengers in 1942 and 1943. When we would come along trying to pick up white people at stations or near stations, the Yellow Cab Company starters would say to us: 'All right, old nigger, keep moving.' Yellow Cab starters, we are told, are instructed to tell white passengers not to ride with Negroes. White people have told me that the starters tell them that we (Negroes) will rob them, that we have long police records, and that we have no insurance to protect them.

"For a period of about three months during the latter part of '42 they made 27 cases against me. Sometimes I had to stay in jail. The same thing happened to many of the other boys.

"At a hearing before the Police Committee in the early part of 1942, January I think it was, they actually put all of us (car for hire drivers), including our lawyer Walden, out of the room while they considered the case.

"In trying to run us off the streets are insurance cost was raised to $350 a year. That was in 1942, I think. M. B. Moreland bought insurance at this rate on five cars, and J. C. Calhoun purchased insurance for two cars. Moreland and Calhoun were then the only Negro drivers of cars for hire in Atlanta who had license, permits, and insurance for operation. In one year, 1942, the insurance dropped from $350 to $150 and later to about $84. We don't know why it happened this way.

"The brief Mr. Walden sent to the Supreme Court was returned. No action had been taken upon it. Another brief was prepared and sent to the Supreme Court. No action.

"While we had been having all this trouble, we heard that Mayor Hartsfield's brother who had worked for Belle Isle (of Yellow Cab Company) had been discharged. I think this kind of put the Mayor on our side. At any rate, the Mayor presented a statement to the Police Committee (of the City Council) and it was decided at that meeting that colored drivers could haul white people if they placed on their cars 'white only' signs. This action took place during the early part of November, 1942.

"Albert Wade was the first Negro in the business to put a <u>white only</u> sign on his car. Emmett Conley, my brother, was the second. As I remember, Wade and my brother began driving with white only signs on Friday, and on Monday trouble started again. Masters

who was in charge of issuance of licenses to car for hire drivers at the Police Station, who we have all reason to know works in cooperation with Belle Isle, called my brother (Emmett Conley) and Wade on Monday to return their permits. Brother and Albert said that Masters said they would have to return their licenses because the law says no Negroes will be permitted to haul white women. My brother immediately carried his license back. Wade decided to hold his out. He went to Walden, but Walden told him that he was busy at the time and 'what's more, it will take a few days to adjust a matter of that sort.' When Wade told us what Walden said, six of us, James Conley, Emmett Conley, Will Stovall, Olin Dismond, Albert Wade and I decided to go to Schley Howard.

"We told Mr. Howard about what had happened. He said: 'Yes, boys, I've been reading about the trouble you have been having. The mistake you made in the first place was going to a little lawyer. Now that you have come to me, I'll show you how a big lawyer does it. I'll start upstairs.' Mr. Howard then called (telephoned) Mr. Hester, a close friend of the Mayor, and made an appointment with him to go hunting. He told Mr. Hester that he would take care of the expenses. After he talked to Mr. Hester (via phone) he called the Mayor and invited the Mayor also to go hunting. Both accepted the invitation, Mr. Howard said later. 'Listen, Bill' (speaking to the Mayor) Mr. Howard said, I've got six of the best Negroes in Atlanta sitting here in my office. Two of them recently were issued permits stamped white only by your man Masters down at the Police Station. Actually he gave them permission to haul white people in their taxis, issued two of them permits to do so and in three or four days called the boys back to take up their permits.' Mr. Howard told the Mayor that one driver had already returned his permit and that the other Negro was expected to return his right away.

"Mr. Howard advised Wade, who still held his permit to go and get a photostatic copy of it, then return the permit to Masters as Masters has demanded. 'Bring the copy of the permit to me,' Mr. Howard said.

Note: When Albert Wade was contacted by the interviewer, Wade made this statement: "I did not take my permit back to Masters as Mr. Howard told me to do. I kept it until the hearing before the Police Committee about a week later. The police tried to find me during that week but I kept dodging them.

"Mr. Howard told us that if we got up $25 apiece, he would fix it for us. He (Mr.Howard) told us to come back and he would have some letters to give us to keep so we could operate until the next meeting of the Police Committee.

"When the Police Committee met about a week later, after we went to Mr. Howard for help, Masters would not present to the committee the permit he had recalled. During the hearing Mr. Howard presented to the committee the photostatic copy of Wade's permit. The Mayor, Mr. Hester, and the Chief of Police, looked at the copy, then passed it to Masters, who had acted as if he was not guilty of the charge of issuing permits and recalling them.

"'What do you mean having that copied,' said Master to Wade. 'I'm the man,' said Mr. Howard, 'I wanted to make you a lie here before these men since you would not present the permit you had taken from this boy (Emmett Conley).

"The Mayor severely reprimanded Masters at the hearing, then turned to us and said: 'You boys get out of here, go on and haul white folks.'

"We have had no trouble since, that was in late 1942, except for the starters who always agitate us. A lot of our passengers kick on that stuff the starters pull.

"Some of the boys who taxi who started lately have had trouble because they are said to have been operating illegally, getting their gas the wrong way, etc., but the city doesn't seem to be straight on them. They first had charges against about 45 of the boys and finally ended up with about 34 or 35 of them."

Note: Mr. Walden, the colored lawyer for the Car for Hire Association, attributes the change of policy in connection with the problem to a change in representation in the City Council.

"We were able," Walden says, "to keep them operating under injunction until we got some new members on the Council."

~~APPENDIX~~

A duplicate of permit issued to ~~Conley~~ a colored driver by ~~Masters~~ the MAN in charge of permits for car for hire operators.

Note capitals, ~~and~~ improper, or no, punctuation, spelling, etc.

Colored driver II/13/42
~~Willie Conley~~ Has Filed Application With
Me Also Has Insurance. He Is O.K? to
Drive White Pass Onley
J. J. Masters

On opposite side of permit issued ~~Conley~~ colored driver --

Phone Walnut 7363	Res. Ra. 1405
J. J. Masters	
Atlanta Police Dept.	175 Decatur St.

~~Footnote: Interviewer to get photostatic copy of above data.~~

COPIES

October 17, 1942.

Hon. Cecil Hester
Chairman Police Committee
City of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hester:

As you will recall from numerous appearances before the Police Committee of City Council, I represent a number of independent taxicab drivers also known as operators for Cars for Hire. At the first of the year some of these operators were refused permits on the ground that they had not complied with the ordinance as amended in February which requires operators of cars for hire to "satisfy" the Mayor and City Council of their financial responsibility. We have attacked this ordinance as unconstitutional and an appeal is now pending in the Court of Appeals of Georgia. We expect the court to decide the case most any time and think that no public interest is served by piling up cases against these operators pending a final decision of the case now being appealed.

I want it understood definitely that I am not trying to keep operators from paying license fees or complying with the law, and we are willing to put up the required license fee so that the city will not lose any revenue while waiting for the court to decide the case. So far the City has refused to accept the license fee, presumably on the theory that it could not collect the fee without issuing the permit. I do not agree with this as the City is entitled to collect its tax regardless of whether or not the operator is operating legally.

The Police Committee will doubtless consider the taxicab situation between now and the first of the year and I would like to suggest that the present ordinance be amended so as to eliminate the requirement that an operator "satisfy" the City Council of financial responsibility, and substitute one of the following plans:

1. New York has a system of protecting the public by suspending the license of any operator against whom a judgment is rendered unless he discharges the judgment within 30 days or obtains the written consent of the person in whose favor the judgment was rendered. This protects the public in several ways:

(a)

It makes the drivers more careful as they will lose their licenses if they have an accident.

(b)

It affords the person injured a method of collecting his judgment, that is, require as a condition to retaining the license that the operator made regular payments on any damages caused by him.

Either object is more effective than the present ordinance of the City of Atlanta which so far has done nothing except cause a few taxicab drivers to take out insurance, the number being so small as not to amount to a drop in the bucket.

(2) The second plan is to set up a definite standard of financial responsibility for each car operated and allow a reasonable bond or insurance coverage in lieu of financial responsibility. If the ordinance is definite on the requirements and affects everybody alike it would meet the objection to the present ordinance now that it is discriminatory, and would also afford complete protection to the public, whereas the present ordinance affords the public little if any actual protection.

As stated before, I do not want to escape responsibility on behalf of my clients, but simply want to work out a system which will protect the public and will also allow my clients to stay in business. The present ordinance does not accomplish either objective and I sincerely hope your committee will consider the matter and will grant relief by adopting an ordinance along the lines suggested above.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed)
Harold Sheats
Attorney

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Atlanta Terminal Station Observation
Harlem Taxis and Independent Operators

Date: August 25, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Upon entering the waiting room, the first thing that came to my attention was a Negro soldier sprawled out on the floor with a white M.P. and a plain clothes station detective standing over him. The soldier was very drunk. The MP asked two red caps to pick him up. Each took an arm and a leg and carried him to the MP office in the general waiting area, whereupon they dumped him on the floor as one would dump a sack of potatoes. In a few minutes they decided to take him to the MP station wagon parked in front of the station entrance, whereupon they repeated the same manner of carrying and dumping him into the wagon.

While in the station, I engaged in conversation with two cab drivers. One was a taxi (Harlem Cabs, Belle Isle) driver, and the other was an independent (car for hire) driver.

Harlem Taxi Driver:
Company policy: The Negro driver must rent cab. They pay the company $5.90 for every 60 miles plus buying their own gasoline. The white drivers work on salary by the hour. The white drivers do not furnish their own gas. All over $10.00 per day, the white driver receives 40% commission.

The Negro cab drivers' two main complaints against the company are: (1) that the white works 8 hours in three shifts, and the Negro driver works 12 hours in two shifts. (2) The Negro drivers are given "hand-me-down cabs," that have been worn out by yellow cab drivers for their use. This driver said this was unfair to cause colored riders to use inferior cabs inasmuch as they are paying the same price as white — 40¢ for first 2½ miles and 10¢ for each additional 2/5 of a mile. This driver said that the cab meter only operates by time and not by mileage.

Car for Hire Driver:
Statement by Walter Brown, independent operator. Probably on the night of August 15 or 16, 1945 (he was not sure) this driver pulled alongside the curb at the Greyhound Bus Terminal in Atlanta, Georgia. His purpose was to unload Negro passengers. After the unloading of the passengers, a policeman came up and "tried to stick him in the face with a pencil," in questioning him concerning his being there. The policeman went so far as to take his keys and go into his glove compartment. In this compartment he found $87.00 and a pistol. He locked him up for "blocking the street." The judge gave him 10 days without a fine. He gets in touch with Colonel Walden (Negro attorney) who had him released for $3.00 on the charge for illegal parking.

Brown stated to the Chief of Police Hornsby that he hadn't recovered his $87.00 and that the policeman took it. The Chief says the policeman didn't get it and wouldn't discuss the matter with him. He has never recovered this money.

Brown went further to state that Belle Isle is fighting on every hand to get independent operators off the streets. He is powerful in the police department and almost all the policemen are ex-taxi drivers for Belle Isle. He has even threatened to put white drivers on Harlem (colored) cabs.

Brown cites another incident where he was charged with "carrying colored people to the front entrance of the Atlanta Terminal Station." His license was taken and he was kept from operating for a period of two years.

Also at the Union Station the white cab starter will place white people in colored (Harlem) cabs if white cabs are not available.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Interview, Negro cabs

Date: September 4, 1945

Informant: Chief of Police Nahlik,
DeKalb County, Georgia

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Chief Nahlik stated that there are no Negro cab drivers in DeKalb County. A few months ago a white driver was fined $100.00 for refusing to have a colored passenger.

He says the state laws state only that the races must be separated. How this is done is left to the local authorities.

Chief Nahlik was a member of the Atlanta Police force for 15 years. He says that Belle Isle was a good friend of Mayor James L. Key, who was mayor of Atlanta for several terms, and his power was in the mayor's office. Belle Isle fought Hartsfield, the present mayor. At one time (under Key) he had a complete legal monopoly for cabs in the Atlanta area; Hartsfield took this away from him.

The Chief was very cordial, asked me into his private office, offered me a seat beh nd his desk and a cigarette. He willingly answered all my questions and expressed concern as to whether or not I find difficulty in obtaining information from the different white persons I must interview. He said he wanted to do all he could to help colored people.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Mixing of Races in a Yellow Cab. Date: August 28, 1945

Observers: J. O. Slade and Douglas Carter

Reporter: J. O. Slade

Time: ':30 P. M. E.W.T.

When we entered the concourse from the street at the Union Station at 8:23 P. M., our attention was drawn to a very attractive young Negro woman, apparently 25 years of age, light brown complexion. She stood not far from the entrance, a few paces from the baggage window. She was alone with one big bag and some packages. Suddenly, less than two minutes after the observers entered the concourse, a middle aged man who was obviously white went to her and without a word, he picked up her bag and hastily made his way to the nearest sidewalk, to the point where yellow cabs (for white) pick up their passengers. The young colored woman followed close after him. No taxi was available for about five minutes. The white man and the colored woman stood side by side with only the bag between them. They instantly began to converse, apparently in low tones. When a white couple approached them before a taxi appeared on the scene, the middle aged man shifted his position__no longer was the bag between him and the colored woman---and the four people exchanged words. The colored woman sensing the nearness of the observers appeared extremely ill at ease. She looked in the direction of those who looked on many times.

And now the yellow cab was on the scene. The driver came, took the two bags which apparently belonged to the white woman and placed them in the trunk of the cab. The white man who had taken the bag from the concourse took the same bag to the driver who had not yet left the rear of his vehicle.

When the driver opened his rear door the white woman entered first, sat on the farthest side from the sidewalk; she was followed by the colored woman who sat in the center of the seat. The middle aged white man took the place nearest the sidewalk on the same seat next to the colored woman. The other white man, after telling them good bye proceeded eastward from the station. The cab moved westward.

Note: The cab number (near front door) was 634.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Taxis for white and colored, Atlanta Date: August 16, 1945

Informant: Mr. Masters, police director in charge of taxi permits

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Interview with Mr. Masters, police director in charge of taxi permits:

Mr. Masters states that there are 60 yellow cabs, 12 Harlem cabs, and 53 "cars for hire," with permits from his office.

He could not give me the exact figures on "cars for hire" as to race, but said that the number of "cars for hire" operated by white drivers did not exceed 20.

Approximately 10 "cars for hire" are operated by colored drivers for white patrons.

Mr. Masters states that it is against the city law for colored drivers ~~for colored drivers~~ to haul white patrons, but it ~~complies with the city ordinance~~ is permitted. He says that personally he is in favor of allowing a man to make a living any way he chooses and not to restrict him.

He says that so far no one has brought this matter up.

Interview with manager of Yellow Cabs:

Yellow Cabs:

White -- 80 cabs operated two shifts
25 cabs operated one shift

Negro -- 7 cabs operated two shifts.

Yellow Cabs and Harlem Cabs are operated 24 hours per day.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Police Gang (Car for Hire) Date: September 4, 1945

Informant: DeKalb County Police,
Chief Nahlik

Reporter: James Hadley

DeKalb County Police Department

Offense
Number Assault 12
Date: August 21, 1945

To the Chief of Police:

Sir: I respectfully report the following

☐ rape ☐ attempt
☐ aggravated

Felonious Homicide
1. Victim's Name: Porter Flournoy Turner Color: C Age: 49
2. Address: 641 Greensferry Avenue, Apt. 604. Sex:M
3. Crime actually committed: Murder
4. Time of Occurrence: Unknown Date: Night of August 20 and 21
5. Place of occurrence: In front of 1040 Springdale Road, 1945
6. Weapons or force used: Knife
7. Were weapons found? Not
8. Description of vehicle used
9. Number of perpetrators engaged: Unknown
10. Criminal motive ☐ hate ☐ revenge
☐ to conceal crime ☐ domestic trouble
☐ jealousy ☐ sudden anger
☐ other
11. Provocation or justification — unknown
12. Description and extent of injuries: 1 stab in back near right spine and another stab 3 inches above other. 1 stab in right chest, 3 long cuts on right hands.

13. Hospital,undertaker: Cox Brothers

Interviewed: Name: Mr. and Mrs. O. F. Sealy
1031 Springdale Road
De. 1087

Color: Sex - W
Statement: Heard car stop and loud talking and some one running at 2:30 A.M.
Interviewed: Name: Graham Norman, Address: 280 Arizona Avenue, De. 8547
Statement: Found body about 4:45 A.M., and notified us at Emory stores
Assigned to: Capt. Foster, Jones

Detailed Report:

At approximately 4:30 A.M. while checking the stores at Emory, Graham Norman (W,M) Constitution deliveryman, informed us that there was a dead Negro in front of 1040 Springdale Road.

We found the victim laying in a big pool of blood just off of the sidewalk in the yard of Dr. Marion Benson. His feet were almost on the sidewalk and his head towards the house. The body was approximately 4 feet to the left of the driveway, directly behind the mail box. There was a faint trail of blood leading across the street to a 1940 Dodge sedan, License E-82590, Georgia. This car is a Negro taxi for white passengers. Records at the State Capitol and Taxi license issued to Albert Wade, 881 Simpson Street, N.W.

On the body of the victim we found a brown leather pocketbook containing a one dollar bill and personal papers of the victim. Other items found in victim's pockets included keys, a Boy Scout knife, and a Georgia driver's license #7009, issued to the victim giving his age and address.

In the cab was a dark grey chauffeur's cap. A small blood stain was found on the left side of the front back rest, about where the driver would sit. All the doors were closed. The cab was headed into the curb, with the rear end approximately from the curb. Mr. and Mrs. Sealy stated that they heard a car stop about 2:30 A.M. and heard loud talking and later someone running away. Some time later an old car camb by and went up to the street and turned around and came back and stopped near the body and drove off in a few minutes.

Coroner Paul Estes was notified and came to the scene and ordered the body removed to Cox Brothers' funeral home. The car and all personal effects were brought to the office. Turner's wife and Wade were notified.

X Not cleared up by arrest.

Signed:J. S. Day
Day and A.H. Smith Car #160
Nahlik and Foster

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: City Trucks Date: September 14, 1945

Informant: Mr. Bloodworth, Assistant City Attorney

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Mr. Bloodworth says he was sure that no such ordinance as the prohibition of Negroes driving city trucks existed. He "checked" on this in his "index" and said he found no such ruling.

Remarks: This practice of not allowing Negroes to drive city trucks may be defined as probably the policy of the department which handles such equipment. This ban is very much in evidence.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Various Interpretations of the Georgia Separate Race Laws By Persons in Authority On Public Carriers In and Out of the City of Atlanta

Date: September 17, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Some bus drivers think and practice the idea that only the long rear seat is for Negro passengers. This is most evident on Greyhound inter-city busses.

Other bus drivers feel that as long as the "white sit from front to rear" and "colored sit from rear to front" law is working, they are satisfied regardless as to where the line of demarcation lies.

On small city busses they ask all to leave by rear door. On large city busses they allow only whites to get off at the front and rear; Negroes may leave only by the rear door.

Esleeck
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

M. 4

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Personal Experiences and Observations in Georgia Transportation

Date: August 29, 1945

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

In my opinion, the greatest amount of friction encountered in Georgia transportation occurs on the bus lines and in their stations. The Negro passenger suffers much inconvenience at the "rest stations" found between regular bus stations. Usually there is no provision for Negro passengers to "rest." The time limit runs from five to fifteen minutes. At this stop they neither find provisions for eating, drinking or resting, nor have time to go to the Negro section.

The Negro passengers sit from the rear toward the front. The white passengers sit from the front toward the rear. The regular procedure is to ask the colored passengers to wait until all the white passengers have boarded the bus and found seats rather than allow both groups to enter at random. This procedure creates a problem from the standpoint that the white passengers occupy all of the seats, and leave none for the Negro passengers by spreading out from the front toward the rear. In some instances they refuse to move up.

There is a bus line operating between Macon and Perry via Robbins Field. A number of white and Negro civilians work at this field. The custom in loading busses is to board all white passengers first. Therefore, on some trips, Negroes fail to ride. They must wait until a diminishing number of white passengers permit them to board the bus.

Train travel conditions for Negroes are more desirable. However, on some lines, Negroes ride in part of the baggage car. This is a very deplorable condition of overcrowding. In my experience, the train service is lax. It has been found difficult to get ice water, the fans or heat turned on or off, or the toilets unlocked.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Various Interpretations of the Georgia Separate Race Laws by Persons In Authority on Public Carriers in and out of the City of Atlanta.

Date:

Informant:

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Georgia Power Company, Atlanta, Georgia

Operators of street cars, busses, and trackless trolleys.

Signs posted on above carriers: "White passengers shall sit from the front to the rear. Colored passengers shall sit from the rear toward the front. Colored passengers shall leave by the rear door."

Buckhead, and Suburban busses have no signs at all.

On some busses and street cars the policy demands that colored passengers shall leave carrier only by rear door. Yet it allows whites to leave by both exits. This applies to one man street cars and busses.

The policy on two man street cars is to take both races on at the rear door and whites leave by front and rear doors while colored passengers may only leave by rear door.

Taxis and Cars for Hire

These carriers are both operated by white and colored drivers.

The policy of allowing Negroes to haul white people is a direct violation of the law of the city of Atlanta. White starters at the railroad stations use coloredto haul white people when white drivers are not available.

Buckhead Taxi Service

This company hauls both races. White drivers.

Chamblee Georgia Taxi Service

This company hauls both races on the same trip.

Elevators in Atlanta

Many office buildings have taken down the signs "For Colored," but the operators will point which car is to be used by colored. However, the whites use the colored elevator along with the colored passengers.

Railroads serving Atlanta

Colored passengers are placed in the passenger car nearest to the engine. Colored passengers board the trains separately from whites. Whites may pass through colored coaches, but colored passengers may not pass through white coaches unless going to diner.

The train officials use the colored coach for office work.

Railroad stations

There are in most cases separate waiting rooms. Colored people are permitted to go into white waiting room for special services (traveler's aid, etc.); yet, in some instances if found in white waiting room for other purposes they may be fined for disorderly conduct.

Yet in the general waiting area (Atlanta terminal) there are no rules governing the seating of the races. They sit where they please.

Bus stations

At the Greyhound Bus Terminal colored are allowed to use the telegraph office in the white waiting room.

Airport

Both races use the same waiting room, sitting where they please.

C-C-

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: "Cars-for-hire"
Informant: J. C. Savage, City Attorney Date: Sept. 20, 1945
Reporter: Margaret Price

Mr. Savage gave me this information over the telephone. Mr. Slade and I had thought that the Police Committee of the City Council was responsible for revoking that part of the City Ordinance which says that white drivers of cars-for-hire may drive white people only and colored drivers colored people only. We wanted to ascertain the law-making powers of the Police Committee.

Q. What are the law-making powers of the Police Committee when the Council is in session? Is not in session?

A. The Committee has no such powers.

Q. Not at any time?

A. No.

Q. The City Code provides that no Negro operators of cars for hire may drive white people--they must drive Negroes only--yet many cars for hire driven by Negroes advertise "for white only". By what authority are they doing so?

A. If they are doing so, they are doing it illegally.

Q. That part of the ordinance has not been revoked?

A. No/

C1-C

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Negro Taxi Drivers Date: August 24, 1945

Informant: Lt. Maddox, Ass't. to the Chief of Police

Reporter: James S. Hadley

Lt. Maddox was very helpful in trying to supply the information I asked for. I wanted to ascertain from the number of violations marked against the Negro cab or "Car for Hire" drivers, whether or not there exists a "shade" of persecution or discrimination toward Negro drivers. This information was to be compared with the number of offenses charged to white drivers of the same vehicles.

We looked over the tables which listed offenses under "murder," "disorderly conduct," "traffic violations," "assault," "misdemeanors", etc. He said that this was the only information available, and that the statistics were not broken down for "taxicabs" or "cars for hire" violations. However, he did state that one case was made against a taxi driver (did not know for what offense) in July, 1945; also there were two in April, 1945, one for March, 1945; and four for February. It was not listed whether the drivers were white or colored.

Lt. Maddox says that violations occur when a driver is not following the terms of his permit such as driving whites when he is only authorized to haul colored, and vice versa.

If cases are made against a driver, they usually are listed as "disorderly conduct," "misdemeanor" or some such other heading, and not specified as "taxi" or "car for hire" offenses.

I asked Lt. Maddox whether or not it was lawful for white drivers to haul colored passengers, or colored drivers to haul white passengers. He said yes. I took the Code of the City of Atlanta for 1942 and showed him the statement: "There shall be white drivers for carrying white passengers and colored drivers for carrying colored passengers." He hadn't noticed this. He looked all over the office for a revision of this code, but could not find it. He said, however, "it must be legal, or it wouldn't go on."

Upon my departure Mr. Maddox told me he would be glad to offer any cooperation he could at any time.

C1-A

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: ~~Taxi Transportation~~ Car-for-hire Date: August 10, 1945 7:20 P. M.

Informant: Mr. W. J. Burton, 417 Peter Street, Atlanta, Georgia

Reporter: Douglas Carter

Mr. Burton, who is a "Car for Hire Driver," stated that he and six other drivers got together and hired Lawyer W. S. Howard to have the policy changed in regards to Negro drivers driving for Negroes and white drivers driving for whites. Mr. Burton is now driving for whites only. He stated that Lawyer Walton knows about the problem they worked on in trying to haul both races.

Mr. Burton stated that there was a Supreme Court decision handed down concerning their problem but Mr. Burton was not able to make a clear statement regarding this decision.

In regards to the service in the Greyhound Bus Station in Atlanta, Mr. Burton stated that there were not enough Red Caps to serve the Negro passengers. Negroes must carry their bags to the taxis, as the taxi men are not allowed by city ordinance to go into the property of the bus station. If the taxi men are caught doing this they might be fined or have their license revolked.

Mr. Burton also stated that if Negro taxi men are caught carrying both races they are fined $52 or either their licenses are revolked.

He further stated that Negroes could go into the white waiting room and then go i into the Negro waiting room instead of going around to the side of the building, but the practice is that Negroes go around to the side and enter through the dirty hall.

Returning to the services available for Negroes at the station, Mr. Burton stated that the services were terrible - the place was dirty and that only a few seats were given to Negroes and they were always on the back of the busses.

Mr. Burton finally stated that the city of Atlanta gave Negro taximen a pretty fair break at present, but this had not been the policy in previous years.

C1-C

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: ~~Taxi Licensing~~ car for hire

Date: August 2, 1945

Informant: Mr. J. J. Master at police headquarters

Reporter: Douglas Carter

I talked with Mr. J. J. Master at the police headquarters at 3:20 P.M. in regard to the policy of issuing licenses to Negroes in order to drive white people only. He stated that although the law is that Negro drivers should drive Negro passengers and white drivers should drive white passengers, it is his policy to waive the law and give Negro permits to get licenses at the City Hall. (Mr. Master is the issuer of such permits for the City of Atlanta.) No permits are being given now because of the Office of Defense Transportation regulations.

car for hire

C-C-

C
O
P
Y

November 7, 1942.

Chief M. A. Hornsby,
Police Headquarters,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chief:

Mr. William Schley Howard has informed me that a permit was issued to Albert Wade, a negro to drive a taxicab or auto for hire, catering to white passengers only. The number of this permit is 871.

Mr. Howard also advised me that Mr. Masters, an investigator in your department, has instructed negroes holding such permits that they will not be permitted to transport white passengers; that is, that a negro driver or operator can transport only negroes.

If this has been done it is not authorized by the City ordinance regulating the carrying of white and colored passengers. This ordinance is set forth in Section 62-121 of the 1942 City Code. Under this ordinance, a negro driver or operator may carry either white or colored passengers but must confine his activities to one or to the other. The same is true of white drivers and operators.

There is nothing in the ordinance that would prevent a white driver or operator from confining himself to the transportation of colored passengers and nothing in the ordinance that would prevent a colored driver from confining his business to the transportation of white passengers.

If any instructions such as described to me by Mr. Howard have been given by any member of the Police Department, such instructions are not in conformity with the law, are unauthorized and illegal.

Yours very truly,

J. C. Savage

CITY ATTORNEY

JCS:ED

CC- Mr. William Schley Howard
Mr. Frank A. Hooper, Jr.

BETTER CREAMERY BUTTER

(Continued from Page 1)

The composition of the butter can be improved by the following practices:

1. Know the exact number of pounds of butterfat in the churn. This enables one to calculate the total pounds of butter to be obtained and the amounts of salt and moisture to add.

2. Churn at a temperature where butter is obtained in 40 to 60 minutes. This temperature will usually result in exhaustive churning and butter of sufficient firmness so that additional moisture can be worked into it without sticking.

3. Wash sour cream butter with two lots of washwater. The temperature of the washwater in the summer should approximate that of the butter. The temperature of the washwater can be lower than the temperature of the butter during the winter. These temperatures must be governed by the firmness of the butter.

4. After washing the butter granules, drain thoroughly and work to gather them. Make a trench and add the salt. Be sure that there is not an excess of moisture in the churn and that all doors are closed tightly to prevent loss of salt.

5. When the free moisture has been incorporated, test the butter. If additional moisture is needed, it should be added and thoroughly worked into the butter.

Oct. 1944

Rural North Carolina NEEDS Doctors

By C. Horace Hamilton,[1]
Mary E. Holloway and
Margaret M. Cole
Department of Rural Sociology

EVEN before the war, the rural people of North Carolina needed more doctors. In 1940 there were 2,298 active physicians in North Carolina, and only 31 per cent, or 719 of these lived in rural areas where 73 per cent of the people lived. In March 1944 there were only 1,688 physicians in the state and of this number, 30 per cent, or 502 lived in rural areas.

These figures show that in 1944, there was only one physician for each 1,983 people in the state, whereas at least one doctor for each 1,000 people is needed. In rural areas the 1944 ratio was 5,174 people per physician as compared with 823 in the city. Yes, rural people can and do, in emergencies, use city doctors; but unfortunately, the urban areas of the state need all the doctors that they have.

Besides, rural people do not all live near cities. Fifty-five per cent of the land area of the state lies more than five miles from the towns and cities where doctors live. In the day of the automobile five miles or more may not appear to be a great barrier to reaching a physician. Yet 58 per cent of our farm families do not own automobiles and less than 5 per cent have telephones for use in emergencies.

Figure 3 shows the towns and cities where the physicians lived in 1940 and 1944. This map also shows the areas lying more than five miles from a doctor, as well as the villages and towns not having any doctors at all.

Since 1940, 57 villages and towns lost their doctors, whereas only 7 places not having doctors in 1940 gained a physician by 1944.

Figure 4 shows the ratio of physicians to population. Only the counties having large urban populations seem to have anything like the number of physicians needed. Sixty-six counties have less than one doctor per 2,000 people; and ten counties have less than one doctor per 4,000 people. Graham County with 11,675 people has only one doctor, and not a county in the state has as few as 1,000 people per physician — which is an acceptable standard.

Age Distribution

Rural physicians are older than city physicians. In 1944, 20 per cent of the rural doctors were over 65 years of age, as compared with only 14 per cent in the urban areas. Over a long period of time the country is losing its younger doctors. Unless something is done to reverse this trend during the next few years, many rural towns will not have any physicians at all.

The young physician trained as a

[1] The data for this paper were obtained from the American Medical Directory, 1940, and from Dr. Hubert Haywood, chairman of the Procurement and Placement Committee of the North Carolina Medical Society.

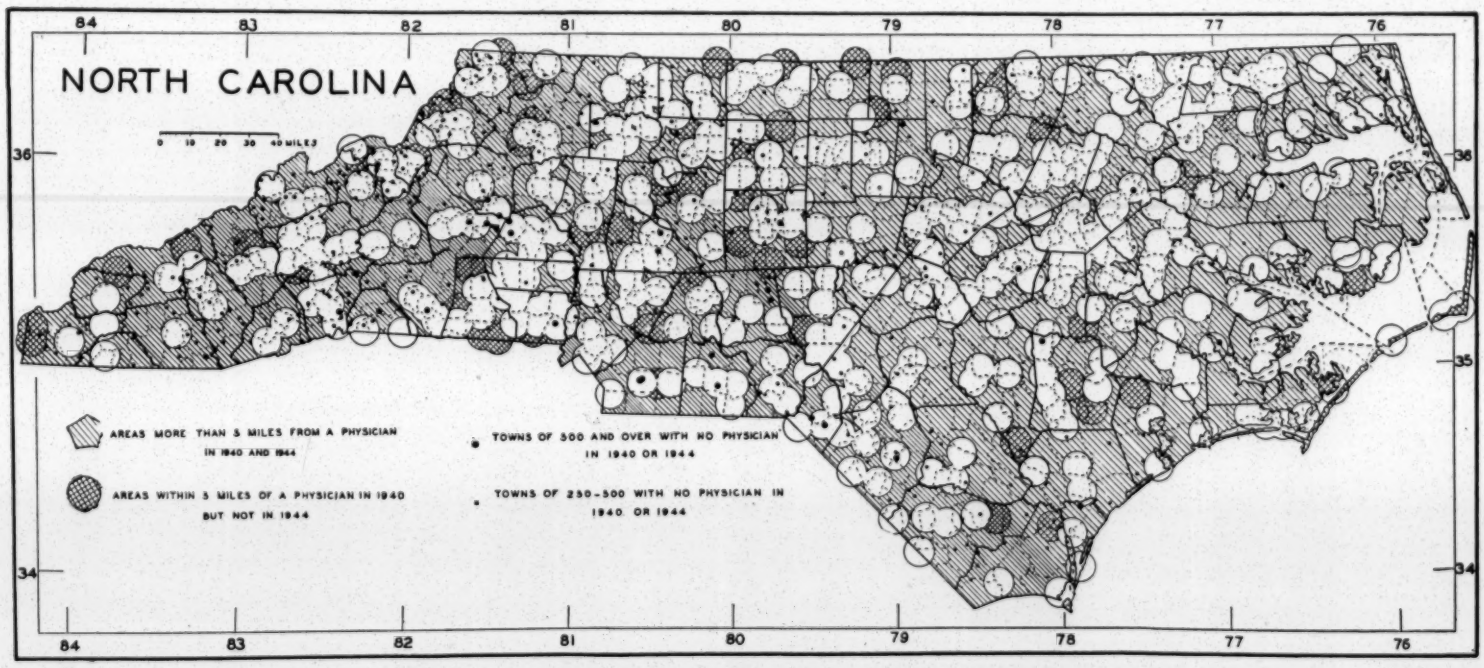

FIGURE 3. AREAS MORE THAN FIVE MILES FROM A PHYSICIAN.

specialist does not prefer to locate in small rural communities. City people will pay more and use more of his services. Even with an automobile, rural calls are time consuming and expensive. The city patient, on the other hand, can and does, when he is able, call at the doctor's office.

More important still is the fact that the young doctor desires and needs the facilities of a modern hospital near at hand. One way, therefore, to get more doctors in the country is to build more hospitals and health centers in small rural communities.

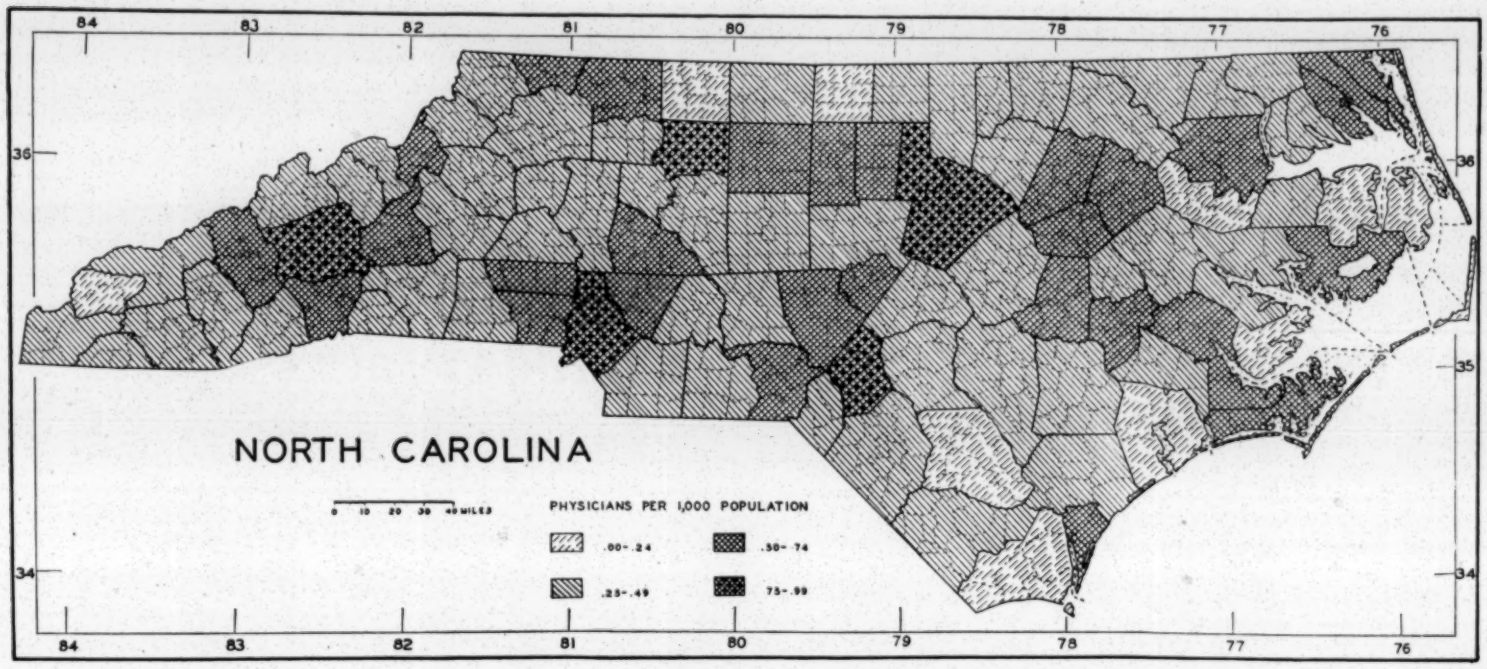

FIGURE 4. PHYSICIANS PER 1000 POPULATION.

Reduce Seed Costs

For Lettuce Plant Beds

By D. E. Ellis
Associate in Botany (Plant Pathology)

EXPERIMENTAL work of the past three years shows that commercial lettuce growers in North Carolina will benefit substantially from treating their seed.

Surveys show that the soil-borne fungi causing lettuce seed decay and killing the young seedlings before they come up are prevalent in plant bed soils throughout the commercial head lettuce area. These fungi often cause as much as a 50 per cent reduction in stand, and occasionally cause a complete stand failure. As a result, an excessive amount of seed is planted each year to obtain adequate stands.

Studies were begun in 1941 to determine if treating lettuce seed with fungicides is effective in preventing poor stands under North Carolina conditions.

More than 50 tests have been conducted in the greenhouse at Raleigh and under outdoor plant bed conditions in the lettuce area. A large number of seed-treating chemicals were tested on several varieties of head lettuce and Romaine, and almost without exception, one or

(Continued on Page 4)

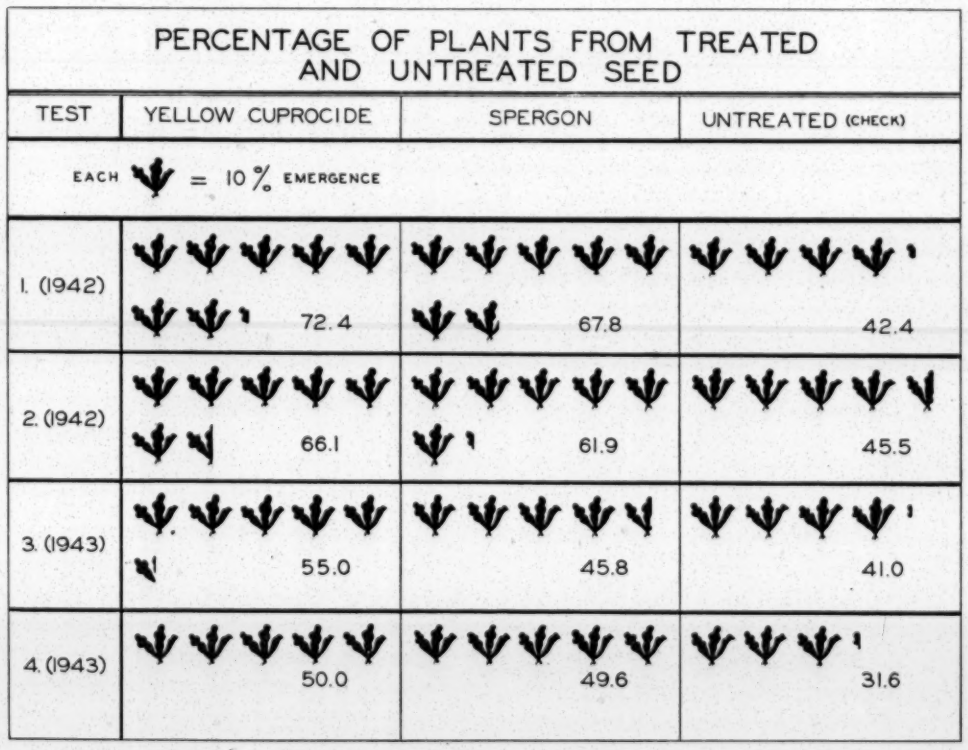

FIGURE 5. RESULTS OF TYPICAL LETTUCE SEED TREATMENT TESTS CONDUCTED IN NEW HANOVER AND PENDER COUNTIES.

The Need For Rural Hospitals

Included As Part Of A Report Made By The Rural Medical Care Committee To The Governor of North Carolina

By C. Horace Hamilton
Head, Department of Rural Sociology

Shortage of Hospital Beds

NORTH Carolina has 128 general hospitals approved by the American Medical Association, containing 8,475 beds, or 2.4 beds per 1,000 population. But to bring the hospital ratio of beds to the recommended standard of 4 beds per 1,000 people, an additional 6,000 beds are needed.

After allowing for unavoidable vacancies amounting to 25 per cent, the 6,000 additional beds would provide North Carolina with 1.1 days of hospitalization per capita. In 1940, North Carolina used only .52 of a day hospitalization per capita as compared with .90 for the nation and over 1.0 for states like Maryland, Minnesota, and Louisiana.

In 1940, North Carolina ranked 42nd in the nation in number of hospital beds per 1,000 population; 39th in admissions to hospitals; 40th in percentage of hospital beds occupied; and 43rd in days of hospitalization per capita. Eighteen states had more than four general hospital beds per 1,000 population, and 18 states used more than one hospital bed per day per capita total population.

Distribution of Hospitals

Of the 8,475 general hospital beds in North Carolina, 41.7 per cent are located in six large urban counties. (Figure 2.) The counties of the state, by number of beds per 1,000 population are distributed as follows:

4 counties have 4 or more beds per 1,000 population.
12 counties have from 3 to 4 beds per 1,000 population.
19 counties have from 2 to 3 beds per 1,000 population.
26 counties have from 1 to 2 beds per 1,000 population.
5 counties have less than 1 bed per 1,000 population.
34 counties have no hospital beds.

At least 20 of the 34 counties without hospital beds are large enough to require a 50-bed hospital. Some of the 14 counties with less than 12,500 population might find it practical to build small 20- or 30-bed hospitals.

It is recognized, of course, that the need for a hospital in any particular community should be carefully studied before plans are drawn. A few counties can be served by hospitals in adjoining counties. (Figure 3.) There is also the problem of finding competent medical personnel to operate new hospitals. These problems would be studied in detail by a proposed state hospital commission.

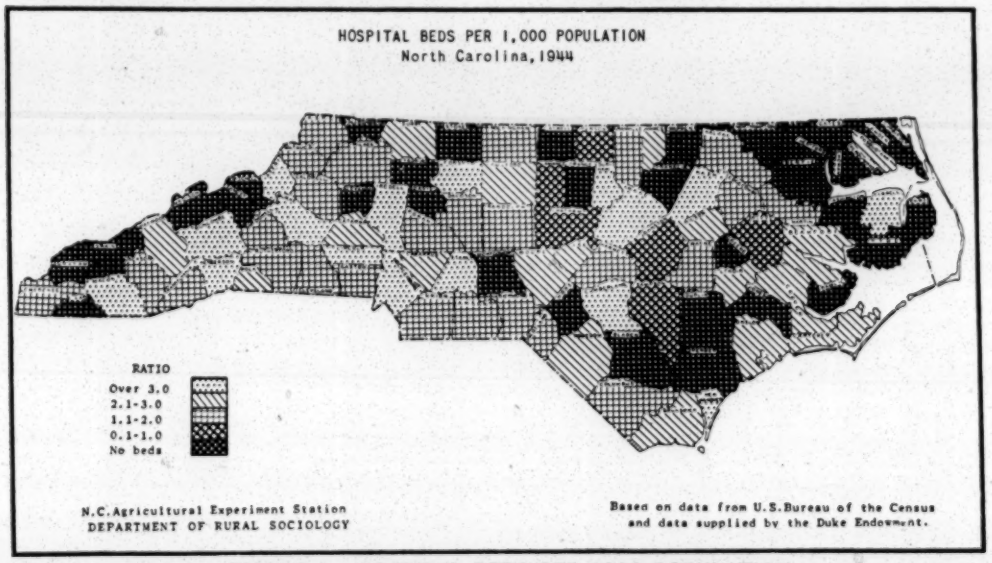

FIGURE 2. HOSPITAL BEDS PER 1000 POPULATION.

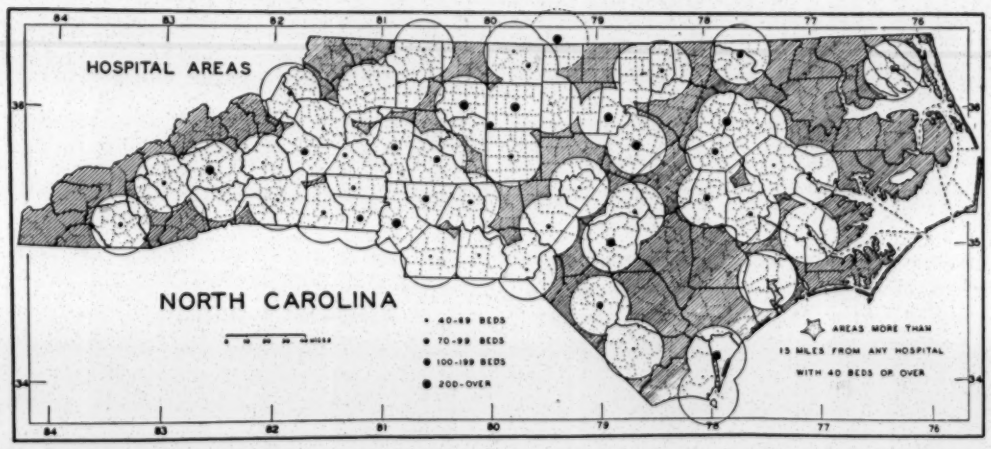

FIGURE 3. AREAS MORE AND LESS THAN 15 MILES FROM ANY HOSPITAL WITH 40 BEDS OR MORE.

Negro Hospital Beds

The need of the Negro rural population for hospital facilities is particularly serious. At present there are only 1,665 hospital beds for Negroes, or 1.7 beds per 1,000 population. Of the 6,000 additional beds needed, 2,450 are needed for the Negro population. This estimate assumes that means will be provided to finance hospitalization for the Negro population, 75 per cent of whom probably cannot pay all their hospital care costs.

The need for hospitals is closely related to the need for physicians. The young doctor of today is trained in a well-equipped modern hospital. When he begins private practice, quite naturally, he wants to locate near a good hospital where he can put his training to the best use. Therefore, to get more physicians in rural areas, more small rural hospitals must be built. Already there are a number of small hospitals in rural communities that are rendering effective service to the surrounding rural areas.

Rural Clinics

In counties and communities that cannot support a full-sized hospital, there is a need for public health centers, or clinics, or diagnostic laboratories, the

(Continued on Page 12)

BREEDING RASPBERRIES

(Continued from Page 9)

from thorns, very disease resistant foliage, very early ripening, or very late ripening.

The first generation hybrids, that is, seedlings of the original cross between the introduced species and the American, have indicated only some of the possibilities of this breeding program. Further breeding, involving repeated crossing of the hybrids back on the American varieties, with a rigid selection of seedlings has resulted in the development of new vigorous, productive sorts with delicious fruit.

Not only was the 1944 season characterized by extreme droughts but these dry periods came at critical stages during the growth and fruiting of the plants. Yet some of these selections produced full crops, and the new cane growth was strong, thick and long, and maintained its foliage healthy and dark green until frost. Not only did American raspberries in the same field fail completely, but even some of the dewberries suffered severely.

Because these new sorts have been difficult to propagate by the usual methods, it has not been possible to release any for distribution as yet. It has been necessary to investigate methods of multiplying them and to include in the breeding program, as one of the essential characters, ease of propagation.

Several of these improved hybrids are being tested for continued performance under different conditions, for best methods of culture, and to develop a stock of plants of the better ones. As soon as final selections are made and a stock of plants is secured, they will be released for distribution.

THE NEED FOR RURAL

(Continued from Page 3)

facilities of which would be equally available to all general physicians in the area. In time, as the demand grows, some of these clinics might be expanded into full grown hospitals. For the time being, they would limit their services to simple laboratory and diagnostic service, minor surgical operations, obstetrics, and preventive work.

Many small private clinics have already demonstrated the need for such institutions. It might be well to encourage the building of more public clinics open to all physicians of the area served.

FLEA BEETLES

(Continued from Page 10)

Another contact insecticide that has shown promise for flea beetle and leafhopper control is a dust containing the synthetic organic compound beta-beta dithiocyanoethyl ether (1.5 per cent), copper (7.0 per cent) and inert materials (91.5 per cent). This preparation appears on the market under various trade names.

In using any of these materials, one should be careful in protecting his eyes and his breathing from the dusting materials.

Agricultural Experiment Station of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, State College Station, Raleigh, N. C.

L. D. BAVER
DIRECTOR

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See Materials Here:-

Hospitals & Hospital Programs in the South

TABLE I. HOSPITAL STATISTICS 1945: GENERAL AND ALLIED SPECIAL HOSPITALS*

	The Nation		The South	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Hospitals	4,703	100.0	1,371	29.2
Beds	497,451	100.0	108,581	21.8
Admissions	12,196,884	100.0	3,051,507	25.0

* As reported to the American Hospital Association. Does not include nervous and mental, tuberculosis, and Federal hospitals.

TABLE I. HOSPITAL BEDS IN PROPORTION TO RURAL POPULATION AND INCOME, 13 SOUTHERN STATES, 1940*

State	Population-Percent Rural 1940	Per Capita Income 1940	Number of General Hospital Beds per 1000 Population, 1942
Minimum standards.- U.S. Public Health Service:			4.5
Florida	44.9	$471	2.9
Texas	54.6	413	2.3
Louisiana	58.5	357	3.0
Oklahoma	62.4	356	2.1
Virginia	64.7	450	2.7
Tennessee	64.8	317	2.0
Georgia	65.6	315	1.9
Alabama	69.8	268	1.8
Kentucky	70.2	308	1.9
North Carolina	72.7	314	2.4
South Carolina	75.5	286	2.0
Arkansas	77.8	252	1.7
Mississippi	80.2	202	1.6

* In reading this table, it is well to bear in mind that the figures, low as they are, undoubtedly portray higher standards than actually exist in most parts of the South, for they include all the large cities -- areas which possess the bulk of the South's medical resources. Shortages in the rural areas, which comprise most of the South, are therefore much more acute than these figures show.

TABLE II. HOSPITAL BEDS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES: 1940

State	Acceptable Beds	Additional Beds Needed	Percent of Needs Not Met
Alabama	11,056	23,776	68.3
Arkansas	9,665	15,419	61.5
Florida	13,798	14,102	50.5
Georgia	19,680	19,231	~~49.4~~ 49.3
Kentucky	14,349	14,430	50.2
Louisiana	12,615	11,960	48.7
Mississippi	*	*	*
Oklahoma	12,957	13,352	50.8
South Carolina	8,543	15,221	64.1
Tennessee	14,912	23,218	60.9
Texas	*	*	*
Virginia	*	*	*
Total	117,575	150,709	56.1

* Complete information unavailable.

To qualify for federal aid, each state, in addition to matching the federal grants, must also appoint a single state agency to plan and administer the hospital program, make a thorough survey of existing facilities and needs, draw up a complete plan for the distribution of hospitals and health centers, and submit its plan to the Surgeon General for approval. The survey is really the key to the entire program, for it is the basis upon which federal funds are allotted and upon which the state hospital construction program is planned.

To aid the states in their planning, the Federal Government has outlined certain essential features required of the state plans. "Adequate" facilities" are defined as follows: 2.5 tuberculosis beds per average annual deaths from tuberculosis; 5 mental hospital beds per 1000 people; 2 chronic disease hospital beds per 1000 people; 4.5 general hospital beds per 1000 people; and 1 public health center bed per 30,000 people.

Four main types of hospital facilities are required — the base or regional hospital of 200 or more beds, to be located in a city having a population of at least 100,000 and preferably possessing a medical school; the intermediate hospital of 100 or more beds, to be located in a community having a population of at least 25,000; the rural or community hospital of 20 to 100 beds, to be located in areas with a population of under 25,000; and public health centers, to be built in areas where the population is too scattered or small to support a hospital.

All such facilities built with federal aid must meet minimum standards in quality of services and administration.

Development of State Programs

With the assurance of federal funds, ranging for the five-year period from about $7,500,000 to $24,000,000 per state, together with federal guidance in planning, hospital programs in the Southern states have repidly

taken shape. Some states, of course, had begun to develop sound health programs long before the passage of the Hill-Burton Act — Mississippi, for example, has been outstanding in foresighted planning and action. For other states, federal aid seems to have provided both a long-needed incentive and the means to achieve better facilities and services.

Although the state hospital agencies are responsible for surveys and plans, the participation of local citizens is of great importance, since in most cases hospitals must be constructed and maintained by the local communities in which they are to be located. Without public understanding and support, even the best intentioned state plan is necessarily superimposed, making it difficult to arouse communities to undertake the necessary planning and financing of their local projects.

Many Southern states have realized the importance of an informed public and have made real efforts to publicize their needs and plans in order to stimulate local action. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia have been busy making their hospital plans known throughout the state. Mississippi has been outstanding in this respect also, for in that state, even before the possibility of federal aid existed, the people themselves created and supported the development of a broad and far-reaching program.

Hospital Needs

The surveys of hospital facilities and needs undertaken by the Southern states in order to qualify for Hill-Burton aid reveal the expected bleak picture. No state for which we have information* has more than half the total hospital beds it needs. Deficiencies in the rural areas are acute. Many counties have no hospital beds at all. The greatest number of existing beds in every state are found in the larger towns and cities.

When the figures are broken down into different hospital categories, they show that the South needs at least twice the number of beds it already

* No information for Mississippi, Texas, or Virginia

possesses in general, nervous and mental, and tuberculosis hospitals. The need, of course, varies greatly from state to state. The most acute deficiency which the surveys found, however, is in hospital beds for chronic illness. Nine states* have a total of only 1,877 chronic disease beds; they need 36,489. Five states actually have none — Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Oklahoma.

In the predominantly rural South, perhaps the greatest immediate need is for rural public health centers which are accessible, adequately staffed, and well equipped for both preventive medicine and routine medical diagnosis and treatment. Under the Hill-Burton Act, public health centers, together with small community hospitals, will function as referral centers within the coordinated hospital scheme, under which patients needing more specialized care will be referred to the larger, more completely equipped and staffed hospital centers. Today, however, few such rural facilities exist in the South. The eight states** which supplied us with complete figures on public health centers have a total of only 86 adequate centers; they need a minimum total of 453.

Facilities for Negroes

Dark as the overall picture is of Southern hospital facilities, it is still worse for the Negro third of the population. Although there are no complete figures giving the number of hospital beds available to Negroes in the South (the state surveys give almost no breakdown by race), what figures we do have indicate that such facilities are almost non-existent for Negroes in rural areas and far below minimum standards in the larger towns and cities. For example, the Arkansas Hospital Survey revealed that, although Negroes make up one-fourth of the state's population, 72 general

* Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

** Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

hospitals allot only 458 beds to Negroes, making a ratio of 1 bed per 1000. The same situation also exists with regard to tuberculosis beds -- 195 beds for Negroes, although 1000 are needed.

In Mississippi, the Southern state with the largest Negro population, there are only 0.5 beds per 1000 Negroes, as compared with 2.3 beds per 1000 white people. In Atlanta, Georgia, where Negroes comprise 28.7% of the estimated 1947 population, there are only 391 general hospital beds for Negroes, 300 of which are set aside in the city hospital for the indigent Negro population. The bed-population ratio for Negroes in Atlanta is 2.6 per 1000, while the ratio for whites is 4.0 per 1000. Likewise, St. Petersburg, Florida, in 1946 had only 1.6 beds per 1000 Negroes, compared to 3.2 per 1000 white people.

Federal hospital aid operates on the principle that disease and ill health are no respecters of economic or racial boundaries and that the health and well-being of all depend upon the health and well-being of each individual and group. Consequently, in addition to requiring priorities for areas having the greatest needs and the weakest financial resources, the Hill-Burton Act specifies that any hospital receiving federal aid shall not discriminate because of race, color, or creed. However, in areas where separate hospital facilities are provided for separate population groups, the state agency may waive the requirement if it finds that the applying project otherwise makes equitable provision of facilities and services on a basis of need for each population group and if such finding is approved by the Surgeon General.

In view of the proportionately greater lack of health facilities for Negroes in the South, it is interesting to note that few of the state hospital plans do more than briefly mention the federal provision against discrimination. In fact, the South Carolina Hospital Plan, although mentioning

compliance with the federal requirement, also states, "There are no special population groups, or areas with special problems, in South Carolina that require a special allotment of beds."

Two states stand out as exceptions. Arkansas broke down its hospital survey by race, and the Arkansas Hospital Plan recommends an increase of hospital beds for Negroes from the present ratio of 1 per 1000 to 3 per 1000. Another border state, Oklahoma, has taken a further step. The Oklahoma Hospital Plan states not only that there will be no discrimination but also that priority will be given to general hospitals according to several factors, one of which is "the extent to which beds will be made available for groups of the population which by reason of race, creed, or color are less adequately served than other groups of the population."

State Plans

By this time all the Southern states (with the exception of Texas, for which we have no information) have had their hospital construction plans approved by the Surgeon General of the United States. Mississippi, on July 1, 1947, was the first state in the entire nation to have her plan approved. Although details of the state plans differ, they all follow the same basic outline of organization. Each state has divided its territory into three main hospital service areas — base, intermediate, and rural — determined by such factors as existing hospital facilities, population, transportation, accessibility, and financial resources.

Regional or base areas have been delineated in the most populous cities. Here base hospitals will serve as medical centers for the entire state. The number of base hospitals varies from state to state — from one in Kentucky and Mississippi to three in South Carolina and Florida and four in Tennessee. In these centers all types of medical services will be provided,

including teaching, research, and the most specialized kinds of treatment. Their services and personnel are to be available when needed to the smaller intermediate and rural hospitals.

In intermediate areas, the states have planned for medium-sized hospitals equipped for all general diagnostic and treatment services, qualified for nurses' training, interneships, and residencies, and provided with regional laboratories. In addition, these hospitals usually will contain a few specialized beds -- often specified as "holding" beds -- for use either by curable cases or by cases which are to be sent to more specialized hospitals after diagnosis and preliminary treatment.

The states have planned smaller community or rural hospitals to take care of both routine and emergency needs of people living in the remaining areas of the state.

Provisions for the care and treatment of chronic disease, tuberculosis, and nervous and mental illness have been made both in special hospitals and in special units of large general hospitals.

Completing the picture, public health centers, planned county by county in most states, provide for preventive medicine, outpatient treatment, and routine and emergency care. With such planning, each hospital and health center, regardless of size or location, will become an integral part of a statewide coordinated hospital system.

Under the Hill-Burton Act, the states are required to set up a priority system insuring aid to areas in greatest need and least able to finance new facilities. This requirement has been met. Consequently, the areas in the South which are to be given first chance at federal hospital aid are the poorest rural communities where health facilities are now almost nonexistent. Many Southern states, in addition, have worked out a complementary priority system for different types of hospitals, giving general hospitals and public health centers special consideration so that their wide distribution will meet a greater number of needs more quickly.

State Projects Planned or Actually Begun

With the planning stages of their hospital programs now behind them, most of the Southern states have begun work on actual projects. Although our information on this subject is incomplete, indications are that most of the states are launching their building programs with energy and dispatch. Florida has already allotted most of its first year's funds to ~~five~~ 5 general hospitals, ~~two~~ 2 children's chronic disease hospitals, and ~~one~~ 1 psychiatric unit (the first in the state), and it is completing plans for the construction of a 400-bed tuberculosis sanatorium and a hospital and nursing school at Florida A and M College.

A total of 11 projects approved in Georgia to date will provide that state with 645 additional general beds and 50 additional chronic disease beds. In its distribution of funds, Georgia plans to devote one-sixth to public health centers. The city of Columbus, Georgia, already has succeeded in raising the funds necessary to match a federal grant for its 154-bed general hospital which will be the first hospital in the state to have a psychiatric ward for treatment of acute mental cases.

By last October, ~~one~~ 1 county in Kentucky had already applied for federal funds for a hospital, another had completed its preliminary application, and ~~seven~~ 7 counties had authorized the voting on bond issues for hospital construction and were planning immediate action if the bonds ~~are~~ were voted. In addition, the state was assisting ~~twenty-three~~ 23 other counties in formulating definite plans for action.

In Alabama ~~seven~~ 7 projects have received approval, and ground has been broken for the first hospital.

Two other states, Mississippi and Oklahoma, have also taken action. By the end of 1947, 67 out of 82 Mississippi counties had full-time health departments, although many of them still operated in inadequate quarters. In addition, the state hospital authority had authorized the construction of

14 hospitals and 7 health centers, and many other communities in the state were in the process of organizing their resources for action. In Oklahoma a project construction schedule for the first fiscal year has been set up for 20 projects -- 14 general hospitals, 2 community clinics, 2 tuberculosis hospitals, 1 mental hospital, and 1 auxiliary laboratory -- all projects in areas and categories having highest priority. By January, 1948, these projects were ready to begin construction.

Although information was unavailable on projects actually begun in Louisiana and South Carolina, these states report that they have planned their distribution of funds between the different hospital categories, with South Carolina devoting approximately two-thirds of the total funds available during the five-year period to the construction of general hospitals, and Louisiana allotting for the first year of the program approximately 70% of its total funds to general hospitals, 12% to public health centers, and 9% each to tuberculosis and mental hospitals.

REMAINING PROBLEMS

Despite federal hospital aid, the Southern states will have to expand their health programs a great deal if their citizens are to obtain really adequate medical care. The Hill-Burton Act provides aid only for the construction of hospital facilities; the states themselves still face such serious problems as finding ways to attract needed medical personnel, reconciling the hospital priorities given to communities in greatest need with the inability of those communities to match their federal grants, and providing for the low-income groups -- large in the South -- which are unable to bear all or part of the cost of medical care. These are problems which are both most acute in the South and most difficult for the South to solve. A few states have begun to experiment with means of meeting some of these

problems, and their experiences may suggest ways to others also faced with the difficulty of providing adequate health and hospital care on meager financial resources.

Need for Medical Personnel

There is a growing lack of trained medical personnel in the South today. Compared to the rest of the country, Southern states have long had a higher proportion of older physicians and have received an abnormally low proportion of new medical graduates. The same shortage of personnel exists in the related fields of nursing, dentistry, pharmacy, and laboratory and X-Ray work. The absence of sufficient qualified medical schools in the South, the low income status of the region, and lack of the well-equipped hospitals upon which modern medical care increasingly depends all contribute to these shortages. Unable to provide addquate facilities outside its metropolitan centers, the South has been unable to attact even a minimum number of the doctors, dentists, and nurses that it needs.

Both Mississippi and Virginia have embarked upon a sensible plan to attract medical personnel. Realizing that poor economic prospects as well as inadequate facilities deter the majority of medical graduates from practicing where they are most needed, both states have begun medical scholarship plans which will eventually help increase the number and improve the distribution of practicing physicians. Last year Virginia gave 20 scholarships of $550 each to students agreeing to practice in rural areas of the state for at least 1 year after graduation; sonn it expects to increase its number of scholarships substantially.

Mississippi's plan is more extensive. Since 1946 Mississippi has been giving medical scholarships as loans up to the amount of $5000 for 4 years of training. In return, the student contracts to practice at least 2 years in a Mississippi town of under 5000 population. For each year of practice in an approved rural community, a doctor will eradicate one-fifth

of the loan he receives from the state, so that in 5 years his loan will be completely repaid. So far, 60 students, including 6 women and 7 Negroes, have received scholarships.

Financial Aid to Local Communities.

The lack of financial resources for construction and maintenance of hospitals in poor communities remains a serious drawback to hospital programs in the South, despite the substantial federal aid provided under the Hill-Burton Act. Since the Federal Government, under the Act, puts up only one-third of the cost of a project, the other two-thirds must be supplied by the community or the state. Federal aid to the states is apportioned on a basis of population and income, and to get federal aid the states must give hospital priority to areas of greatest needs and weakest financial resources. Yet these neediest areas are usually poor rural areas which are unable to raise the necessary matching funds. Many localities in the South, therefore, will remain without adequate hospital facilities unless they receive some form of state aid.

This situation has apparently been accepted, at least temporarily, in some the the states — for example, Kentucky and Florida, whose hospital authorities state that, since areas of highest priority are not expected to consume their first year's allotments, lower priority areas may apply for funds.

Three states have done more than merely recognize the problem. Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina have taken steps to make sure that hospital aid will become a reality in their neediest communities by appropriating state funds to supplement federal and local funds for hospital construction.

Louisiana is in a different position since its unique statewide system of government-owned hospitals are believed adequate for charity cases (existing charity beds can care for about 30% of the entire white

population and 50% of the entire Negro population of the state). Thus the Louisiana system is, in effect, a form of state aid to local communities. Consequently, the Louisiana Hospital Plan is giving private non-profit hospitals higher priority than state hospitals.

In the rest of the Southern states, ~~local~~ communities have been left to finance their hospitals with local funds. However, the legislatures of Arkansas, Kentucky, and Virginia are considering bills authorizing state aid to areas which cannot match available federal grants. So far as we know, none of the other states have adopted or are planning to adopt any measures involving aid to local communities in constructing and maintaining hospitals or health centers.

Medical Care for Low-Income Groups

The question of medical care for low-income groups is closely related to all the other problems we have discussed. In the South in general, and in its rural areas in particular, are found the greatest shortages of doctors, hospitals, public health facilities, and — most important of all — money. The people who live in these areas therefore not only have the least adequate health services but also can least afford to pay for them if they get them. Even if supplementary state and federal funds make better hospital facilities available, these people will be unable to support them adequately since low incomes do not leave much room for hospital and doctor bills.

Today we recognize the basic principle that both justice and intelligence require good medical and hospital care for everyone regardless of ability to pay. Yet such care is becoming more expensive because of rising standards and increasing use of hospitals. Voluntary health insurance plans, such as Blue Cross, are being encouraged by a number of Southern states as one way of helping people meet medical costs.

A major weakness of voluntary health insurance, however, is that those whose incomes are lowest, and who therefore need insurance the most,

are unable to pay its costs. In addition, since insurance is usually available only on a group basis, many individuals are unable to participate, particularly in rural areas. Also, those who are covered by insurance are protected against only a small proportion of their total medical costs. In the 13 Southern states in 1943, Blue Cross plans had a membership of only 4% of the estimated population. Other prepayment plans covered an even smaller fraction of the population. It is clear that other methods are needed to bring adequate medical care within the reach of the majority of Southern people.

A few states have made a beginning on the problem. In Louisiana statewide government hospitals have provided general charity hospital care for over a century. At present, according to the Louisiana Hospital Survey, charity hospitals have facilities to care for all indigents, if sufficient private beds are provided for both whites and Negroes who are able to pay. Virginia also operates a medical care program for its indigent. In the Virginia plan, the state supplies funds to local community hospitals on a matching basis. This type of care will probably become more common throughout the South since, under the Hill-Burton Act, hospitals receiving federal aid are required to provide a "reasonable amount of free patient care."

Hospital aid to the indigent, however, meets only a small part of medical care needs and costs. One of the most interesting and hopeful developments in the direction of broader medical care at lower cost has taken place in Texas. Here a number of highly successful cooperative health centers and hospitals have been organized. The development of these hospital cooperatives is legally limited to towns of 2,500 or less population, and as a result the cooperatives are strictly rural, thus reaching the people who need them the most. Financed, owned, and operated locally, they have proved sound ventures in providing their communities with complete low-cost medical services on a wide basis.

Importance of Hospital Programs

In spite of the problems which still remain, however, federal hospital aid will have far-reaching results in the South. Well-planned state hospital programs mean much more than just an increase in hospital facilities. For the first time, the Southern states have a complete and accurate picture of their needs and problems — such knowledge was a prerequisite to coordinated planning for federal aid. Intelligent planning based on an accurate knowledge of conditions can result not only in more and better facilities, but also in greater efficiency, the attraction of sorely needed medical personnel, better medical training, and an increase in the availability and quality of medical care for everyone.

Education of the people in the importance of good medical care can be another by-product of an effective hospital program. The wide distribution of health facilities made possible by federal aid, and the necessity of local participation in planning, building, and maintenance, can stimulate public interest — especially in rural areas -- in the problems of health and hospital care. Such informal health education can be an important factor in spurring the states to action in developing broader programs.

For the first time, also, state hospital programs in the South will be based upon the same minimum standards of planning and medical care. As a result, the various states will have a common basis for an increased cooperative interchange of ideas and experience. Such an interchange can be especially significant in the South where the states are faced with such common problems as weak financial resources, low standards of living, and a predominantly agricultural economic structure. Possessing both common resources and common problems, the Southern states have been given a strong foundation upon which to build better health and medical care.

See Materials Files: -

Hospitals and Hospital Programs in the South

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCING HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL CARE*

by
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Director of Sociological Research
Commission on Hospital Care

Presented to Hospital Trustees Institute
held in Conjunction with
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Introduction

Health in America is on the march! We stand on the threshold of the greatest expansion in medical care and hospital facilities that this country has ever seen. Hundreds of communities have money in the bank ready to build hospitals. Federal aid funds may soon be available to help in a great nation-wide building program. It is anticipated that these federal funds will be allocated to states and communities on the basis of need. Under this program many disadvantaged areas and many rural counties will be able to have hospital and medical care facilities for the first time. If this federal program is not enacted into law only the richer urban centers will have new hospitals and the poorer rural areas will continue to do without.

This great hospital program will call for more doctors, nurses, and related personnel and a better distribution of those we have. This need for more personnel is recognized particularly in states which do not have enough rural physicians. For example, several states, under strong public pressure, are either establishing new medical schools or expanding the ones that they already have.

There is also a growing public demand for better public health and hospital facilities and for a united public attack on special health problems, such as cancer, heart disease, nervous and mental diseases, chronic sickness, tuberculosis, maternal and child health, health education, health research, and health insurance. Never before in our history have the people of this country been so health conscious.

The Size of the Problem

If we are to have greatly expanded hospital and medical care facilities we must make plans for supporting them. It would be most foolish to build hospitals and medical centers in all the needy areas of the nation unless at the same time, or very soon thereafter, plans were also made for giving these institutions adequate support. The size of this problem is greater than many of us have realized. The problem also has many unexplored areas which need careful study.

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*The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Commission on Hospital Care or of any individual members of the Commission. The author assumes full responsibility for the conclusions reached. This paper has not been read by other members of the Commission or by members of the research staff.

We have up until recently been greatly underestimating the number of hospital beds needed in all parts of the country. This is particularly true in the case of general hospital beds. We have been thinking too much in terms of effective demand, and not real need. The demand for beds is measured by what people are able and willing to pay whereas the need for beds is determined by the health conditions, amount of sickness, and so on, requiring hospital care. From the standpoint of supporting any particular hospital it is of course necessary to consider the effective demand for hospital services. But from the standpoint of determining need careful study must be made of other factors. After need is determined and if it obviously exceeds demand, then, if we mean what we say about providing hospital care for everyone, we must develop a good plan for financing our hospital and medical care programs.

In order to illustrate what I mean by the difference between demand and need, and in order to demonstrate the relation between economic factors and the support of hospitals I should like to call your attention to the accompanying chart which shows the relation between per capita income and days of general hospitalization in the years 1940 and 1944. The income data for this chart, shown in the accompanying table are taken from the United States Department of Commerce, "Survey of Current Business," August 1945. The hospital data were taken from the American Medical Association Hospital Number for 1945.

Obviously, the chart shows that poor states are using much less hospital service than rich states. For instance, Mississippi with the lowest per capita income in the nation in both 1940 and 1944 used the smallest number of hospital days per capita. Mississippi's income in 1940 was only $203 per capita and she used only one-third of a hospital day per capita. States like California, New York, and Connecticut with average per capita incomes going over $800 used more than one hospital day per capita.

In 1944 the picture was very similar. Mississippi still had the lowest income and used the least amount of hospital service, her income being $459 per capita and hospital days, .37 per capita. The per capita income of the nation went up from $573 to $1,082 but the days hospitalization went up only from .81 to .90 days per capita. It would require an additional expenditure of at least $75,000,000 annually, at $5 per hospital day to bring all states up to at least one day per capita - which is considered more or less standard by the Blue Cross Hospital Service Plan. However, I believe that true need on the average will run to at least 1.5 days per capita - and that this amount would be used by the public if they had a convenient plan for paying the cost.

My estimate of number of hospital beds needed is based upon the relationship between birth and death rates and the need for hospital beds. For each birth an average of about 11 days hospital care is needed; but for each death, about 215 days of hospital care are needed. This formula is applied to all births and deaths. It is assumed that all of our births but only 60% of our deaths will occur in hospitals. The statistical validity of this formula is discussed in another paper yet to be published by the Commission. The application of this formula to the birth and death rates of the nation indicate a need for 1.5 days per capita which would require about 5.5 beds per 1,000 people at 75 per cent occupancy. This means that America as a whole needs a 67 per cent increase in the number of hospital beds!

RELATION OF INCOME TO HOSPITAL USE

Explanation and Comment

This chart shows the relationship of hospital use to income. It is based upon the correlation of state averages of per capita income and days hospitalization per 100 people in 1940 and 1944.

The location of each state on this coordinate chart is indicated by a key number which identifies the state. See table at right. The solid lines sloping from lower left to upper right show the average days hospitalization for given levels of income.

Days hospitalization per capita is related directly and proportionately to the logarithm of income. As income increases in a geometric progression, days hospitalization increases in an arithmetic progression. For instance, an increase in income of 17.7 per cent is required to increase hospitalization one-tenth of a day per capita.

Variation in income accounts for only a little over one-half of the variation in hospitalization among the states. Other factors affecting variation in hospital use are: accessibility of hospitals, types of cases hospitalized, amount of free hospital care, and attitudes toward hospitalization. See particularly Louisiana, number 16, which has an extensive state supported hospital program. Moderate and high income states like Texas, Ohio and Indiana do not use as much hospital service as their per capita incomes would permit.

Income between 1940 and 1944 increased 89 per cent but hospital days increased only 11 per cent. In order to equalize hospital care among the states at a level of one day per capita, approximately $75,000,000 would be required annually - about one-tenth of all expenditures for hospital care.

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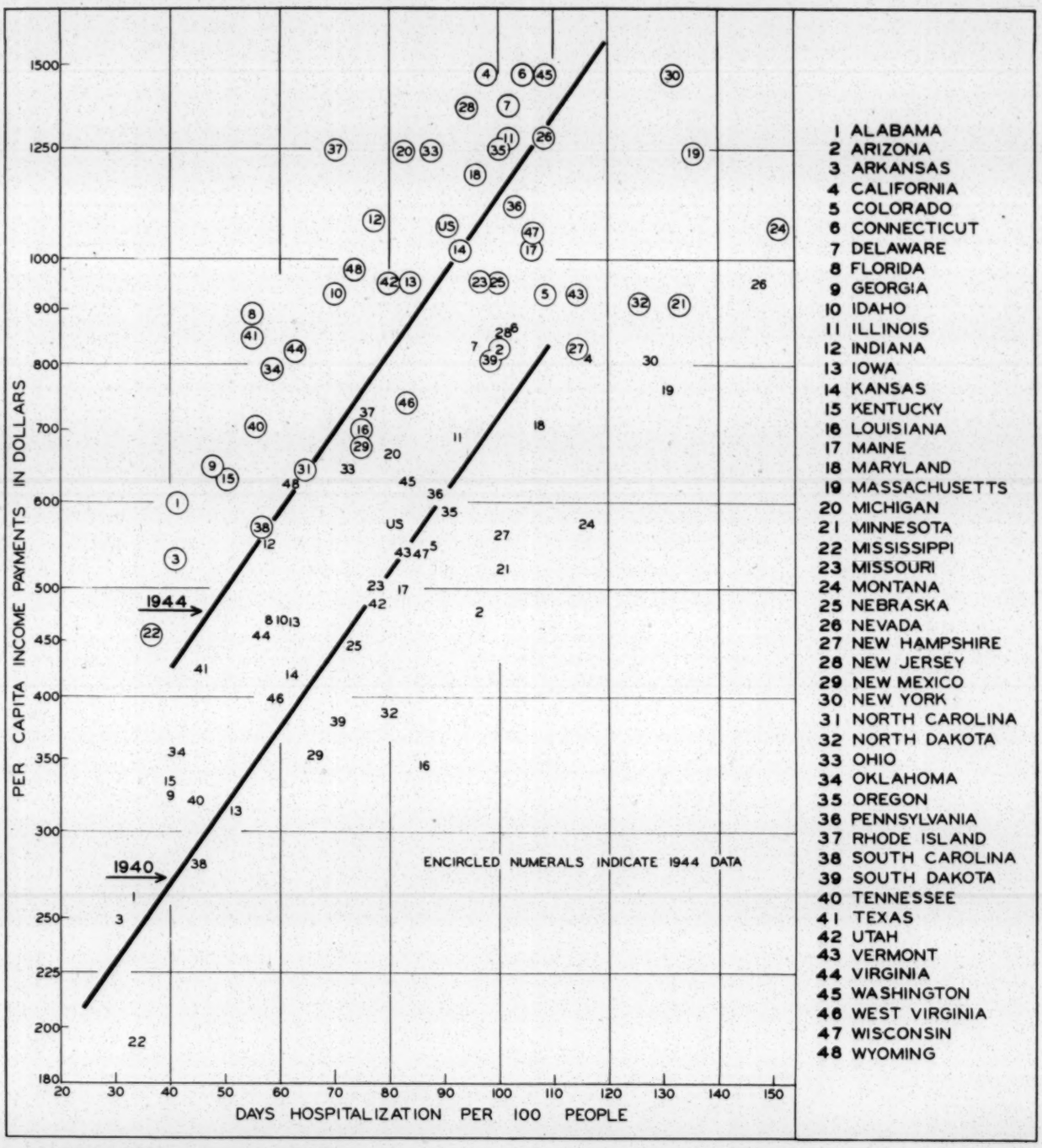
*The per capita income data are taken from reports of the United States Department of Commerce. The value of noncash forms of income is included. The data on days hospitalization is based on average daily census figures published for the years 1940 and 1944. The data apply only to general hospitals and allied hospitals.

RELATION OF INCOME TO HOSPITAL USE

48 STATES 1940–1944



COMMISSION ON HOSPITAL CARE

INCOME AND HOSPITAL USE, UNITED STATES, 1940 AND 1944.

Key Number	State	1940 Days Hospitalization Per 100 Population	1940 Per Capita Income	1944 Days Hospitalization Per 100 Population	1944 Per Capita Income
	United States	81	573	90	1082
1	Alabama	33	267	42	597
2	Arizona	97	471	100	826
3	Arkansas	31	252	41	532
4	California	116	803	98	1496
5	Colorado	89	522	109	937
6	Connecticut	103	826	105	1477
7	Delaware	95	895	102	1381
DC	Dist. of Columbia	162	1058	120	1245
8	Florida	58	467	55	883
9	Georgia	40	311	49	652
10	Idaho	61	440	71	940
11	Illinois	92	726	102	1277
12	Indiana	58	541	78	1102
13	Iowa	62	485	84	951
14	Kansas	62	421	93	1025
15	Kentucky	40	306	51	633
16	Louisiana	87	356	76	714
17	Maine	82	508	106	1022
18	Maryland	108	709	96	1213
19	Massachusetts	131	765	136	1259
20	Michigan	80	649	83	1272
21	Minnesota	102	509	134	913
22	Mississippi	34	203	37	459
23	Missouri	78	505	97	947
24	Montana	116	574	151	1063
25	Nebraska	73	431	100	960
26	Nevada	147	835	109	1293
27	New Hampshire	101	556	114	837
28	New Jersey	100	802	94	1367
29	New Mexico	67	356	75	669
30	New York	128	862	132	1482
31	North Carolina	52	314	65	640
32	North Dakota	80	370	126	914
33	Ohio	73	642	88	1252
34	Oklahoma	42	353	59	786
35	Oregon	91	578	100	1265
36	Pennsylvania	88	628	103	1125
37	Rhode Island	76	711	71	1257
38	South Carolina	46	280	57	566
39	South Dakota	71	376	99	821
40	Tennessee	45	317	56	706
41	Texas	45	410	55	844
42	Utah	78	477	80	956
43	Vermont	84	520	114	939
44	Virginia	57	441	63	833
45	Washington	84	626	109	1484
46	West Virginia	60	398	84	735
47	Wisconsin	85	516	106	1059
48	Wyoming	63	603	74	983

Source: AMA Journal, Hospital Data and U.S. Department of Commerce Income Statistics

If this estimate of need for general hospital beds seems high, I should like to call your attention to several factors which are operating to increase the need for beds - factors which may be even more important in the future. These factors are:

1. The changing age distribution of our population. The number and percentage of aged persons is increasing more rapidly than any other age group. This means that there will be an increase in need for hospital beds because of the increasing use of hospitals for chronic and degenerative diseases.

2. The increasing urbanization of our population. About half of the population of America now lives in metropolitan areas. Urban apartments and ways of family living are not suitable for home medical care. Therefore, we can expect an increase in hospital use because of urbanization.

3. Hospital functions are broadening. Many illnesses not heretofore hospitalized are now treated in hospitals. Physicians are increasingly using hospitals as diagnostic and treatment centers. General hospitals are also being considered as the most appropriate place for diagnosis and short term treatment of special diseases, such as: tuberculosis, contagious diseases, incipient nervous and mental diseases, and many types of chronic disease.

It is true that some improvements and changes in medical practice are reducing the need for hospital beds; such as, use of new drugs which make quick cures possible, shorter periods of stay for obstetrical and some surgical cases, and use of more home nursing service. However, the more we eliminate disease in the younger years the more aged will we have to take care of later on; and the more aged patients the longer will be periods of hospital days. Just as none of us can escape death, most of us cannot escape some serious illness in old age. It is my personal opinion therefore, that the need for hospital beds is more likely to increase than to decline.

Although I have been discussing only the need for hospital beds, it is also very likely that there is a corresponding amount of unmet general medical care needs.

The problem of financing hospital and medical care is made even more difficult by the increasing costs all along the line, and these increasing costs are not altogether due to the current inflation cycle.

Some of the permanent increases in cost of hospital and medical care are due to the use of more complete and higher quality services and facilities. Operating rooms and equipment, sterilization equipment, laboratory equipment and services, and many other types of services and equipment have increased in quality, complexity, and costs. Higher standards in nursing are also adding to overall costs. The current trend toward segregating costs of nurse education from costs of nursing service is also a factor. There are parallel increases in quality and costs in other hospital departments. Service workers will in time ask and get permanent social security benefits and possibly minimum wages and minimum hours. These advantages are past due but nevertheless they do add to the patients hospital bill.

The average cost per hospital day varies of course from hospital to hospital. The average in-patient per diem cost in Michigan in 1944 was about $7.40. Some

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hospitals went as high as $15.00 and others down around below $3.00 or $4.00. For the next few years in this region, we shall undoubtedly experience average per diem costs ranging between $7.00 and $9.00. Assuming for the sake of discussion that the costs will average only $8.00, and that we provide 1.5 days per capita, the total cost per capita would be $12.00 annually. If other medical care costs rise proportionately the overall medical care bill, if all needs were met, might easily exceed $60.00 per capita or $240.00 per family of four. This is about what urban families earning from $5,000 to $10,000 a year now spend on medical, hospital, and dental care - including drugs. At this level of expenditure, it would require over $7,000,000,000 to finance medical care in the nation as a whole. We are probably now spending between four and five billion dollars all for medical care - about 4% of a national income of something in excess of $100,000,000,000.

Can we afford to increase our medical care costs any more?

Obviously, it is very unlikely that we shall not soon spend $7,000,000,000 a year for medical care - but if we did we would probably not be providing more medical care than our people really need under present conditions and practices. I present these figures to show the magnitude and possibilities of the job before us. If we are going to bring medical and hospital care within reach of everyone, two general courses of action are open:

1. Organizing medical care on a more efficient basis.
2. Development of financial or payment plans which will eliminate waste and inflation and at the same time provide adequate compensation for all institutions and individuals engaged in providing medical care.

The development of a coordinated system of hospitals and health centers in each state and in the nation will go a long way toward making the distribution of medical care more efficient and hence less expensive. A few doctors, for instance, working as a group in a small hospital or health center can service many more people than they could working as individuals without full use of hospital facilities. More coordination and cooperation between public and non-public health agencies would have the same effect. This is particularly important in the smaller communities of the nation but also has possibilities in larger urban and suburban communities. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss all possible angles of medical care organization. Obviously it is very important.

Some Basic Principles

Before discussing specific plans and proposals I should like to present first some of the basic principles and objectives of any thorough going plan for the solution to the problem of finance.

First Principle: All people regardless of economic or social status should be reached with adequate medical and hospital care. All races, all occupations, all age groups, all disease groups, all income classes including those with no income. This principle is based on the premise that the opportunity to achieve

and to enjoy good health is a universal human right. In other words, good health is not just another commercial good to be bought and sold in the open market at a price determined by supply and demand. It is a social good, basic not only to the happiness of the individual but to the strength and prosperity of the entire nation.

Second Principle: The financial plan should be broad enough to cover all types of medical and hospital services. Physician, dentist, surgeon, specialist, prescribed drugs, general hospital care, convalescent care, rehabilitation. Too many plans cover only a small percentage of the medical care field. Complete coverage should be the goal of all plans. There should be no extras. It is the unusual extra and (usually large) expense against which the individual needs insurance.

Third Principle: The payment or financial plan should provide for regular payments from every person able to pay and the size of the payment should be in proportion to the ability of the payee. The amount of medical service rendered should be in proportion to real need. Among other things this means that the plan should not penalize parents for having children - otherwise parents - like the farmer I read about - might prefer to raise pigs!

Incomes being equal, wage earners with children should pay less and naturally would receive more family medical care than the wage earners without children. The general principle of collecting medical and hospital fees in proportion to ability to pay is, I believe, generally recognized but not always practiced by hospitals and physicians.

Fourth Principle: The ideal payment plan should not exclude any income group. It is a sad mistake to develop plans exclusively for the indigent or the medically indigent. There are three distinct disadvantages to this approach:

(1) Such plans are expensive and cumbersome to administer because to be absolutely fair, it would be necessary to determine the income of practically everybody each year.

(2) Any plan which divides the population between low and high income groups causes class formation and class conflict. This is distinctly un-American, and undemocratic. Low income groups feel pauperized and humiliated by being placed in the poverty class. Many self-respecting poor would, under such a plan, refuse to ask for medical and hospital care except in dire emergencies. That is one of the big reasons now why many self-respecting low income people do not seek needed medical and hospital care.

On the other hand, this type of plan is a constant source of dissatisfaction in middle and upper income groups not covered by the plan. They become embittered because they are not only denied social privileges extended to the poor, for whose medical care they are paying, but also because they are charged excessive fees in addition for their own medical care.

(3) These exclusive low income plans usually result in a low quality type of medical care for the poor.

Fifth Principle: If an overall payment plan is developed its business affairs should be democratically controlled but its corporate structure should be

such as will insure economy, efficiency, and a high quality of service. The city manager form of municipal government is suggested as a general guide. The business and professional control of such an agency should be completely free of petty political influences. The interests of consumer members or of the public would be represented by duly elected or democratically appointed boards of trustees or supervisors.

Sixth Principle: Although it is desirable to have a high degree of local and state autonomy in the day to day administration of medical service payment plans, it must be recognized that many poor states and many poor communities in the states of higher income cannot possibly maintain their standard of living in other matters and at the same time pay all their costs of good medical and hospital care. Therefore, a complete payment plan should be nationwide. In spite of all propaganda to the contrary we are one nation economically, socially, and politically. The production of wealth in one area is made possible from the imported natural resources and population of other areas. Although some areas are poor in material wealth they are rich in human wealth - they supply the surplus labor needed by the great industrial areas which have created a social environment unsuitable for wholesome, self-sustaining human family life.

Seventh Principle: The amount of payments collected or contributed for medical service should be sufficient to provide high quality care and to continue to attract well-educated, highly qualified, professional personnel to the fields of medical and hospital service. The methods of collecting and disbursing payments for medical and hospital service should be such as to prevent abuse of privileges and at the same time provide incentives for honest high quality service. This means simply that methods must be developed for rewarding high quality service and for penalizing abuses. These are difficult administrative problems but similar problems have been solved democratically in other economic and social institutions.

Perhaps seven basic principles are enough. However, if I stopped here, I am sure that I would be asked two very pointed and direct questions. (1) Should the payment plans be compulsory and (2) What part should governments, local, state and federal, play in the actual control and administration of medical service plans? First, let us consider compulsion. Certainly if everybody is to be served and if sufficient funds are to be raised there must be some means of compelling improvident and selfish persons to carry their part of the load. This principle is not foreign to the American way of doing things. In a democracy, the majority rules. If the majority of the people in a state or in the nation should decide that compulsory medical service payments were necessary the payment plan might be correctly described as a compulsory plan voluntarily and democratically arrived at by the majority of the voters or of representatives elected by the voters. (Ours is a representative democracy.) Our system of public education is a compulsory one - yet it is approved almost universally and there are few who would abolish it.

The economic advantages of compulsion are obvious. Under non-compulsory systems there is a high cost of selling and re-selling the service and there is always the tendency for the most unhealthy persons to seek insurance. Consequently, voluntary systems are forced to eliminate undesirable risks but this leaves a most unfortunate and needy group outside the pale - those with chronic diseases.

What part should government play in the development of medical service payment plans?

All of us will agree, I think, that "that government which governs least governs best." Some of our most important and intimate human relations are not governed by written law at all but rather by the customs and morals of the community in which we live. Rural communities which have been socially stable over a long period of time are governed much more by folkways and moral values than is the case with new urban communities such as we have in America.

Possibly we shall all agree also that a high centralized, standardized administration of social and educational agencies by the federal government without due consideration to local conditions and problems is most undesirable. On the other hand, it must be recognized that a strong socially minded federal government can and does bring high standards of service and efficiency to many otherwise disadvantaged and backward areas of our country. Also it must be recognized that there are many alternate patterns of federal-state-local relations in the organization and development of public programs. In some programs there is a high degree of local autonomy subject only to general regulations governing standards and quality. The details of administration are left up to local and state agencies.

After all we do presume to live under a democratic form of government. We have it because we believe it is the only kind of government that can be controlled and used in the interest of the common welfare. If we do not always participate in it fully it is because we are perhaps not always concerned enough about the particular issues. Participation of people in democratic government increases when real and fundamental issues are at stake. If the people should choose to use the instrument of democratic government in bringing a greatly enlarged health service to everyone, then there would be good reason for more participation of people in government and there would be more demand that governmental agencies maintain high standards of efficiency and administration.

Alternative Plans

We have before us several alternative roads to follow in bringing medical and hospital service to all people.

First, we can follow our present plan of depending largely on voluntary payments, insurance, supply and demand prices, plus a small amount of philanthropy and tax funds for medical care of the indigent.

Second, we can improve the present system somewhat by raising additional tax funds to be used in helping the poorer states and communities meet the needs of the medically indigent. We might even go so far as to subsidize in some roundabout manner voluntary nonprofit health service agencies as Blue Cross, so that they could adjust premiums to the incomes of their members.

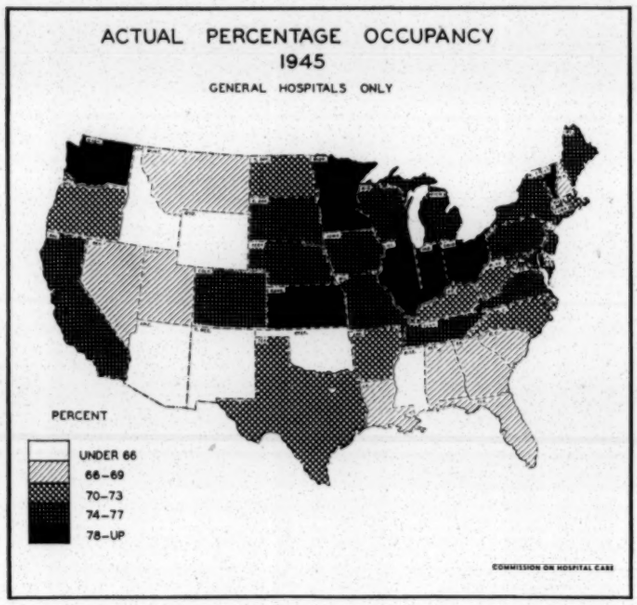
Third, we could require everyone to carry some approved medical service or medical insurance policy. This is known as compulsory health insurance with free choice of carrier. It would probably be very expensive unless the government went into competition with private companies.

Fourth, we could set up a system of compulsory national health insurance as provided in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill - with probably some variations as to local administration and control.

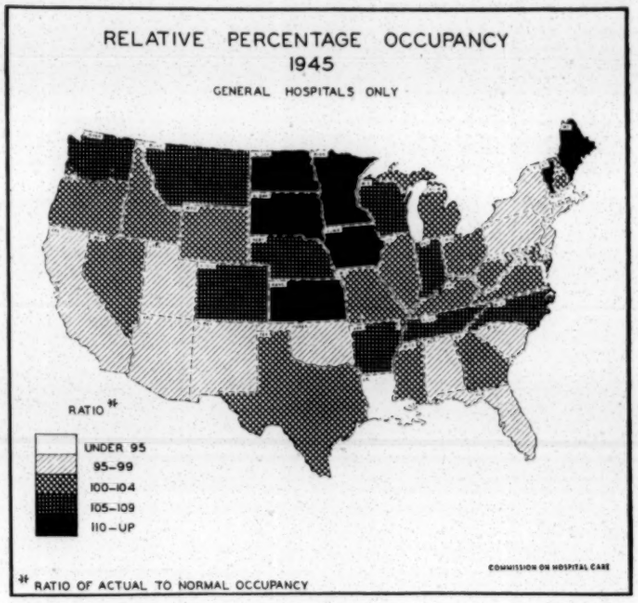
Fifth and finally, we could if we wished, establish a form of state medical care sometimes called socialized medicine. Under this plan all or most hospitals would be owned and operated by the government, and the entire program would be financed out of general taxes.

Which of these plans would best conform to the general principles which I outlined, I shall leave to you. Under any plan there are going to be many problems of policy, organization, administration and human relationships to work out. Regardless of which plan you and I may prefer personally, I am sure we are going to have more participation of government in medical and hospital care. Whether this is good or bad will depend a lot on how well we perform our roles as good citizens.

NORMAL OCCUPANCY *Rate* *in the* GENERAL HOSPITAL



HIGH OCCUPANCY RATES are related to size of hospital and to bed shortage. Some states have low occupancy rates because they have small hospitals, not because they do not need all their beds. (Data from the 1946 hospital number of the journal of the A.M.A.)



RELATIVE PERCENTAGE OCCUPANCY is the per cent ratio of the *actual* to the *normal* occupancy rate. New England and the Plains States have most crowded hospitals. Compare this with other map.

C. HORACE HAMILTON, Ph.D.
DIRECTOR OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, COMMISSION ON HOSPITAL CARE, CHICAGO

IT HAS BEEN commonly assumed that there is a normal occupancy rate for all general hospitals. The normal rate has most frequently been held to be about 80 per cent. This broad assumption has led to misinterpretation of low occupancy rates in some states and particularly in small hospitals.

There is no one occupancy rate which can be said to be normal for all hospitals. Normal rates vary according to size and type of hospital. Small hospitals usually have lower occupancy rates than large hospitals. In has also been observed that long-stay (chronic, nervous and mental, and tuberculosis) hospitals have higher occupancy rates than short-stay (maternity and acute illness) hospitals.

It must be recognized, of course, that any hospital which is too small to meet the needs of its community might have a high rate of occupancy; and that a hospital much too large for its community will have a low rate of occupancy. It must be recognized also that occupancy rates of all hospitals, regardless of size, are affected by changing economic conditions. But this article is not concerned particularly with the above conditions. Rather, its primary purpose is to show that size of hospital, as measured by the average daily census, is a very important factor in determining normal percentage occupancy.

A small hospital exactly large enough to meet peak demands will have a lower occupancy rate than a large hospital exactly large enough to meet peak demands.

A general hospital should have sufficient beds to meet day-to-day and seasonal variations in demand for care. If a hospital is to serve its community adequately, it should neither turn patients away nor use room and hall space not constructed for patient use. Yet, hospitals cannot be expected to maintain a large number of reserve rooms to meet unpredictable demands which result from epidemics or catastrophes. Ideally, a general hospital

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should have enough beds so that under normal conditions it would be completely filled on only one or two days during the year.

A normal occupancy rate, therefore, is the maximum rate which will just enable a hospital to meet peak demands for service at any time of the year.

A complete understanding of the factors in this problem involves a knowledge of the laws of probability which govern the games of chance as well as many everyday phenomena of living. It is not necessary here, however, to go into a long discourse on the theory of probability. It need only be stated that the application of this theory has led to the discovery that the square root of the average daily census of a general hospital is a practical device for measuring the probable variation in the daily census of any size hospital. The range, from high to low, in the number of beds occupied in the course of a year will be about eight times the square root of the average daily census. It is quite improbable that the number of beds occupied on any one day will go above or below the average more than four times the square root of the average.

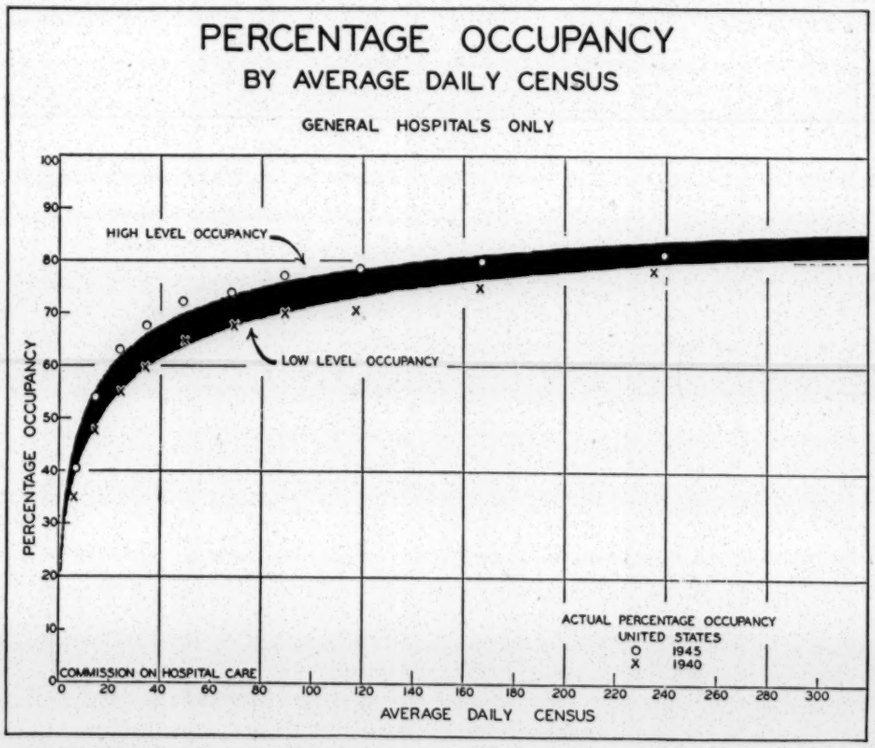
For example, in a hospital with an average daily census of 16 patients, the range in the daily census will be from 0 to 32 patients ($16 \pm 4 \sqrt{16}$). Between these extremes the number of beds occupied by days will follow approximately the normal curve. In this case the normal occupancy of the 32-bed hospital is 50 per cent (16 divided by 32). If the average occupancy rate should go higher, chances are that the hospital would be forced to turn patients away or to overcrowd the hospital a few days during the year.

In larger hospitals normal occupancy rates, calculated in the same manner, will be higher. As the size of a number increases, its square root becomes proportionately smaller. For example, consider a hospital having an average daily census of 256 patients. In order to meet peak loads this hospital would need 320 beds ($256 + 4 \sqrt{256}$). The normal occupancy rate in this case is 80 per cent. ($256 \div 320$).

In this discussion, we have as-

TABLE I—THEORETICAL RELATION OF PERCENTAGE OCCUPANCY TO SIZE OF HOSPITAL

Expected Average Daily Census (C)	Square Root of Average Daily Census	Estimated Beds Needed: Low Level Occupancy $C + 4\sqrt{C}$	Estimated Beds Needed: High Level Occupancy $3 + \sqrt{3C}$	Percentage Occupancy: Low Level	Percentage Occupancy: High Level
9	3	21	18	42.9	50.0
16	4	32	28	50.0	57.1
25	5	45	40	55.6	62.5
36	6	60	54	60.0	66.7
49	7	77	70	63.6	70.0
64	8	96	88	66.7	72.7
81	9	117	108	69.2	75.0
100	10	140	130	71.4	76.9
121	11	165	154	73.3	78.6
144	12	192	180	75.0	80.0
169	13	221	208	76.5	81.3
196	14	252	238	77.8	82.4
225	15	285	270	78.9	83.3
256	16	320	304	80.0	84.2
400	20	480	460	83.3	87.0
625	25	725	700	86.2	89.3
729	27	837	810	87.1	90.0



THIS CHART shows a close correspondence between actual average and theoretical occupancy rates. It also shows that hospital size, as measured by average daily census, is important factor in percentage occupancy. High level theoretical occupancy rates are based on number of beds equal to average census plus 3 times square root of this census. Low level theoretical rates are based on a number of beds equaling the average census plus 4 times the square root of this census.

sumed that a hospital should have an average number of vacant beds equal to about four times the square root of the average daily census. This is not a rigid mathematical law. Some hospitals will find that they can have higher occupancy rates without great inconvenience. If a hospital is willing to operate under crowded conditions seven to ten days each year, a margin of vacant beds equal to about three times the square root of the average census will be sufficient. Under such conditions, the hospital may be said to have a high level of occupancy; whereas, with a margin of beds equal to four times the square root of the average census, the hospital would have a low level of occupancy.

Table I shows the high and low level occupancy rates of hospitals of varying sizes. The accompanying chart illustrates the same data. Obviously, there is a close relationship between size of hospital and percentage occupancy. The rate of occupancy falls very fast as the hospital under 100 beds decreases in size.

Our theoretical assumptions can be compared with actual hospital experience. Let us first consider actual occupancy rates in American Medical Association registered general hospitals for the years 1940 and 1945, classified by the size of the hospital.

Table II shows that in both years large hospitals had higher occupancy rates than small hospitals; that the occupancy rates of 1940 follow almost exactly the theoretical rates of the formula based on four times the square root of the average census; and that in 1945, as is to be expected, occupancy rates were higher than in 1940. During this same period the number of hospital beds per hospital increased from 91.5 to 101.9, and the average daily census from 63.6 to 76.2 per hospital. The number of civilian general hospitals remained approximately constant at just slightly over 4,000. No allied special hospitals were included.

In the interpretation of these data it should be remembered that the number of beds reported to the American Medical Association represent bed complements—not normal capacities. When demand for beds increases many hospitals are able to expand their bed complements (actual number of beds in use) without building additional rooms. If the percentage occupancy figures of Table II were based on bed *capacities,* a much greater difference between 1940 and 1945 occupancy rates would prevail.

Table III shows actual occupancy rates of general hospitals in each state for 1940 and 1945 as compared with expected low level theoretical rates. The rates expected are adjusted to the size distribution of hospitals in 1945 and the low level rates to the size distribution of hospitals in 1940. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this table is that many states have low occupancy rates because their hospitals are small and not because they have more beds than they need. (See Figures 2 and 3.)

The South Haven Hospital at South Haven, Michigan, kept complete day-by-day occupancy records for a period of 730 days from October 1, 1943, to September 29, 1945. Data on the hospital's 32 general medical and surgical beds were analyzed. Data on the remaining eight beds were not available. The average daily census was 23.4. The square root of the average census was 4.8. The South Haven Hospital was crowded during this period because it had an occupancy rate of 73.1 per cent, considerably higher than the 50 per cent low level rate and the 54.5 per cent high level rate expected for a 32 bed hospital.

A normal curve fitted to the South Haven data shows that a margin of vacant beds equal to about three times the square root of the average census giving the hospital a total of 38 beds would have been sufficient. There are two reasons for this: (1) only one major department of the hospital is involved; and (2) the seasonal variation of the daily census is low because of a large influx of summer residents.

TABLE II—OCCUPANCY RATES BY SIZE OF HOSPITAL UNITED STATES, 1940-1945

Average Daily Census of Hospitals	Average Number of Beds per Hospital		Actual Percentage Occupancy		Theoretical Percentage Occupancy	
	1940	1945	1940	1945	Low Level	High Level
All Hospitals	91.5	101.9	69.4	74.8	71.2	77.9
Under 10	16.4	16.3	35.4	40.3	37.7	46.2
10-19	28.9	25.8	47.6	54.2	48.1	55.6
20-29	43.6	37.7	55.0	63.4	55.0	61.9
30-39	57.2	50.4	59.0	67.7	59.2	66.1
40-59	75.3	66.6	64.7	72.4	63.6	69.9
60-79	101.2	93.1	67.8	73.6	67.5	73.4
80-99	127.2	115.5	69.5	77.0	70.2	75.9
100-139	165.9	151.1	70.8	78.6	73.1	78.4
140-199	221.2	209.9	75.4	79.7	76.3	81.2
200-299	301.2	295.1	78.2	81.2	79.3	83.8
300-499	473.8	460.7	79.9	81.7	82.9	86.6
500-799	767.6	752.7	82.3	80.0	86.3	89.1
800-Up	1983.3	2303.6	81.9	69.9	91.0	93.0

Source: Based on data for civilian general hospitals, registered and reported by the American Medical Association Hospital Numbers, 1941 and 1946. No federal hospitals were included.

The South Haven data suggest that the high level formula based on three times the square root of the daily census might be most applicable to departments of hospitals; whereas the low level formula based on four times the square root of the average daily census might be most useful in estimating expected occupancy of hospitals taken as a whole.

A third test of the formula was based upon data covering a 16-year period for the Louisville General Hospital, Louisville, Kentucky. During this period no significant long term trend, upward or downward, in the average daily census was observed. However, the average daily census was highest in the depression years and lowest in the war years. This is a city hospital which is used principally for low income and indigent patients. The following data, available for each year, were averaged for the 16-year period as follows:

Average annual daily census	403
Average annual maximum daily census	474
Average annual minimum daily census	333

The average margin of vacant beds (difference between the maximum daily census and the average daily census) was 71 or about three and a half times the square root of the mean census. The length of stay in this hospital was about 12.8 days—somewhat longer than for a typical general hospital. Long-stay hospitals have less day-to-day variation than do short-stay hospitals.

The most significant implication of the foregoing discussion is the effect on relative bed needs in different parts of the country. Sparsely settled rural states will, of course, have hospitals much smaller on the average than the densely settled urban states. Observed prevailing occupancy rates by states reflect mainly size of hospitals and only to a small degree the underlying economic factors.

For instance, in 1940, general hospitals of the mountain states had an average occupancy rate of 60.7 per cent. This low occupancy rate was almost entirely associated with the size of hospitals because the occupancy rates in each size group were almost the same as those in the corresponding size groups in the nation as a whole. A similar situation prevails in southern states where the size of hospitals is small and the occupancy rate is low.

A second important implication of this analysis is the fact that the small hospital, because of low occupancy, must necessarily have high costs per bed if it is to provide high quality hospital care. Overhead costs, such as depreciation, management, nursing, staff, janitor service, and the like, continue regardless of fluctuations in the daily census. Therefore, statistics which show low costs in small hospitals with average occupancy rates may indicate low quality care. The foregoing chart shows a rapid decline in the expected occupancy rate as hospitals decrease in size under 100 beds. This fact constitutes a strong argument against building small hospitals.

A third significant implication of this study has to do with the departmentalization of hospitals. Segregated or specialized departments whose beds cannot be used interchangeably, insofar as estimating the occupancy rate is concerned, must be treated as separate units. The more segregation there is, the lower will be the overall occupancy rate. An average daily census of 100 patients in four segregated units would call for 180 beds; in two units, 156 beds; and with no segregation, only 140 beds. Similarly, it can be shown that a single room system, being more flexible than large ward systems, is conducive to high occupancy rates. By the same token racial segregation in hospitals calls for more beds than would otherwise be necessary.

Finally, it may be pointed out that the occupancy formula may be used to determine when and the degree to which a hospital is overcrowded. If the average daily census is greater than what the formula indicates is normal, then the hospital is crowded to that extent. Thus, the formula may serve as a pressure gauge for determining need for hospital expansion.

The suggestions and criticism of members of the technical staff of the Commission on Hospital Care are acknowledged by the author.

TABLE III—ACTUAL AND EXPECTED OCCUPANCY RATES FOR CIVILIAN GENERAL HOSPITALS UNITED STATES AND EACH STATE; 1940 and 1945

State	Percent. Occupancy 1940		Percent. Occupancy 1945	
	Actual	Expected	Actual	Expected
U. S.	69.4	71.2	74.8	72.9
Ala.	60.1	66.6	66.7	68.3
Ariz.	62.2	62.7	63.4	64.3
Ark.	55.3	65.3	71.2	66.3
Calif.	70.6	76.5	75.5	76.3
Colo.	60.1	68.6	74.7	69.6
Conn.	70.4	73.7	76.1	77.5
D. C.	76.3	82.5	79.9	77.8
Del.	59.8	70.1	67.2	72.4
Fla.	55.9	67.5	67.9	68.2
Ga.	62.4	68.2	69.7	67.7
Idaho	65.8	60.7	64.7	62.4
Ill.	72.0	75.3	79.0	76.0
Ind.	68.4	72.0	78.0	72.6
Iowa	63.2	67.2	77.5	69.9
Kans.	60.8	64.6	78.5	69.0
Ky.	62.1	68.6	72.1	70.3
La.	75.2	81.8	66.0	79.2
Maine	72.5	66.9	76.2	67.7
Md.	75.5	79.4	76.9	76.3
Mass.	71.0	75.1	70.7	77.1
Mich.	67.9	72.5	75.0	73.5
Minn.	70.7	70.8	80.4	71.2
Miss.	50.3	56.9	61.2	60.5
Mo.	70.0	74.8	75.4	75.2
Mont.	64.0	63.5	68.5	64.7
Neb.	58.6	67.4	75.7	68.9
Nev.	67.1	62.6	69.1	68.3
N. H.	64.8	63.9	68.3	65.8
N. J.	73.9	76.3	76.2	76.7
N. M.	45.3	53.7	55.3	56.6
N. Y.	79.3	78.8	75.8	78.7
N. C.	66.4	65.7	73.9	69.0
N. D.	60.9	63.2	73.7	66.6
Ohio	72.4	75.5	79.6	76.4
Okla.	53.7	61.2	62.8	64.8
Ore.	66.3	67.7	73.8	70.6
Penna.	71.4	76.3	76.1	76.4
R. I.	72.9	75.9	76.8	79.9
S. C.	69.8	68.4	69.2	69.4
S. D.	59.8	60.7	74.3	65.2
Tenn.	65.9	72.6	77.2	72.2
Texas	59.5	65.6	71.3	68.2
Utah	65.2	69.5	69.3	71.0
Vt.	69.1	64.5	79.1	66.9
Va.	68.5	68.5	74.9	71.5
Wash.	67.1	69.7	79.0	73.0
W. V.	62.4	67.4	71.8	69.8
Wis.	65.4	70.0	77.8	72.0
Wyo.	49.1	57.2	62.2	61.3

Source: Based on data for civilian general hospitals registered and reported by the American Medical Association Hospital numbers, 1941 and 1946. Expected rates based on normal occupancy rates and size of hospitals.

1.
H. B. No. 594

1945

AN ACT TO PROVIDE A STATE-WIDE PROGRAM OF HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL CARE; TO CREATE THE NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION; TO MAKE CONTINGENT APPROPRIATIONS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE CARE OF INDIGENT SICK IN APPROVED HOSPITALS; TO MAKE SURVEYS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF NECESSARY HOSPITALS AND HEALTH CENTERS; TO PROVIDE FOR THE EXPANSION OF THE MEDICAL SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA; TO PROVIDE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CENTRAL HOSPITAL AS A MEMORIAL TO NORTH CAROLINA DEAD OF WORLD WAR I AND WORLD WAR II; AND OTHER PROVISIONS RELATING THERETO.

H. B. No. 744

1947

A BILL TO BE ENTITLED AN ACT TO AMEND CHAPTER 1096 OF THE SESSION LAWS OF 1945; TO PROVIDE FOR THE LICENSING, INSPECTION AND REGULATION OF HOSPITALS; TO AUTHORIZE SUBDIVISIONS OF GOVERNMENT TO CONSTRUCT, EQUIP, OPERATE AND MAINTAIN HOSPITAL FACILITIES; AND TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That Chapter one hundred and thirty-one of the General Statutes of North Carolina be, and the same hereby is, amended by adding the following articles and sections.

Article 12.

Sec. 131-117. North Carolina Medical Care Commission. There is hereby created a State agency to be known as "The North Carolina Medical Care Commission," which shall be composed of twenty members nominated and appointed as follows:

Three members shall be nominated by the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina; one member by the North Carolina Hospital Association; one member by the North Carolina Dental Society; one member by the North Carolina Nurses' Association; one member by the North Carolina Pharmaceutical Association; and one member by the Duke Foundation, for appointment by the Governor.

Ten members of said Commission shall be appointed by the Governor and selected so as to fairly represent agriculture, industry, labor, and other interests and groups in North Carolina. In appointing the members of said Commission, the Governor shall designate the term for which each member is appointed. Four of said members shall be appointed for a term of one year; four for a term

of two years; four for a term of three years; five for a term of four years; and thereafter, all appointments shall be for a term of four years. All vacancies shall be filled by the Governor for the unexpired term. The Commissioner of Public Welfare, and the Secretary of the State Board of Health shall be ex officio members of the Commission, without voting power.

The Commission shall elect, with the approval of the Governor, a chairman and a vice chairman. All members, except the Commissioner of Public Welfare, and the Secretary of the State Board of Health, shall receive a per diem of seven dollars ($7.00) and necessary travel expenses.

Sec. 131-118. Commission Authorized to Employ Executive Secretary. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission is authorized and empowered to employ, subject to the approval of the Governor, an executive secretary, and to determine his or her salary under the provisions of the Personnel Act. The executive secretary may employ such additional persons as may be required to carry out the provisions of this Act, subject to approval of the Commission, and the provisions of the Personnel Act. Office space for the Commission shall be provided by the Board of Public Buildings and Grounds, in Raleigh.

Sec. 131-119. Contribution for Indigent Patients. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission, in accordance with rules and regulations promulgated by it, is hereby authorized and empowered to contribute not exceeding one dollar ($1.00) per day for each indigent patient hospitalized in any hospital approved by it, provided the balance of the cost shall be provided by the county or city having responsibility for the care of such indigent patient, or from other sources. The Commission shall promulgate rules and regulations for determining the indigency of the persons hospitalized and the basis upon which hospitals and health centers shall qualify to receive the benefits of this section.

For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this section, there is hereby appropriated from the General Fund to the North Carolina Medical Care Commission for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, one thousand nine hundred and forty-six, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars ($500,000.00); and for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, one thousand nine hundred and forty-seven, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars* ($500,000.00); provided that the benefits of this section shall apply only to hospitals publicly owned, or operated by charitable, non-profit, non-stock corporations, and on and after July 1, 1949, the benefits of this section shall apply only to hospitals publicly owned, or owned

*$500,000 changed to $350,000 annually, effective July 1, 1947.

and operated by charitable, non-profit, non-stock corporations, and provided further that these appropriations provided in this section shall not be available until all provisions of Section twenty-three and one half of the Committee Substitute for House Bill Number eleven, the General Appropriations Bill of one thousand nine hundred and forty-five, relating to the emergency salary for public school teachers and State employees shall have been completely and fully provided for.

Sec. 131-120. Construction and Enlargement of Local Hospitals. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to begin immediate surveys of each county in the State to determine:

(a) The hospital needs of the county or area;

(b) The economic ability of the county or area to support adequate hospital service;

(c) What assistance by the State, if any, is necessary to supplement all other available funds, to finance the construction of new hospitals and health centers, and necessary equipment to provide adequate hospital service for the citizens of the county or area; and to report this information, together with its recommendations, to the Governor, who shall transmit this report to the next session of the General Assembly for such legislative action as it may deem necessary to effectuate an adequate State-wide hospital program.

The North Carolina Medical Care Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to act as the agency of the State of North Carolina for the purpose of setting up and administering any State-wide plan for the construction and maintenance of hospitals, public health centers and related facilities, which is now or may be required in order to comply with any Federal law and in order to receive and administer any funds which may be provided by an Act of Congress for such purpose; and the Commission, as such agency of the State of North Carolina with the advice of the State Advisory Council set up as hereinafter provided, shall have the right to promulgate such State-wide plans for the construction and maintenance of hospitals, medical centers and related facilities, or such other plans as may be found desirable and necessary in order to meet the requirements and receive the benefits of any Federal legislation with regard thereto. The said Commission shall be authorized to receive and administer any funds which may be appropriated by any Act of Congress for the construction of hospitals, medical centers and related activities or facilities, which may at any time in the future

become available for such purposes; said Commission shall be further authorized to receive and administer any other Federal funds, which may be available, in the furtherance of any activity in which the Commission is authorized and empowered to engage in under the provisions of this Act establishing said Commission, and in connection therewith, the Commission is authorized to adopt such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the intent and purposes of this Act; to adopt such reasonable and necessary standards with reference thereto as may be proper to fully cooperate with the Surgeon General of the United States with the approval of the Federal Advisory Council in the use of funds provided by the Federal government, and at all times make such reports and give such information to the Surgeon General of the United States as may be required.

That the Governor is hereby authorized and empowered to set up and establish a State Advisory Council to the North Carolina Medical Care Commission, to consist of five members, who shall each serve for a term of four years, with the right on the part of the Governor to fill vacancies for unexpired terms, said council to include representatives of non-government organizations or groups, and of State Agencies, concerned with the operation, construction, or utilization of hospitals or medical centers, or allied facilities, which Advisory Council, when set up by the Governor, shall advise with the North Carolina Medical Care Commission with respect to carrying out the purposes and provisions of this Act. The members of the State Advisory Council to the North Carolina Medical Care Commission shall receive a per diem of seven dollars ($7.00) and necessary travel expenses except that this shall not apply to members of the State Advisory Council to the North Carolina Medical Care Commission who are representatives of a State agency or department and who receive a regular salary paid by appropriations to their agency or department; but such representatives of such State agencies or departments shall be entitled to necessary subsistence and travel expenses.

That the North Carolina Medical Care Commission and the said State Advisory Council set up by the Governor as herein authorized, shall be fully authorized and empowered to do all such acts and things as may be necessary, to authorize the State of North Carolina to receive the full benefits of any Federal laws which are or may be enacted for the construction and maintenance of hospitals, health centers or allied facilities.

That none of the provisions hereof shall authorize the appropriation of any State funds for the purposes herein set forth except as the same may be specifically provided for in this Act.

H. B. No. 594 & H. B. No. 744

Out of the funds appropriated and made available by the State, the North Carolina Medical Care Commission shall make grants-in-aid to counties, cities, towns and subdivisions of government to acquire real estate and construct thereon hospital facilities, including the reconstruction, remodeling or addition to any hospital facilities which have been or may be acquired by such municipalities or subdivisions of government for use as community hospitals. The appropriations and funds made available by the State shall be allocated, apportioned and granted for the purposes above set forth and for such other related objects or purposes as shall be determined in each case by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission in accordance with the standards, rules and regulations as determined, adopted and promulgated by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission may furnish financial and other types of aid and assistance to any non-profit hospital owned and operated by a corporation or association, no part of the net earnings of which, inures, or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual upon the same terms and conditions as such aid and financial assistance is granted to municipalities and subdivisions of government: Provided, that hospitals now in the course of construction and approved by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission and the appropriate Federal authority shall be entitled to receive financial assistance on the same basis as any hospital of the same classification and type that may be hereafter constructed and approved by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission and the appropriate Federal authority.

Sec. 131-121. Medical and other students; loan fund. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission is hereby authorized and empowered, in accordance with such rules as it may promulgate, to make loans to students who may wish to become physicians, dentists, pharmacists, or nurses and who are accepted for enrollment in any standard school or college giving approved courses in medicine, dentistry, pharmacy or nursing, and is approved by the Commission provided such student or students shall agree, that upon graduation and being duly licensed, to practice medicine, dentistry, pharmacy or nursing in some rural area of North Carolina for at least four years. Rural area, for the purpose of this section, shall mean any town or village having less than 2,500 population according to the last decennial census, or area outside and around such towns or villages. Such loans shall bear such rate of interest as may be fixed by the Commission, not to exceed four per cent (4%) per annum.

For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this section, there is hereby appropriated from the General Fund for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, one thousand nine hundred and forty-six, to the North Carolina Medical Care Commission the sum of fifty thousand dollars ($50,000.00). The State Treasurer shall set up on his records an account to which shall be deposited said amount, and from which withdrawals shall be made upon vouchers made by the State Auditor upon requests of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. This appropriation shall not lapse at the end of any biennium, but shall remain available for the purposes herein stated.

Sec. 131-122. Expansion of Medical School of the University of North Carolina. In order to carry forward the State-wide plan of hospital and medical care, the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, by and with the approval of the Governor and the North Carolina Medical Care Commission, is hereby authorized and empowered to expand the two-year Medical School of the University of North Carolina into a standard four-year medical school. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission is authorized and directed to make a complete survey of all factors involved in determining the location of the expanded medical school, giving especial attention to the advantages and disadvantages of locating said school in one of the large cities of the State, and shall render a report of their findings to the Governor and Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina.

Provided that no action shall be taken under this provision of this section, other than the work of the Commission, until a survey has been made and a report submitted to the Governor and Medical Care Commission by the Rockefeller Foundation or some other accredited agency with experience in the field of surveying large areas in connection with medical education and medical care. The report of such agency is to be submitted to the Governor and the Medical Care Commission in a reasonable time in advance of the report of the Governor and the Commission to the Board of Trustees.

Sec. 131-123. Appropriations for Expenses of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. In order to provide funds for the expenses of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission, there is hereby appropriated from the General Fund for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, one thousand nine hundred and forty-six, the sum of fifty thousand dollars ($50,000.00) and for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, one thousand nine hundred and forty-seven, the sum of fifty thousand dollars* ($50,000.00).

*$50,000 changed to $61,520, effective July 1, 1947.

Sec. 131-124. Medical Training for Negroes. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission shall make careful investigation of the methods for providing necessary medical training for Negro students, and shall report its findings to the next session of the General Assembly. In addition to the benefits provided by Section one hundred and sixteen - one hundred and ten of the General Statutes of North Carolina, the North Carolina Medical Care Commission is hereby authorized to make loans to Negro medical students from the fund provided in Section one hundred and thirty-one - one hundred and twenty-one, subject to such rules, regulations, and conditions as the Commission may prescribe.

Sec. 131-125. Acceptance of Gifts, Grants and Donations. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to accept and administer gifts, grants, or donations which may be made by the Federal government or by any person, firm, or corporation for the purpose of carrying out the objects of this Act, provided the acceptance of such gifts, grants, or donations shall be made without requiring the surrender of authority or control in the administration thereof by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission.

Sec. 131-126. Hospital Care Associations. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission is hereby authorized to encourage the development of group insurance plans, the Blue Cross Plan, and other plans which provide for insurance for the public against the costs of disease and illness.

all above in 1947 act

Article 13A. Hospital Licensing Act

1947

Sec. 131-126.1. Definitions. As used in this article:

(a) "Hospital" means an institution devoted primarily to the rendering of medical or nursing care, which maintains and operates facilities for the diagnosis, treatment or care of two or more non-related individuals suffering from illness, injury or deformity, or where obstetrical or other medical or nursing care is rendered over a period exceeding twenty-four hours.

(b) "Person" means any individual, firm, partnership, corporation, company, association, or joint stock association; and includes any trustee, receiver, assignee or other similar representative thereof.

(c) "Governmental unit" means the state, or any county, municipality, or other political subdivision or any department, division, board of other agency of any of the foregoing.

(d) "Commission" means The North Carolina Medical Care Commission as

established by Chapter 1096 of the Session Laws of 1945, as amended, and as the same may be hereafter amended.

Sec. 131-126.2. Purpose. The purpose of this article is to provide for the development, establishment and enforcement of basic standards (1) for the care and treatment of individuals in hospitals and (2) for the construction, maintenance and operation of such hospitals, which, in the light of existing knowledge, will ensure safe and adequate treatment of such individuals in hospitals, provided, that nothing in this article shall be construed as repealing any of the provisions of Article 27 of Chapter 130 of the General Statutes of North Carolina.

Sec. 131-126.3. Licensure. After July 1, 1947, no person or governmental unit, acting severally or jointly with any other person or governmental unit shall establish, conduct or maintain a hospital in this State without a license.

Sec. 131-126.4. Application for License. Licenses shall be obtained from the Commission. Applications shall be upon such forms and shall contain such information as the said Commission may reasonably require, which may include affirmative evidence of ability to comply with such reasonable standards, rules and regulations as may be lawfully prescribed hereunder. Each application for license shall be accompanied by the license fee of ten dollars ($10.00), which shall be refunded to the applicant if the license is denied and which shall be paid over into the State Treasury if the license is issued.

Sec. 131-126.5. Issuance and Renewal of License. Upon receipt of an application for license and the license fee, the Commission shall issue a license if it finds that the applicant and hospital facilities comply with the provisions of this article and the regulations of the said Commission. Each such license, unless sooner suspended or revoked, shall be renewable annually without charge upon filing of the license, and approval by the Commission, of an annual report upon such uniform dates and containing such information in such forms as the Commission shall prescribe by regulations. Each license shall be issued only for the premises and persons or governmental units named in the application and shall not be transferable or assignable except with the written approval of the Commission. Licenses shall be posted in a conspicuous place on the licensed premises as prescribed by regulation of the said Commission.

Sec. 131-126.6. Denial or Revocation of License; Hearings and Review. The Commission shall have the authority to deny, suspend or revoke a license in any case where it finds that there has been a substantial failure to comply with the provisions of this article or the rules, regulations or minimum standards promulgated under this article.

Such denial, suspension, or revocation shall be effected by mailing to the applicant or licensee by registered mail, or by personal service of, a notice setting forth the particular reasons for such action. Such denial, suspension, or revocation shall become effective thirty days after the mailing or service of the notice, unless the applicant or licensee, within such thirty-day period shall give written notice to the Commission requesting a hearing, in which case the notice shall be deemed to be suspended. If a hearing has been requested, the applicant or licensee shall be given an opportunity for a prompt and fair hearing before the Commission. At any time at or prior to the hearing, the Commission may rescind the notice of denial, suspension or revocation upon being satisfied that the reasons for the denial, suspension or revocation have been or will be removed. On the basis of any such hearing, or upon default of the applicant or licensee the determination involved in the notice may be affirmed, modified, or set aside, by the Commission. A copy of such decision, setting forth the finding of facts and the particular reasons for the decision shall be sent by registered mail, or served personally upon, the applicant or licensee. The decision shall become final thirty days after it is so mailed or served, unless the applicant or licensee, within such thirty-day period, appeals the decision to the court, pursuant to Section 131-126.14 hereof.

The procedure governing hearings authorized by this section shall be in accordance with rules promulgated by said Commission with the advice of the Hospital Advisory Council. A full and complete record shall be kept of all proceedings, and all testimony shall be reported but need not be transcribed unless the decision is appealed pursuant to Section 131-126.14 hereof. A copy or copies of the transcript may be obtained by an interested party on payment of the cost of preparing such copy or copies. Witnesses may be subpoenaed by either party and shall be allowed fees at a rate prescribed by the aforesaid rules.

Sec. 131.126.7. Rules, Regulations, and Enforcement. The Commission with the advice of the Hospital Advisory Council, shall adopt, amend, promulgate and enforce such rules, regulations and standards with respect to the different

types of hospitals to be licensed hereunder as may be designed to further the accomplishment of the purposes of the article.

Sec. 131-126.8. Effective Date of Regulations. Any hospital which is in operation at the time of promulgation of any applicable rules or regulations or minimum standards under this article shall be given a reasonable time, not to exceed one year from the date of such promulgation, within which to comply with such rules and regulations and minimum standards.

Section 131-126.9. Inspections and Consultations. The Commission shall make or cause to be made such inspections as it may deem necessary. The Commission may delegate to any State officer, agent, board, bureau or division of State Government authority to make such inspections as the Commission may designate and according to rules and regulations promulgated by the Commission. The Commission may revoke such delegated authority in its discretion and make its own inspections according to the powers granted hereunder. The Commission may prescribe by regulations that any licensee or prospective applicant desiring to make specified types of alteration or addition to its facilities or to construct new facilities shall before commencing such alteration, addition or new construction, submit plans and specifications therefor to the Commission for preliminary inspection and approval or recommendations with respect to compliance with the regulations and standards herein authorized.

Sec. 131-126.10. Hospital Advisory Council. The Commission may appoint a Hospital Advisory Council which shall consist of the Executive Secretary of the Commission who shall serve as chairman ex-officio, the Commissioner of the State Board of Public Welfare, ex-officio, the State Health Officer, ex-officio, the Superintendent of Mental Hygiene, ex-officio, and the following: One or more individuals of recognized ability in the field of hospital administration; One or more individuals of recognized ability in the fields of medicine and surgery, nursing, welfare, public health, architecture, or allied professions in the field of health; One or more individuals with broad civic interests representing consumers of hospital services.

In each of these three aforesaid groups, members shall be appointed for terms of one, two, three and four years respectively, and their successors shall be appointed for terms of four years, except when appointed to complete an unexpired term. Members whose terms expire shall hold office until appointment of thier successors. The members of the Hospital Advisory Council to the North

Carolina Medical Care Commission shall receive a per diem of seven dollars ($7.00) and necessary travel expenses except that this shall not apply to members of the Hospital Advisory Council who are representatives of a State Agency or department and who receive a regular salary paid by appropriations to their agency or department; but such representatives of such State agencies or departments shall be entitled to necessary subsistence and travel expenses.

Sec. 131-126.11. Functions of Hospital Advisory Council. The Hospital Advisory Council shall have the following responsibilities and duties:

(a) To consult and advise with the Commission in matters of policy affecting administration of this article, and in the development of rules, regulations and standards provided for hereunder.

(b) To review and make recommendations with respect to rules, regulations and standards authorized hereunder prior to their promulgation by the Commission as specified herein. The Council shall meet not less than once each year, and additionally at the call of the chairman or at the request of any five of its members.

Sec. 131-126.12. Information Confidential. Information received by the Commission through filed reports, inspection, or as otherwise authorized under this article, shall not be disclosed publicly in such manner as to identify individuals or hospitals, except in a proceeding involving the question of licensure or the denial, suspension or revocation of a license.

Sec. 131-126.13. Annual Report of Commission. The Commission shall prepare and publish an annual report of its activities and operations under this article.

Sec. 131-126.14. Judicial Review. Any applicant or licensee who is dissatisfied with the decision of the Commission as a result of the hearing provided in Sec. 131-126.6 may, within thirty (30) days after the mailing or serving of notice of the decision as provided in said section, file a notice of appeal to the Superior Court in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court of the county in which the hospital is located or to be located, and serve a copy of said notice of appeal upon the Commission. Thereupon the Commission shall promptly certify and file with the court a copy of the record and decision, including the transcript of the hearings on which the decision is based. Findings of fact by the Commission shall be conclusive unless contrary to the weight of

the evidence but upon good cause shown the court may remand the case to the Commission to take further evidence, and the Commission may thereupon make new or modified findings of facts or decision. The court shall have power to affirm, modify or reverse the decision of the Commission and either the applicant or licensee or the Commission may appeal to the Supreme Court. Pending final disposition of the matter the status quo of the applicant or licensee shall be preserved, except as the court shall otherwise order in the public interest.

Sec. 131-126.15. Penalties. Any person establishing, conducting, managing, or operating any hospital without a license shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be liable to a fine of not more than fifty dollars ($50.00) for the first offense and not more than five hundred dollars ($500.00) for each subsequent offense, and each day of a continuing violation after conviction shall be considered a separate offense.

Sec. 131-126.16. Injunction. Notwithstanding the existence or pursuit of any other remedy, the Commission may, in the manner provided by law, maintain an action in the name of the State for injunction or other process against any person or governmental unit to restrain or prevent the establishment, conduct, management or operation of a hospital without a license.

Sec. 131-126.17. Severability. If any provision of this article or the application thereof to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, such invalidity shall not affect the provisions or application of this article which can be given effect without the invalid provision or application, and to this end the provisions of the article are declared to be severable; Provided, that the provisions of this article shall apply only to those hospitals eligible for, or which may become eligible and apply for, Federal or State funds, grants-in-aid, financial and other types of assistance according to the provisions of Article 13 of Chapter 131 of the General Statutes, as amended, and Public Law 725 of the 79th Congress, approved August 13, 1946, entitled the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, as amended, provided, further that the Commission is authorized to promulgate reasonable rules and regulations fixing the procedure by which any hospital or hospitals not covered by the provisions of this article by reason of the above proviso, may voluntarily become subject to the provisions of this article.

Article 13B. Additional Authority of Sub-divisions of Government to Finance Hospital Facilities

Sec. 131-126.18. Definitions. As used in this article:

(a) "Municipality" means any county, city, town or other political subdivision of this State.

(b) "Municipal" means pertaining to a municipality as herein defined.

(c) "Hospital Facility" means any type of hospital, clinic or public health center, including relating facilities such as laboratories, out-patient departments, nurses' home and training facilities, and central service facilities operated in connection with hospitals.

(d) "Non-profit association" means any corporation or association, no part of the net earnings of which inures or may lawfully inure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

Sec. 131-126.19. Purpose. It is the purpose of this article to confer additional authority upon municipalities for the furnishing of hospital, clinic and similar services to the people of this State, through the construction, operation, and maintenance of hospital facilities and otherwise; and to this end to authorize municipalities to cooperate with other public and private agencies and with each other, and to accept assistance from agencies of this State or the Federal Government or from other sources. This article shall be liberally construed to effect these purposes.

Sec. 131-126.20. General Powers of Municipalities in the Construction, Acquisition, Operation, and Maintenance of Hospital Facilities.

(a) In addition to authority provided by existing laws, every municipality is authorized, out of any appropriations or other moneys made available for such purposes, to construct, operate, and maintain hospital facilities. For such purposes the municipality may use any available property that it may now or hereafter own or control and may, by purchase, grant, gift, devise, lease, condemnation or otherwise, acquire real or personal property or any interest therein. The municipality may make reasonable charges for the use of any such hospital facilities or may make them available without charge to such classes of persons as it considers necessary or desirable to carry out the purposes of this article.

(b) Any municipality may, by purchase, gift, devise, lease, condemnation or otherwise, acquire any existing hospital facilities.

(c) Any municipality may enter into a contract or other arrangement with any other municipality or other public agency of this or any other state or of the United States or with any individual, private organization or non-profit association for the provision of hospital, clinic, or similar services. Pursuant to such contract or other arrangement, the municipality may pay for such services out of any appropriations or other moneys made available for such purposes. A municipality may lease any hospital facilities to any non-profit association on such terms and subject to such conditions as will carry out the purposes of this article.

Sec. 131-126.21. Board of Managers. Any authority vested by this article in the municipality for the planning, establishment, construction, maintenance or operation of hospital facilities may be vested by resolution of the governing body of the municipality in an officer or board or other municipal agency whose powers, duties, compensation, and tenure shall be prescribed in the resolution; provided, however, that the expense of such planning, establishment, construction, maintenance or operation shall be a responsibility of the municipality.

Sec. 131-126.22. Appropriations and Taxation. (a) The governing body of any municipality having power to appropriate and raise money is hereby authorized to appropriate and to raise by taxation and otherwise sufficient moneys to carry out the provisions and purposes of this article.

(b) Notwithstanding any constitutional limitation or limitation provided by any general or special law, taxes may be levied by the governing body of a municipality for the special purposes of this article, for which special approval is hereby given, provided that the levy of such taxes is approved by a majority of the qualified voters of such municipality in an election held for this purpose. Such election as to counties may be held at the same time and in the same manner as elections held under the provisions of Article 9 of Chapter 153 of the General Statutes, the same being designated as the County Finance Act, beginning with Section 153-69 of the General Statutes and sections following, or such election as to cities and towns may be held under the Municipal Finance Act, the same being Article 28 of Chapter 160 of the General Statutes, beginning with Section 160-377 of the General Statutes and sections following, or said elections may be held at any time fixed by the governing body of the municipality.

Sec. 131-126.23. Financing Cost of Construction, Acquisition and Improvement; Bond Issues. (a) The cost of planning and acquiring, establishing, developing, constructing, enlarging, improving, or equipping any hospital facility or the site thereof may be paid for by appropriation of moneys available therefor or wholly or partly from the proceeds of the sale of bonds or other obligations of the municipality as the governing body of the municipality shall determine. For such purposes a county may issue general obligation bonds, as authorized by the County Finance Act, the same being Article 9 of Chapter 153 of the General Statutes and a city or town as authorized by the Municipal Finance Act, the same being Subchapter III of Chapter 160 of the General Statutes and consisting of Articles 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 of Chapter 160 of the General Statutes, and any municipality may issue revenue bonds as authorized by Article 34 of Chapter 160 of the General Statutes, the same being designated as the Revenue Bond Act of 1938.

(b) Notwithstanding any limitations provided by the Constitution or by any general or special law as to the amount of bonds or obligations that may be issued, a municipality may issue bonds or obligations in excess of any such limitations for the purposes authorized by this article; provided, that such amount in excess of such constitutional limitation is referred to and approved by a majority of the qualified voters of said municipality voting in an election on such question.

(c) Notwithstanding any constitutional limitation or limitation provided by any general or special law, taxes may be levied by the governing body of a municipality for the purpose of financing the cost of operation, equipment and maintenance of any hospital facility authorized by this article; and the special approval of the General Assembly is hereby given for the levying of taxes for such purposes; provided, that the levy of such taxes is approved by a majority of the qualified voters of such municipality in an election held for such purpose. The rate or amount of such taxes for which a levy may be made hereunder shall be determined by the governing body of the municipality; and a ballot shall be furnished to each qualified voter at said election, which ballot may contain the words "For Hospital Facility Maintenance Tax (Briefly stating any other pertinent information)," and "Against Hospital Facility Maintenance Tax (Briefly stating any other pertinent information)," with squares in front of each proposition, in one of which squares the voter may make a cross

mark (X); but any other form of ballot containing adequate information and properly stating the question to be voted upon shall be construed as being in compliance with this subsection. Such election as to counties may be held at the same time and in the same manner as elections held under Article 9 of Chapter 153 of the General Statutes, the same being designated as the County Finance Act, beginning with Section 153-69 of the General Statutes and sections following, or such election as to cities and towns may be held under the Municipal Finance Act, the same being Article 28 of Chapter 160 of the General Statutes, beginning with Section 160-377 of the General Statutes and sections following, or said elections may be held at any time fixed by the governing body of the municipality. The question of levying a tax for the operation and maintenance of hospital facilities as provided by this subsection may be submitted at the same time the question of issuing bonds is submitted as provided in this article or the question of a levy of taxes for operation and maintenance purposes may be submitted in a separate election according to the discretion and judgment of the governing body of the municipality.

Sec. 131-126.24. Condemnation. In the condemnation of property authorized by this article, the municipality shall proceed in the manner provided in Chapter 40 of the General Statutes of North Carolina, or the charter of the municipality. For the purpose of making surveys and examinations relative to any condemnation procedures, it shall be lawful to enter upon any land doing no unnecessary damage. Notwithstanding the provisions of any other statute or of any applicable municipal charter, the municipality may take possession of any property to be condemned at any time after commencement of the condemnation procedure. The municipality shall not be precluded from abandonment of the condemnation of any such property in any case where possession thereof has not been taken.

Sec. 131-126.25. Federal and State Aid. (a) Every municipality or non-profit association is authorized to accept, receive, receipt for, disburse and expend Federal and State moneys and other moneys, public or private, made available by grant, loan, gift or devise, to accomplish, in whole or in part, any of the purposes of this article. All Federal moneys accepted under this section shall be accepted and expended by a municipality or non-profit association upon such terms and conditions as are prescribed by the United States and as are consistent with State law; and all State moneys accepted under this

section shall be accepted and expended by the municipality or non-profit association upon such terms and conditions as are prescribed by the State and/or North Carolina Medical Care Commission. Unless otherwise prescribed by the agency from which such moneys were received, the chief financial officer of the municipality shall, on its behalf, deposit all moneys received pursuant to this section and shall keep them in separate funds designated according to the purposes for which the moneys were made available, in trust for such purposes.

(b) Out of funds made available by the State, the North Carolina Medical Care Commission shall make grants-in-aid, as provided in this subsection, to municipalities and/or non-profit associations to acquire real estate and construct thereon hospital facilities, including the reconstruction, remodeling or addition to any hospital facilities which have been or may be acquired by such municipalities and/or non-profit associations for use as community hospitals. The amount of State funds to be granted hereunder shall be determined in each case by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission in accordance with standards, rules and regulations as determined by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission.

Application for a grant under this subsection shall be made to the North Carolina Medical Care Commission by any municipality, acting separately or with one or more other municipalities, or by any non-profit association, on such forms and in such manner as may be prescribed by the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission may establish such reasonable requirements for approval as it deems necessary or desirable to effectuate the purposes of this article. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission shall give preference to applications in accordance with their priority in the hospital construction program established pursuant to the Federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act.

Sec. 131-126.26. Mutual Aid. If the governing body of any municipality determines that the public interest and the interests of the municipality will be served by assisting any other municipality or municipalities or non-profit association or non-profit associations in exercising the powers and authority granted by this article, such municipality may furnish assistance by gift of real or personal property, or lease or loan thereof with or without rental or charge, or by gift, of money, or loan thereof with or without interest. In appropriating such property or money and providing for such assistance by taxation, the issuance of bonds, or other means, the municipality may exercise all of its powers

as though used for its own direct purposes as provided in this article.

Sec. 131-126.27. Joint Operations. All powers, privileges and authority granted to any municipality by this article may be exercised and enjoyed jointly with any other municipality. To this end any two or more municipalities may enter into agreements with each other for the acquisition, construction, improvement, maintenance, or operation of hospital facilities. Such agreement may provide for:

(a) the appointment of a board, composed of representatives of the parties to the agreement, to supervise and manage such hospital facilities;

(b) the authority and duties of such board and the compensation of its members;

(c) the proportional share of the costs of acquisition, construction, improvement, maintenance, or operation of the hospital facilities and the provision of funds therefor;

(d) duration, amendment, and termination of the agreement and the disposition of property on its termination; and

(e) such other matters as are necessary or desirable in the premises.

Sec. 131-126.28. Public Purpose; County and Municipal Purpose. The acquisition of any land or interest therein pursuant to this article, the planning, acquisition, establishment, development, construction, improvement, maintenance, equipment, operation, and regulation of hospital facilities and the exercise of any other powers herein granted to municipalities, to be severally or jointly exercised, are hereby declared to be public and governmental functions, exercised for a public purpose, and matters of public necessity; and in the case of any county, are declared to be a county functions and purposes as well as public and governmental; and in the case of any municipality other than a county, are declared to be municipal functions and purposes as well as public and governmental. All land and other property and privileges acquired and used by or on behalf of any county or other municipality in the manner and for the purposes enumerated in this article shall and are hereby declared to be acquired and used for public and governmental purposes and as a matter of public necessity, and for county or municipal purposes, respectively.

Sec. 131-126.29. Implied Incidental Powers. In addition to the general and special powers conferred by this article, every municipality is

authorized to exercise such powers are are necessarily incidental to the exercise of such general and special powers. All powers granted by this article to municipalities are specifically declared to be granted to the counties of this State, any other statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sec. 131-126.30. Severability. If any provision of this article or the application thereof to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, such invalidity shall not effect the provisions or application of this article which can be given effect without the invalid provision or application, and to this end the provisions of this article are declared to be severable.

Sec. 131-126.31. Short Title. This article may be cited as the "Municipal Hospital Facilities Act."

Ratified by the North Carolina General Assembly the 5th day of April 1947.

Job No.
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File No.
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THE NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION
P. O. BOX 1880
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

April 11, 1947

CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM NO. 7

SUBJECT: REGARDING LEGISLATION AND APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED BY THE 1947 GENERAL ASSEMBLY

BY: John A. Ferrell, M. D., Executive Secretary

SECTION A.

1. H. B. No. 594, enacted March 1945, created the North Carolina Medical Care Commission. The 1947 Legislature passed the following admendments:

   a. There are twelve general hospitals in the State that are privately owned, and, on a rental basis, are operated by non-profit corporations. The Commission's indigent fund of one dollar ($1.00) per day toward the hospital care of indigents was limited to hospitals approved by the Commission that are "publicly owned, or owned and operated by charitable, non-profit, non-stock corporations." The law was so amended that these leased hospitals may benefit from the indigent fund until July 1, 1949; thereafter, it shall be available "only to hospitals publicly owned, or owned and operated by charitable, non-profit, non-stock corporations."

   b. The law relating to the loan fund for medical students to attend four-year medical schools in North Carolina will now apply "to students who may wish to become physicians, dentists, pharmacists, or nurses and who are accepted for enrollment in any standard school or college giving approved courses in medicine, dentistry, pharmacy or nursing, and is approved by the Commission....." The change removes the limitation to North Carolina schools and limitations as to race or creed.

   c. The Medical Care Commission and its employees are now included under the State Merit System as are other State Departments -- such as the Health and Welfare -- which administer Federal funds.

SECTION B.

1. New Legislation. Additional legislation by the 1947 General Assembly.

   a. An appropriation -- $6,250,000 -- for the next biennium to match Federal (Hill-Burton) funds for hospital construction.

   b. An appropriation -- $5,290,000 -- for the next biennium to the University toward the expansion of its two-year medical school to a standard four-year school and toward the building of a 400-bed teaching hospital.

actual State appropr

3,770,000

total of Hill-Burton pays off

6,250,000
3,770,000
10,020,000

c. A Hospital Licensing Law, substantially as recommended by the Council of State Governments, to be administered by the Medical Care Commission to include all hospitals that are eligible and apply for State and Federal aid toward the cost of hospital construction and equipment.

d. An Enabling Act, substantially as recommended by the Council of State Governments, permitting the State, counties, cities, towns, and townships, separately or jointly, to provide money by appropriations, special tax, bond issues, or otherwise for the construction, equipment, maintenance, and operation of hospitals.

SECTION C.

1. State Hospital Plan. Status.

a. Work is under way on the State's Hospital Plan as required by the Federal Hospital Act. Certain features have been completed, and the remaining ones should be completed within three or four weeks. Two other conditions must be satisfied before the Commission can consider specific projects for the construction and equipment of hospitals:

(1) Competent personnel must be employed to handle the architectural, engineering, and hospital administration matters.

(2) The United States Senate must ratify the Deficiency-Appropriation measure - H.R. 2700 regarding funds for hospital construction passed by the lower House - that enables the Surgeon General, under Congressional authorization, to establish contractual obligations of the Federal Government to the State for funds to be appropriated later by Congress under a Deficiency Act.

SECTION D.

1. In the field of nursing, two important Acts were ratified by the Legislature to be administered by the North Carolina Board of Nurse Examiners.

a. The re-registration of nurses annually.

b. Authorizing the training, examination, and licensing of practical nurses.

SECTION E.

1. The developments enumerated above should be credited to the work of a large number of individuals and agencies. They include aggressive leadership by:

a. The Medical Society of the State of North Carolina.
b. The State Hospital Association.
c. The University of North Carolina.
d. The Medical and Hospital Care Commission from Jan. 1, 1944 to April 1, 1945.
e. Other agencies and individuals.
f. The Duke Endowment which has liberally supported the development of hospitals in the State for 24 years, and created among the people an enthusiastic desire for hospital services.
g. North Carolina Good Health Association, Inc.
h. Newspapers and their editors.

May 9, 1947

80TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { DOCUMENT
1st Session } { No. 261

NATIONAL HEALTH AND DISABILITY INSURANCE PROGRAM

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

HIS RECOMMENDATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND ENACTMENT OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND DISABILITY INSURANCE PROGRAMS

MAY 19, 1947.—Referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed

To the Congress of the United States:

Healthy citizens constitute our greatest national resource. In time of peace, as in time of war, our ultimate strength stems from the vigor of our people. The welfare and security of our Nation demand that the opportunity for good health be made available to all, regardless of residence, race, or economic status.

At no time can we afford to lose the productive energies and capacities of millions of our citizens. Nor can we permit our children to grow up without a fair chance of survival and a fair chance for a healthy life. We must not permit our rural families to suffer for lack of physicians, dentists, nurses, and hospitals. We must not reserve a chance for good health and a long productive life to the well-to-do alone. A great and free nation should bring good-health care within the reach of all its people.

In my message to the Congress on November 19, 1945, I said that every American should have the right to adequate medical care and to adequate protection from the economic threat of sickness. To provide this care and protection is a challenging task, requiring action on a wide front.

I have previously outlined the long-range health program which I consider necessary to the national welfare and security. I say again that such a program must include—

1. Adequate public health services, including an expanded maternal and child-health program.
2. Additional medical research and medical education.
3. More hospitals and more doctors—in all areas of the country where they are needed.
4. Insurance against the costs of medical care.
5. Protection against loss of earnings during illness.

I am pleased to observe that important advances were made by the last Congress toward realization of some of the goals which I set forth in my earlier message. But we must not rest until we have achieved all our objectives. I urge this Congress to enact additional legislation to authorize the program I have outlined, even though the fulfillment of some aspects of it may take time.

Our public health services—Federal, State and local—provide our greatest and most successful defense against preventable diseases. But in many States, cities, and counties in America limited funds reduce the work of our public health services to a dangerously inadequate level. Public services related to maternal and child health were expanded by the Seventy-ninth Congress, through amendments to the Social Security Act. This action was gratifying, but the long-range need for additional health services for children and expectant mothers, and for care of crippled or otherwise physically handicapped children, should be carefully studied by the Congress.

The Nation's medical-research programs must in the future be expanded so that we can learn more about the prevention and cure of disease. The Congress has already recognized this by providing for research into the causes of cancer and mental diseases and abnormalities. Further dividends will accrue to our Nation—and to our people—if research can point the way toward combatting and overcoming such major illnesses as arthritis and rheumatic fever, and diseases of the heart, kidneys, and arteries.

We still face a shortage of hospitals, physicians, dentists, and nurses. Those we have are unfairly distributed. The shortage of doctors, dentists, and nurses can be met only through expanded educational opportunities. The shortage of hospitals will be met in part through the action of the last Congress, which provided Federal aid for the construction of hospitals.

In the last analysis the patient's ability to pay for the services of physicians or dentists, or for hospital care, determines the distribution of doctors and the location of hospitals. Few doctors can be expected to practice today in sparsely settled areas or where prospective patients are unable to pay for their services. Doctors tend to concentrate in communities where hospitals and other facilities are best and where their incomes are most secure. The unequal distribution of doctors and hospitals will plague this Nation until means are found to finance modern medical care for all of our people.

National health insurance is the most effective single way to meet the Nation's health needs. Because adequate treatment of many illnesses is expensive, and its cost cannot be anticipated by the individual, many persons are forced to go without needed medical attention. Children do not receive adequate medical and dental

care. Symptoms which should come early to the attention of a physician are often ignored until too late. The poor are not the only ones who cannot afford adequate medical care. The truth is that all except the rich may at some time be struck by illness which requires care and services they cannot afford. Countless families who are entirely self-supporting in every other respect cannot meet the expense of serious illness.

Although the individual or even small groups of individuals cannot successfully or economically plan to meet the cost of illness, large groups of people can do so. If the financial risk of illness is spread among all our people, no one person is overburdened. More important, if the cost is spread in this manner more persons can see their doctors, and will see them earlier. This goal can be reached only through a national medical insurance program, under which all people who are covered by an insurance fund are entitled to necessary medical, hospital, and related services.

A national health-insurance program is a logical extension of the present social-security system which is so firmly entrenched in our American democracy. Of the four basic risks to the security of working people and their families—unemployment, old age, death, and sickness—we have provided some insurance protection against three. Protection against the fourth—sickness—is the major missing element in our national social-insurance program.

An insurance plan is the American way of accomplishing our objective. It is consistent with our democratic principles. It is the only plan broad enough to meet the needs of all our people. It is—in the long run—far less costly and far more effective than public charity or a medical dole.

Under the program which I have proposed patients can and will be as free to select their own doctors as they are today. Doctors and hospitals can and will be free to participate or to reject participation. And a national health-insurance plan can and should provide for administration through State and local agencies, subject only to reasonable national standards.

Finally, I should like to repeat to the Congress my earlier recommendation that the people of America be protected against loss of earnings due to illness or disability not connected with their work. Protection against temporary disability is already provided by two States and is being considered in others. Comprehensive disability insurance should exist throughout the Nation. It can and should be a part of our social insurance system.

The total health program which I have proposed is crucial to our national welfare. The heart of that program is national health insurance. Until it is a part of our national fabric, we shall be wasting our most precious national resource and shall be perpetuating unnecessary misery and human suffering.

I urge the Congress to give immediate attention to the development and enactment of national health and disability insurance programs.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *May 19, 1947.*

O

Please return to G.S.M.

North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering
of the
University of North Carolina
Raleigh

SCHOOL OF
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
RESEARCH EXTENSION
RESIDENT TEACHING

DEPARTMENT OF
RURAL SOCIOLOGY

RECEIVED
JUN 6 1947
Southern Regional Council

June 4, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to apologize for not having replied to your letter of May 14 sooner. I would like very much to write you an extended report of the development of the North Carolina Medical Care Program, but I have already promised to do so many things that it is impossible for me to prepare such a report at this time. Instead, I shall try to dictate a few paragraphs which may be of some help to you. In addition I am sending you, under separate cover, Dr. Poe's printed and revised report which I helped to prepare. I am also sending under separate cover other available copies of mimeographed materials which we prepared during the course of the development of the program.

I first entered the picture when the Broughton, or Poe, Commission was appointed. I was selected as Secretary of the Rural Health Committee and Chairman of the Subcommittee on Statistical Studies. I worked very closely with Dr. Poe and with Mr. Tom Pearsall, Chairman of the Rural Health Committee. I wrote the Rural Health Committee Report for the Poe Commission and Dr. Poe used the rural report for his general report.

In my work as Chairman of The Statistical Studies Subcommittee, I directed the compilation of background social economic data regarding to health needs in the state. We issued a publication of a graphic and statistical nature entitled , "Medical Care Services in North Carolina" - Progress Report RS-4, of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station. It is now out of print, but we have included much of the data in Dr. Poe's revised and printed report which I am sending you.

I might say that our compilation of graphic and statistical data attracted a lot more attention than I expected it to. I attribute this to the fact that the data were needed by an active organization which had a specific objective -- the Poe Commission on Hospital and Medical Care. The members of the Legislature used it as a background for their preparation of legislation.

Now, I should like to summarize briefly some of the things which account for North Carolina's apparent success in the development of its program. In the first place, I might say that, as Dr. Poe's report shows, this movement got under way under the leadership of several prominent ex-presidents of our State Medical Society. This illustrates, I believe, the importance of bringing along, if possible, the influence of the Medical Society. In many states this will not be possible; however, it does show that the leadership of physicians is important and it shows also that physicians have a great opportunity as well as a responsibility for taking the lead in movements to provide more adequate hospital and medical care for the people.

Another factor in the success of the North Carolina program is the fact that the Poe Commission included influential, wealthy, and strategically located people from all sections of the state. Many of these people were noted for their liberal and progressive attitudes, although some were definitely not in this category.

After the Poe Commission had completed its work, there was formed, as you know, a Good Health Association, which worked independently of any official governmental agency. The Good Health Association was instrumental in capturing the interest of people who had money and influence. For instance, Kay Kyser, a native North Carolinian, became interested in the program and through his efforts and contributions the Good Health Campaign, which included the objectives of the Poe Commission, was put on and reached nearly everybody in the state through the radio, the press, and other channels of publicity. Just before and during the recent session of the legislature, the public was bombarded with radio shorts, newspaper articles and declamation contests so that the legislature had little choice but to pass the program. The main objections came from those who were opposed to building another medical school in the state.

I think some credit should be given to the fact that North Carolina has had for many years a good attitude among its politicians relative to health and social welfare. The University has played a great part in this, but many members

of our legislature were fundamentally in favor of the objectives of the health program even before public pressure was built up.

Unfortunately, the North Carolina program does not go far enough. It does not provide, for instance, an adequate means of organizing, distributing and financing medical care services for everyone on a universal insurance basis. When our incomes go back to normal, we will still find that a lot of our low and middle income people will not be able to buy all the medical care and hospital service that they need. Many people in the state have been made conscious of this problem and we are going to keep hammering on it until a more rational and effective solution is worked out.

North Carolina's hospital and clinic plan is approaching completion. My only fear is that the rural clinic and the small hospital are going to be neglected. There are, of course, many arguments against the small hospital, but at the same time, I think that they have a place if properly integrated with the larger regional hospital and with the medical teaching centers.

You can probably get other information on the North Carolina program by writing the Good Health Association at Durham, North Carolina and the North Carolina Medical Care Commission at Raleigh.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

C Horace Hamilton

C. Horace Hamilton, Head
Department of Rural Sociology

CHH:mby

May 14, 1947

Dr. C. Horace Hamilton
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Hamilton:

It occurred to me the other day that the Southern Regional Council ought, promptly, to get before its membership in the South an article on what North Carolina did about public health. I don't know whether it should be a simple article of six or seven double-spaced pages, to be printed in some early issue of our little magazine New South (circulation about 5,000), or whether it should be a longer thing made into one of our quarterly publications, or even into a special pamphlet. I am inclined to think the need is most urgent for the brief article.

Our Associate Director here, Dr. Harold L. Trigg, tells me that you are exactly the right person to write whatever is needed on that subject. May I presume on our common association in a Southern cause and ask whether you would be good enough to take the time to fit something together for us?

My idea would be to go as quickly as possible through the need for what North Carolina did, on the grounds that people in the other Southern states will have some idea of their own sore needs. Then, more and most should go onto the devices by which the group who pushed that thing through in North Carolina reached opinion and officialdom in the state. I, myself, saw your posters on the highway billboards. I was in Clarence Poe's office a time or two and got a little of the flavor of his self-sacrificing effort for it. We are, as you know, no lobbying outfit but I think we can legitimately be interested in the experience of the North Carolina group in touching the nerve-ends of the people.

Clear Copy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

If, for this reason or that, writing an article seems so big an undertaking that it ought to be postponed, would you sit down and dictate to your secretary a letter to the Council, simply telling us straight along how the job was done? That is really the sort of article we want.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Newbold, with the request that he join us in urging you to write something that will get the story out to the rest of the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

Eldeck

May 14, 1947

Dr. N. C. Newbold
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Newbold:

From the attached you will see what I am after.

If you agree, could you take some early opportunity to talk with Dr. Hamilton and try to get the article out of him?

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. Public Health Service
Division of Hospital Facilities

July 14, 1947

State Agencies Officially or Tentatively
Designated to Administer Hospital Survey and Planning Programs

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
Alabama	State Board of Health Montgomery, Alabama	Dr. D. G. Gill State Health Officer
Alaska	Territorial Department of Health Juneau, Alaska	Dr. C. Earl Albrecht Commissioner
Arizona	State Department of Health Phoenix, Arizona	Dr. G. F. Manning Superintendent
Arkansas	State Board of Health Little Rock, Arkansas	Dr. T. T. Ross State Health Officer
California	State Department of Public Health San Francisco, California	Dr. Wilton L. Halverson Director
Colorado	State Division of Public Health Denver, Colorado	Dr. R. L. Cleere Secretary
Connecticut	State Department of Health Hartford, Connecticut	Dr. Stanley H. Osborn Commissioner
Delaware	State Board of Health Dover, Delaware	Dr. Edwin Cameron Executive Secretary
District of Columbia	D. C. Health Department Washington, D.C.	Dr. George C. Ruhland District Health Officer
Florida	Florida State Improvement Commission Tallahassee, Florida	Mr. C. H. Overman Director
Georgia	State Board of Public Health Atlanta, Georgia	Dr. T. F. Abercrombie Director
Hawaii	Territorial Board of Health Honolulu, Hawaii	Dr. C. L. Wilbar, Jr. President
Idaho	State Department of Public Health Boise, Idaho	Mr. L. J. Peterson Acting Administrative Director

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
Illinois	State Department of Public Health Springfield, Illinois	Dr. Roland R. Cross Director
Indiana	State Board of Health Indianapolis, Indiana	Dr. Lee E. Burney Commissioner
Iowa	State Department of Health Des Moines, Iowa	Dr. Walter L. Bierring Commissioner
Kansas	State Board of Health Topeka, Kansas	Dr. F. C. Beelman Secretary and Executive Officer
Kentucky	State Department of Health Louisville, Kentucky	Dr. P. E. Blackerby Commissioner
Louisiana	Health & Hospital Division Office of the Governor Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Mr. Charles Mitchell Director
Maine	State Bureau of Health State Department of Health and Welfare Augusta, Maine	Dr. Leverett D. Bristol Commissioner
Maryland	Maryland State Health Department Baltimore, Maryland	Dr. Robert H. Riley Director
Massachusetts	State Department of Public Health Boston, Massachusetts	Dr. Vlado A. Getting Commissioner
Michigan	State Administrative Board Lansing, Michigan	Mr. Eugene A. Gump Secretary
Minnesota	State Department of Health St. Paul, Minnesota	Dr. A. J. Chesley Secretary and Executive Officer
Mississippi	Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care Jackson, Mississippi	Dr. D. V. Galloway Executive Director
Missouri	Division of Public Health Department of Public Health and Welfare Jefferson City, Missouri	Dr. R. M. James Director

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
Montana	State Board of Health Helena, Montana	Dr. B. K. Kilbourne Executive Officer
Nebraska	State Department of Health Lincoln, Nebraska	Dr. W. S. Petty Director
Nevada	State Department of Health Carson City, Nevada	Dr. Fred S. Loe State Health Officer
New Hampshire	State Health Department Concord, New Hampshire	Dr. John Samuel Wheeler State Health Officer
New Jersey	State Department of Institutions and Agencies Trenton, New Jersey	Mr. Sanford Bates Commissioner
New Mexico	State Department of Public Health Santa Fe, New Mexico	Dr. James R. Scott Director
New York	New York Joint Hospital Survey and Planning Commission Albany, New York	Dr. Robert T. Lansdale Chairman
North Carolina	North Carolina Medical Care Commission Raleigh, North Carolina	Dr. John A. Ferrell Executive Secretary
North Dakota	State Department of Health Bismarck, North Dakota	Dr. Russell O. Saxvik Acting State Health Officer
Ohio	State Department of Health Columbus, Ohio	Dr. J. D. Porterfield Director
Oklahoma	State Health Department Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	Dr. Grady F. Mathews Commissioner

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
Oregon	State Board of Health Portland, Oregon	Dr. Harold M. Erickson State Health Officer
Pennsylvania	State Department of Welfare Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	Dr. Charlie R. Barber Secretary of Welfare
Puerto Rico	Insular Department of Health San Juan, Puerto Rico	Dr. Juan A. Pons Commissioner
Rhode Island	State Department of Health Providence, Rhode Island	Dr. Edward A. McLaughlin Director
South Carolina	State Health Department Columbia, South Carolina	Dr. Ben F. Wyman State Health Officer
South Dakota	State Board of Health Pierre, South Dakota	Dr. Gilbert Cottam Superintendent
Tennessee	State Department of Public Health Nashville, Tennessee	Dr. R. H. Hutcheson Commissioner
Texas	State Board of Hea[illegible]h Austin, Texas	Dr. George W. Cox State Health Officer
Utah	State Department of Health Salt Lake City, Utah	Dr. W. W. Bigelow Acting State Health Commissioner
Vermont	Vermont ~~State~~ Hospital Survey and Construction Commission Montpelier, Vermont	Mr. Charles W. Capron ~~Mr. Lawrence C. Campbell~~ ~~Chairman~~ Executive Secretary
Virginia	State Department of Health Richmond, Virginia	Dr. L. J. Roper Commissioner
Washington	State Department of Health Seattle, Washington	Dr. Arther L. Ringle Director
West Virginia	State Department of Health Charleston, West Virginia	Dr. N. H. Dyer Commissioner
Wisconsin	State Board of Health Madison, Wisconsin	Dr. Carl N. Neuport State Health Officer
Wyoming	State Board of Health Cheyenne, Wyoming	Dr. C. M. Anderson State Health Officer

Job No.
284

File No.
X 580
063

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

THE NORTH CAROLINA MEDICAL CARE COMMISSION

JAMES H. CLARK, CHAIRMAN
CLARENCE POE, VICE-CHAIRMAN
J. W. BEAN
PAUL B. BISSETTE
FRANKLIN J. BLYTHE
J. STREET BREWER, M.D.
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G. FRED HALE, D.D.S.

JOHN A. FERRELL, M.D.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. BOX 1880
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA
712 CAPITAL CLUB BUILDING

FRED C. HUBBARD, M.D.
B. EVERETT JORDAN
W. S. RANKIN, M.D.
CARL V. REYNOLDS, M.D.
MRS. DILLARD REYNOLDS
WILLIAM M. RICH
WILLIAM B. RODMAN
C. E. ROZZELLE
FLORA WAKEFIELD, R.N
ELLEN B. WINSTON

July 15, 1947

TO: LEADERS IN NORTH CAROLINA COUNTIES
WITHOUT HOSPITAL FACILITIES

Thirty-three North Carolina counties have no hospital facilities. All have highest priority rating for obtaining State and Federal funds toward the cost of hospital construction. The Medical Care Commission, in allocating State funds, has been liberal to these counties. Their share of the cost of approved hospital projects will range from a minimum of 16.7 per cent to a maximum of 29.9 per cent. The State's share for these counties will range from 50 per cent of the cost of hospitals or clinics in the poorest counties to 36.8 per cent in the wealthiest counties, the Federal share being 33-1/3 per cent.

The liberal option enjoyed by each of these counties for aid cannot be held open indefinitely. If one of these counties defaults, its claim for aid in the current year will go to an applicant having a lower priority. <u>However, each following year, the defaulting county will have another claim for aid without loss of priority rating.</u> Each year's allocation of Federal funds to the State will revert and be lost if not used within the prescribed time period.

Only a few of the 33 highest priority counties have organized hospital boards, planned a program for building facilities, independently, or jointly with one or more neighboring counties, and raised the necessary funds with which to support an application for aid to the Commission.

The Commission, desiring to be helpful, has prepared the enclosed Handbook, and sent it to a few citizens of your county who are believed to be interested in a hospital project and willing to work with you and other county leaders in studying your hospital needs, the financial implications, and how to organize and carry out a movement for a hospital.

It is hoped that every recipient of the Handbook will read it carefully and that the chairman of your Board of County Commissioners or another appropriate citizen who will have the names of those to whom the booklet has been sent will call the group together for a conference. Of course, others may be invited. If questions arise about which additional information is desired, they may be submitted to the Commission. Moreover, if it is considered advisable, a member of the Commission's staff may be invited to meet the group at a time and place to be agreed upon to discuss any or all phases of the local problems.

The Commission hopes this or some other plan will permit it to be helpful to the people of counties without hospitals in reaching a decision as to the course they should follow. The local authorities must share the cost of building a hospital and they will be responsible for its maintenance and operation. They should, therefore, take the initiative in planning a hospital program and the Commission should be advised how and when it can aid.

Very truly yours,

John A. Ferrell

John A. Ferrell

Enclosure:
Handbook

COMMITTEE FOR THE NATION'S HEALTH, INC.

1790 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

21

914 G PLACE N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Chairman
CHANNING FROTHINGHAM, M. D.

Chairman, Exec. Comm.
MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Executive Director
JOSEPH H. LOUCHHEIM

Legislative Memorandum

August 4, 1947

HEALTH LEGISLATION

80th Congress, First Session

Review and Summary

The 80th Congress adjourned for the summer on Saturday, July 26th without having enacted a single piece of health legislation, major or minor, that would immediately help to make health and medical care more readily accessible to the American people.

Early in the session, Republican Senators Taft, Ball, Smith and Donnell introduced a revised "National Health Act", S.545 - a bill providing grants to the states for purposes of giving medical assistance to persons of "low income". Immediately following a second special health message to the Congress by the President of the United States, Democratic Senators Wagner, Murray, Taylor, Pepper, McGrath and Chavez introduced the comprehensive health bill S.1320 entitled, "National Health Insurance and Public Health Act of 1947". Companion bills to S.1320 were introduced in the house by Congressman Dingell (H.R.3548) and Congressman Celler (H.R.3579).

These measures were discussed for sixteen days in open hearings before a Senate Sub-Committee. Meanwhile, several measures, more limited in scope, designed to aid particular segments of the population or to meet particular health needs were introduced by various Republican and Democratic members of Congress.

HEARING ON NATIONAL HEALTH BILLS

Hearings on Major Bills. Hearings on S.545 and S.1320 ran through the last week of the session and were adjourned for the summer, presumably to be reopened in January, 1948. It is not expected that there will be any report from the Sub-Committee during the interim period.

The proceedings and line of questioning followed in these hearings, particularly by Senator Donnell, indicated that the majority members were not so much interested in having the views of the people as the basis of enacting legislation as they were in trying to prove that there is no real demand for comprehensive legislation and in attempting again to discredit the representatives and organizations who appeared in favor of national health insurance. Senator Donnell sought to buttress his attack on witnesses by introducing into the hearing record reports of the House Investigating Committees including one in which it was alleged that federal agencies had been instrumental in trying "to mobilize pressure groups in behalf of a national program for what certain witnesses and authors of propaganda refer to as 'socialized medicine'". In these efforts, Senator Donnell was assisted by his "consultant" lobbyist, Marjorie Shearon, who had been officially discharged from the staff of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Hearing Schedule Altered. Of particular interest was the trend of events and the nature of support given the two measures during the course of these hearings. The original hearing schedule, prepared for the majority members by Marjorie Shearon, would have given nine-tenths of the time to proponents of the Taft proposal and only a few hours to the proponents of National Health Insurance. A barrage of requests coming from the many organizations that wished to be heard on both measures was responded to after Marjorie Shearon had been released from responsibility for scheduling the hearings. A more equitable schedule of witnesses was finally agreed to by the members of the Sub-Committee.

Taft Bill Support Nominal. It was significant that such support as there was for the Taft proposal came primarily from the American Medical Association, some of its constituent medical societies, the medical society controlled voluntary plans, the hospital associations and a few insurance companies. There was not a single representative of the people who would foot the taxes or receive the services - not even a representative of the business interests of this country - that appeared in favor of the Taft proposal. Furthermore, the so-called proponents of the pro-

posal criticized the specific provisions and took exception to S.545's very statement of purpose, namely, that "It is the policy of the United States . . . to make available medical, hospital, dental and public health services to every individual regardless of race or economic status." Significantly, the one area of agreement among the nominal supporters of the bill was in support of the provisions for a separate federal health agency and for the kind of state autonomy which, under the terms of the bill would mean virtual domination by the AMA and its constituent state medical societies.

Senator Taft's own position on the administrative provisions was somewhat weakened by the report of another Senate Committee on the Fulbright-Taft Bill S.140, in which it was recommended that there be a combined Department of Health, Education and Public Welfare and that the law should not require that the administrator of the health activities be a physician.

Health Insurance as Opposed to the Taft Bill. The Taft proposal was vigorously denounced by representatives of labor, consumer, church, farm, cooperative, veteran, minority and other citizen groups and the provisions of the bill were severely criticized by many outstanding health, medical and welfare authorities. The two principal points of attack made on S.545 were against the charity principle and the principle of monopolistic control. All were agreed that the bill, if enacted, would not constitute a truly national health program. Witnesses representing all of the above mentioned groups endorsed the underlying principles of a real national health program and with few exceptions urged the adoption of S.1320.

Although it became evident during the course of these hearings and from statements issued by members of Congress that the majority did not intend to act favorably on either of these measures, it did appear as if there was some intent on the part of Congress to lay the ground work for enactment of "less controversial" health measures by or before 1948.

OTHER HEALTH AND MEDICAL BILLS

School Health Services. Earnest consideration was given by a number of members of Congress to a proposal affecting the health of some thirty million school children - a proposal involving a comparatively modest appropriation. School Health Services Bills (H.R. 1980 and S.1290) were introduced by Congressman Evan Howell in February and in the Senate on May 15th by Republican Senators Saltonstall, Smith, Ives, Lodge, Baldwin and Democratic Senator Fulbright.

These bills would provide grants-in-aid to the states for purposes of developing school health programs covering prevention, diagnosis and treatment of physical and mental defects found in school children. The bills provide for allotting a portion of the funds to the states on an equal matching basis, taking into account the number of eligible children within the states, and for allotting an unmatched portion on the basis of financial need within the states.

Hearings on the House measure, carrying with it an authorized appropriation of twelve million the first year and eighteen million the second year, were held by a special subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on July 16th. Testimony from the many witnesses that appeared in support of this proposal pointed to the costly area of neglect that exists in this field.

Dr. Rex Atwater of the American Public Health Association made the statement that, to date, it has been almost impossible to point to any really good example of adequate school health service programs and that while "important changes have taken place in other fields of public health, exceedingly little improvement has been registered in the area of school medical service." A representative of the National Child Labor Committee and the Child Welfare League of America said, "large numbers of school children now leave school carrying their uncorrected health defects with them to handicap them as workers and to make many of them expensive public charges at some later date." Dr. George J. Hecht, publisher of PARENT'S MAGAZINE and head of the national committee that is spearheading the support for this legislation, pointed to the huge appropriations made annually to safeguard the health of pigs and cattle and asked, "are we going to do less for the health of our school children?"

Dental Health. The Dental Research Bill S.176 which has the bi-partisan sponsorship of Senators Murray, Pepper, Taylor, Taft, Aiken and Morse, was reported favorably out of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare several weeks ago, but objected to on the floor of the Senate right up until two days before adjournment. Although the Senate finally passed the measure, no action was taken by the House.

The Dental Research Bill was supported during the 79th Congress by the American Dental Association and was endorsed again this year by the Association during the hearings on the Taft "Health" bill.

A bill to promote the control and treatment of dental services S.178 (which incidentally did not have Taft sponsorship), was given no favorable consideration this year by either the Senate or the House.

Maternal and Child Health. A modified Maternal and Child Health Bill, S.1714, was introduced on July 24th by Senators Wagner, Pepper, Murray, Taylor and Chavez. This bill carries with it an authorization for an appropriation that is considerably less than proposed in the original bill (S.1318) of the 79th Congress. It proposes, as did the original bill, to offer grants-in-aid to the states for purposes of providing extended programs of maternal and child health services and for services to crippled children.

A Science Foundation Bill, drastically altered from the original version as introduced in the 79th Congress, was finally agreed to by both Houses of Congress just before the close of the session. It is observed that this bill of which Senator Taft has said in effect, "It is this or none," carries with it the principle of spending huge sums of public money largely through private rather than public institutions and the principle of vesting control of these funds in a body and with officials likely to represent proprietary rather than the general public interest.

The administrative provisions of this measure are somewhat analagous to those in the Taft "Health" Bill. Senator Morse, who with others, worked for the enactment of a more soundly conceived Science Foundation Bill, decried what he termed to be "the monopolistic control of scientific research" under the terms of the Act. Another important criticism of the measure is that it does not fully assure coordination between the medical research to be carried on under the newly established Science Foundation and the research for which Congress now appropriates money to be carried on within the National Institute of Health.

SOCIAL SECURITY MEASURES

Temporary Disability Benefits are proposed in S.1734, a bill introduced by Senators Murray and Wagner on July 25th. (The companion House Bill is H.R.4390 introduced by Congressman Dingell). This bill would amend the Social Security Act by extending Unemployment Insurance to include about ten million jobs currently excluded from Social Security coverage (agricultural labor, domestic service, work in small firms and non-profit institutions) and would provide cash benefits to compensate for loss of earnings due to sickness or temporary disability. Temporary disability benefits were recommended by the President in his two special health messages to Congress as a necessary concomitant to national health insurance since the latter would provide payment for actual care received but not coverage for the wage losses due to sickness. (Provision was made for such benefits in the original W-M-D bills). To date, only two of the forty-eight states have enacted legislation providing cash disability benefits - Rhode Island and California.

Permanent Disability Insurance, insurance against loss of earnings resulting from disability lasting six months or longer, is proposed in S.1679 introduced on July 21st by Senators Murray, Wagner and McGrath. (A companion bill, H.R. 4303, was introduced in the House by Congressman Dingell).

A Social Security Study, to be made by the Senate Finance Committee in cooperation with an Advisory Council appointed by the Committee was authorized through the passage of S. Res. 141. The resolution refers specifically to an "investigation of Old Age and Survivors Insurance and all other aspects of the existing Social Security program..." Presumably, consideration will be given to medical care for the needy and to temporary and permanent disability coverage. It is not known, however, whether it is the intention of the Committee to give full consideration to the gaps in our present social security system including the need for comprehensive health insurance as recommended in the past by the Social Security Board. However, the nature of the study and its results will, no doubt, be influenced by the recommendations of the Advisory Council. This council may be appointed during the summer months and it is hoped that the Committee, and especially its chairman, Senator Millikin, will appoint persons to the Advisory Council who truly represent the wishes and views of the American people.

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SUMMARY OF TAFT-SMITH-BALL-DONNELL BILL (S.545)

Grants-in-Aid to States

Before receiving federal aid, each state must survey its needs and then propose a plan by which, within five years, "hospital services and surgical services and medical services" will be made available "to those families and individuals having insufficient income to pay the whole cost of such."

An appropriation of $3,000,000 is authorized for medical surveys and $1,000,000 for dental surveys. Each state must contribute 2/3 of the expenditure involved in the surveys.

For Medical Services

$200,000,000 is appropriated annually for five years as Federal grants to states to pay doctors and hospitals for the care of needy persons. It is left to the decision of the State whether services are to include medical care in the home and in physicians' offices as well as surgical and hospital care.

This sum would be divided among states in proportion to the population of each State, and in inverse relation to the per capita wealth of the State within specified limits. Each State must contribute an amount "at least equal to the amount contributed for similar purposes in 1946 and at least equal to the Federal aid."

For Dental Services

$8,000,000 for the first year increasing to $20,000,000 for the fifth year is appropriated as Federal grants to states to pay for dental examinations of all children in public and non-public schools, and dental care for children of needy families and "other individuals unable to pay the whole cost for such care."

This sum would be divided among states in the same manner as the appropriation for medical services. Each State must contribute an amount "at least equal to the Federal aid."

Aid to Voluntary Insurance Plans

Voluntary health, medical or hospital insurance funds, or other funds, operated not for profit, may receive payments ("in the nature of premiums or partial premiums or reimbursement of expenses or otherwise") for rendering service to persons eligible to receive assistance under the Federal aid program.

Federal employees are given permission to authorize the Government of the United States to deduct from their salaries fixed sums or percentages to pay for membership in voluntary non-profit health insurance funds.

Eligibility

Eligibility of persons entitled to receive assistance under the programs would be determined by each State or by its counties or localities. Investigation of individuals and families would be necessary to determine eligibility to receive federal-state aid, or to have all or part of the costs under voluntary insurance plans paid by federal-state funds.

Other Services

Dental Research

An appropriation of $2,000,000 is authorized for the establishment of a National Institute of Dental Research.

Cancer Control

An appropriation of $10,000,000 is authorized for control of cancer. This money is not intended for research or for treatment, but for diagnostic clinics to be set up in the states.

Administration

Federal

A new independent Federal Agency, the "National Health Agency" is established under an administrator who must be a physician.

Transferred to this new Agency would be the following existing Government agencies and their functions:

The Public Health Service, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, the Food and Drug Administration, the health functions of the Children's Bureau and the Division of Health Studies of the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Administration. Other transfers might be made later, on the recommendations of the Bureau of the Budget.

Within the new Agency the Bill specifies that there shall be at least seven constituent units: (1) the Administrator's Office: (2) the Public Health Service: (3) the Office of Medical and Hospital Care Services: (4) the Office of Dental Care Services: (5) the Office of Maternal and Child Health: (6) the Office of Health Statistics: (7) the Food and Drug Administration.

The director of the Office of Medical and Hospital Care Services, a physician who has had at least five years of active medical practice, is to administer the medical services grants-in-aid program in consultation with a Council. Five of the eight appointed members of the council must be professionally concerned with medical or hospital care, at least four must be physicians.

The director of the Office of Dental Care Services, under a doctor of dental surgery who has had at least ten years of active dental practice, is to administer the dental services grants-in-aid program in consultation with a Dental Council. The six appointed members of the Council shall all be "outstanding in fields pertaining to dental health" and at least four must be doctors of dental surgery.

State

Each State is responsible for the administration of the funds received as grants-in-aid. By 1949 the administrative agency must be the State Health Agency.

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Legislative Letter No. 3 February 24, 1947

TAFT "HEALTH" BILL (S.545)

No Substitute for National Health Insurance

Provides Limited Aid To States for Medical Care of "Needy"

On February 10th, Senator Taft in association with Senators Ball (R.Minn.), Smith (R. N.J.), and Donnell (R.Mo.) introduced S. 545, a Bill that in principle, intent and major provisions resembles the Taft-Smith-Ball Bill (S.2143) of 1946. (See enclosed summary) Following are our comments:

LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NEW AND OLD BILLS

What differences there are make this bill worse than last year's. In the 1947 version, the administrative provisions move further in the direction of proprietary control and toward the further separation of important health programs, which, in the national interest, should be more closely coordinated.

MEDICAL CHARITY VS. HEALTH INSURANCE

Last year the COMMITTEE FOR THE NATION'S HEALTH declared, and we repeat now, that a bill based on the principle of medical charity is no substitute for national health insurance. The Taft Bill is supposed to give medical care to the "needy". But the fact is that the people who need a way of meeting the unexpected costs of medical care are the vast majority of self-supporting Americans, not the small fraction of the population the Taft Bill would cover.

IT IS STILL POOR MAN'S MEDICINE

In order to receive the benefits of this Bill, each person would have to establish his inability to pay. He would have to be classified according to his income, or be subjected to some kind of means test, or take a Pauper's Oath, according as might be determined by each State or local government. Investigators would probably have to probe into all the family resources and relations. School children in order to obtain the benefits would have to be classified according to the financial status of their families.

NOT ENOUGH MONEY

In the Taft Bill $200,000,000 a year in Federal Funds is Authorized to aid the States, but the matching provisions for the States are too indefinite to tell how much the several States would have to put up, beyond what they are already spending for medical care. On the most liberal estimate, less than 10% of the population could be provided for. Yet even in the unusually prosperous year of 1945, over 28 million Americans (20%) had family incomes of less than $1000 a year. According to an A.M.A. estimate of 1940, families with incomes under $3000 a year often need assistance in meeting the costs of medical care. In 1945 over 97 million Americans had family incomes under $3000.

SCHOOL HEALTH EXAMINATIONS

If the "periodic physical examinations" required for over 20 million children in elementary and high schools are adequate, they would be costly. If they are cursory, they would often be worthless. In any event, examinations would be of small use unless treatment for discovered diseases and defects were obtained. This Bill would place the label of charity on every child who obtained treatment under it.

DENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

The Bill proposes a vast program of State dental care, for which the money provided, or likely to be provided, is wholly inadequate.

AID TO VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE PLANS IS ILLUSORY

The Bill would permit the States to pay "all or part of the premiums" of needy persons in voluntary plans. But "medically needy" persons cannot be insured as such, unless an income limit is set, below which everyone is presumed to be eligible for this category. However, an income limit that would cover those unable to pay all or a part of the costs of care would include the large majority of the population. The voluntary plans could not enroll all these persons on these terms, even if the Bill provided enough money to pay for them. Voluntary plans could also be paid for the care of "needy persons" on a "reimbursement basis". Every case would then have to be investigated as to need. The plans would have little to gain by undertaking any large volume of such service and there is too little money in this Bill to pay for much of it.

PRIVATE CONTROL

This Bill would place the direction of nearly all Federally supported health and medical services (except Army, Navy, and Veterans' services) in a single agency under the control of organized medicine.

CREATES CLEAVAGE BETWEEN PREVENTIVE AND CURATIVE SERVICES

It may be claimed that the Bill proposes to coordinate the various health functions of Government. Actually, by placing the direction of medical, dental and public health services under different heads in separate offices of the agency, it creates new cleavages between medical care and dental care and between preventive and curative services.

NO CONSUMER REPRESENTATION

The National Advisory Councils would be dominated by professional people and would not be required to include representatives of the public (labor, business, agriculture), as the consumers of health services.

NO STANDARDS

Private voluntary organizations, including prepayment plans could receive public funds under this bill without provision for any safeguards protecting professional or financial standards.

BUREAUCRACY AT ITS WORST

Heavy administrative costs and obnoxious red tape would be involved in the investigations necessary under S.545 to determine the "need" of individuals and families. Unless there is careful investigation, however, the way is open for abuses, favoritism, and demands far exceeding the funds available.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) The Taft Bill offers too much charity to be acceptable and too little money to be serviceable to many Americans.
(2) It contains numerous objectionable administrative provisions.
Therefore, we oppose this Bill in its present form. A Bill based on the principle of medical charity cannot be a substitute for national health insurance, needed by at least a hundred million Americans. This Bill is a sop, not a solution.

THE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE ACT, 1947

Summary of Provisions

The National Health Insurance and Public Health Bill (S.) provides like its predecessor (S. 1606 of 1945-46), for a comprehensive national health program through a nation-wide system of prepaid personal health service benefits and through Federal grants to states for expanded health services. All the essential principles of national health insurance are maintained in the new bill.

MAIN CHANGES FROM THE 1945-46 BILL

Name of Bill

The 1947 Bill is entitled the NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE AND PUBLIC HEALTH ACT.

Decentralization of Administration

The 1947 Bill establishes a system of local administration under state-wide plans. It retains a provision for national funds (insurance and general revenue) and national standards. For details see below.
Each state, upon agreeing to observe minimum national standards, is guaranteed the right to administer the system for its own population, would be allocated a definite amount of money each year from the national health insurance fund. The state in turn would allocate the money to each local area. The principles for the allocations are stated in the law. Thus each state and locality would be assured a certain sum, and the general size of the amount (except for supplementary amounts needed in emergencies) would not be dependent upon the discretion of federal officers.

Administration By A Board Instead of By A Single Federal Officer

The administration would be under a Board of five persons, established as part of the Federal Security Agency. All members would be on full-time salary. Three of the Board would be appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate (at least one of these must be a physician); the other two would be ex officio, i.e., the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service and the Commissioner for Social Security.

Explicit Recognition of Voluntary Plans That Provide Services

This principle was recognized in the 1945-46 Bill. In the 1947 Bill the policy is stated fully and definitely.

Persons Covered

The new bill covers some groups not provided for in 1945-46, e.g., civilian federal employees and their dependents. State and local governments may by voluntary action cover their employees and their dependents. Needy persons can be provided for, as in the 1945-46 Bill, through action by state and local governments paying premiums for these persons into the health insurance fund.

Other Changes

The new bill makes special provisions for rural areas; expands and makes more explicit the guarantees of professional rights to doctors, dentists, and hospitals;

removes the ceilings on the per diem payments to hospitals; and makes numerous additional changes based on criticisms and suggestions expressed at the hearings on the 1945-46 bill.

HEALTH INSURANCE PROVISIONS

What Services Will Be Available?

All needed preventive, diagnostic, and curative services by a family physician of the patient's choice; services of specialists when required; hospital care; laboratory and X-ray services; unusually expensive medicines; special appliances and eyeglasses. Dental, home nursing and auxiliary services may be limited in extent, if personnel, facilities or funds are inadequate; but if dental services have to be limited, priority must be given to services for children.

Who Are Eligible For Services?

All employed and self-employed persons. This includes all employees in industry, commerce, agriculture, and domestic service; employees of non-profit institutions; farmers, business and professional men and women, and other persons in business for themselves. Recipients of old age or survivors benefits, or civil service pensions will be covered. The wives, children under eighteen (or over eighteen if disabled), disabled husbands, and dependent parents of all these insured persons are covered. Needy persons who are not insured through their own earnings will qualify if contributions are paid on their behalf by a public agency. The eligibility requirements are set very low, so that most people can qualify (for example, earnings of $150 in a year.)

Rights of The People and the Professions

Everyone has free choice of his doctor, hospital, group clinic, dentist, or nurse from among all the practitioners and organizations in the community, that wish to participate. All physicians, dentists, nurses, and all hospitals and clinics meeting minimum standards are guaranteed the right to participate but none is required to do so.

Quality of Service

Through the use of consultants, laboratory and other diagnostic services, professional advisory bodies and otherwise, provision is made for assuring high quality of services; aid would be made available for medical research and for the training of physicians, dentists and others.

How Financed?

Like the 1945-46 Bill, provision is made for the annual appropriation to the national health insurance fund of an amount equal to three percent of earnings (presumably to come from social insurance premiums to be levied one-half on employed persons, one-half on their employers). The three percent is calculated on earnings up to $3,600 a year. Additional sums are to be appropriated from general revenues to cover specified items of service (dental and home nursing) and any additional costs. The total may not exceed 3½ percent of earnings in the first three years or 4 percent in the next three years. Congress would then review and, if necessary, revise the program and the financial provisions in light of experience. Present law, pre-

viding Federal grants to states for public assistance cases, is amended so that the states may use some of that money -- along with their own funds -- to pay insurance premiums for needy persons.

How Would Physicians and Hospitals Be Paid?

Physicians (general practitioners) will be paid according to methods (fee-for-service, salary, per capita basis, or combinations) chosen by a majority of the physicians in an area. Individual physicians or organized groups of physicians may be paid by methods other than that chosen by the majority of those in that area. The same applies to dentists. Specialists will be paid by the method they and the insurance officers agree upon. Hospitals would be paid full cost of service. The bill provides that all payments must be adequate in amount.

How Administered?

There would be a federal administrative board as stated above, but the administration of services and funds would fall mainly upon the states and localities. Through state surveys, local administrative areas would be defined for medical, dental and hospital services. In each area there would be a local administrative body which might be either (a) a local administrative committee which would be appointed by the State and which would in turn appoint its own executive officer, or (b) an administrative officer appointed by the State, with a local advisory committee. The local committees of either type must include both lay and professional representatives. National and state advisory councils are provided for, with similar representation, but all strictly professional matters come under wholly professional advisory bodies. Personal medical records must be kept confidential.

AID TO STATES FOR PUBLIC HEALTH PURPOSES

The Bill provides:

1. Federal grants-in-aid to states for expanded public health services.
2. Similar grants for expanded maternal and child health services, and services for crippled or otherwise handicapped children.
   The Federal government would pay between 50 and 75% of what a state spends for these two programs, with the largest percentage of Federal aid going to the poorest states.
3. For medical care of needy persons, through the insurance system, the states would be authorized to use Federal grants, as well as their own funds, to pay insurance premiums for those who are eligible for public assistance.
4. For increase in the amount of money, extension from five to ten years and improvement of the grant-in-aid formula under the Hospital Survey and Construction Act for the construction of needed hospitals, health centers and other facilities.

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HEARING HIGHLIGHTS

No. II - Second and Third Weeks

Report of Hearings on S.545 -- The Taft Bill

Hearing Schedule

The Sub-Committee has now concluded eight days of hearings in which proponents of S.545 were heard. Hearings will be resumed beginning June 25th and will run through July 11th. It is expected that during that time a few more proponents of S.545 will be heard and that the remainder will be given to hearing testimony of those who oppose the Taft Bill and support National Health Insurance.

Hearings

"A Debatable Doctrine." -- The Taft Bill, S.545, states that it is the policy of The United States "to make available medical, dental and public hospital services to every individual regardless of race or economic status." Nominal proponents of the measure frankly do not believe that protecting the health of all citizens is a responsibility of Government. Reverend Alphonse Schwitalla representing the Catholic Hospital Association questioned whether "it is really the policy of the United States to do this", while the President of the California Medical Association called the policy statement a "debatable doctrine," which does not represent "a sound policy".

Health Protection For Whom? -- Some members of the medical profession testifying in favor of the Taft Bill principle of limiting aid to those who are "needy" fear that too many people might receive care if the determination of need is not carefully controlled. The Massachusetts Medical Society pointed out, "that in certain states the medical profession might not have an authoritative voice" and that, "the term 'low income'" might be so interpreted as to make "essentially the entire population eligible for benefits". This fear on their part is understandable in view of the fact that at their annual meeting held a few weeks ago they were told by Dr. McKittrick of the National Physicians Committee that 84% of the people in their state cannot afford serious sickness.

New Jersey Medics Claim No Need for Benefits -- Again there is no real agreement among the medical societies as to where Federal aid is needed or wanted. The medical representatives of Senator Smith's own state testified that there is no need for the medical and hospital benefits of S.545 in the State of New Jersey. This medical society claims to have made its own survey of medical need in 1939 and to have found, in a population of 4,000,000 people, only four "legitimate" cases demonstrating lack of available medical care. So, concludes the New Jersey Medical Society, it might be "desirable to modify the present philosophy" of S.545 and to limit the surveys and benefits to "ten or eleven states of the South and Southwest."

Doctors and Hospitals Ask To Be Bailed Out -- The "burdensome deficits" under which voluntary hospitals normally operate were cited by both the American Hospital Association and Protestant Hospital Associations as the basis for their seeking Federal aid. These associations look to the Taft Bill for funds with which to maintain their hospitals.

According to Associated Medical Care Plans, an organization representing medical society plans, the organized profession welcomes the proposed expenditures of public funds "through established plans such as are represented by AMCP". The statement was made "in behalf of the organized voluntary non-profit plans" but the organization does not include any of the 175 plans sponsored by industries, unions, cooperatives and other consumer groups.

Dental Provisions Unnecessary And Inadequate -- Representatives of the American Dental Association, under-cross examination by Senator Murray, admitted that the appropriation for dental care under S.545 is not sufficient to provide adequate care for children; it was barely sufficient to give decent examinations. A representative favored the elimination of the dental research provisions of S.545 and the enactment of the Dental Research Bill, S.176, introduced by Senators Murray, Pepper, Taft, Aiken and Moss.

"Deteriorating Quality of Care"? -- Horror stories about the "deteriorating quality of care" under compulsory health insurance systems abroad continue to be recited by foes of national health insurance. In answer to the attack made on the New Zealand health program, Senator Murray entered into the record a timely letter from a practicing physician in New Zealand stating that under their compulsory health insurance program the infant mortality rate, once higher than any country in the world, is now lower than that of the United States and even lower than the rate for the State with the best record in this country. Of New Zealand's national health program, the physician said, "Its advantages so far outweigh its disadvantages that few people would now suggest its repeal."

The People Not Represented -- While the Sub-Committee was hearing favorable testimony on S.545 from medical society representatives invited from the State of California, counter statements were sharply interjected. The California State Federation of Labor stated that, "Organized Labor in California is for compulsory health insurance and opposed to charity medical care for self-supporting people". The State Federation of Labor protested that, "the only Californians invited were representatives of the California Medical Association (CMA), the California Physicians Service (CPS) and an Assemblyman sponsor of medical society bills".

Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, 14th District of California, described the California witnesses as "spokesmen who speak not for the people of my State but for those groups and those forces that over the years have persisted in blocking the enactment of a real health program in the State of California and who now seek to defeat a national health insurance program by giving support to a 'substitute' charity measure".

Both statements referred to the CMA-CPS State Bill sponsored by Assemblyman Geddes and recently voted favorably upon by his Committee. Said the State AFL. "The California Medical Association believes in compulsory medical care, but only when they do the compelling." The Bill would allow employers to enroll employees in the CPS without seeking the consent of the workers and would allow use of workers' money without their consent.

WITNESSES

Name	Organization	Date
John H. Hayes	American Hospital Association	Wednesday, May 28
Father A. M. Schwitalla	Catholic Hospital Association	Wednesday, May 28
John G. Martin	Protestant Hospital Association	Wednesday, May 28
Dr. L. H. Schriver	Associated Medical Care Plans	Wednesday, May 28
Dr. Sterling V. Mead	American Dental Association	Thursday, May 29
Dr. Carl O. Flagstad	American Dental Association	Thursday May 29
Dr. E. S. Bagnall	Massachusetts State Medical Society	Wednesday, June 4
Dr. Charles G. Hayden	Massachusetts Hospital Service, Inc.	Wednesday, June 4
Hon. Ernest R. Geddes	Assemblyman, State of California	Wednesday, June 4
Dr. Samuel Alexander	New Jersey State Medical Society	Thursday, June 5
Dr. Frederic J. Quigley	New Jersey State Medical Society	Thursday, June 5
Dr. Norman M. Scott	Medical Service Admin. of New Jersey	Thursday June 5
Dr. Lowell S. Goin	California Physicians Service	Thursday, June 5
Dr. McGedrick Winslow	New York Medical Society	Thursday, June 5
Dr. Bradford Murphey	United Public Health League	Friday, June 6
Dr. E. F. Sladek	Michigan State Medical Society	Friday, June 6
Dr. J. P. Sanders	Louisiana State Medical Society	Friday, June 6
Dr. Guy R. Jones	Louisiana State Medical Society	Friday, June 6
Dr. W. P. D. Tilly	Louisiana State Medical Society	Friday, June 6

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HEARING HIGHLIGHTS

No. III Fourth and Fifth Weeks

(June 25, 26, 27, - July 2, 3rd)

This period wound up with testimony from proponents of S.545 and the Health Subcommittee heard the first all out attack on the Taft Bill which was buttressed by statements supporting the National Health Insurance and Public Health Act, S.1320.

WORKERS, FARMERS, VETERANS, AND CONSUMERS REJECT TAFT BILL

"We don't Want an AMA Bureaucracy," said Ed Weyler, representing the Kentucky Federation of Labor, "if the AMA behaves like the organized doctors down in Kentucky." Weyler's statement knocking the administrative provisions of the Taft Bill followed a recital of grueling experiences with bad medical care and negligence suffered by Kentucky coal miners at the hands of medical society and company controlled doctors. He told of how local unions had had to comb the State and adjacent territory to find one doctor who would dare to sign a contract with the union; of the coercion, threats and blackmail exercised by the county medical society in its efforts to get rid of a physician who defeated the medical society candidate in a union election. Mr. Weyler said that labor is not advocating that its own representatives run a national health program, but does insist that experienced public officials responsible to the interest of the general public rather than the medical profession, be in control.

William Galvin of the New York State Federation of Labor called the provision giving doctors complete control "a closed shop" provision and reminded the Subcommittee that Congress had just passed "a law against that sort of thing."

The New Jersey AFL representative said that "it is legitimate for doctors to be concerned that they receive adequate payment for the services that they perform....but they are moving outside their field when they attempt to dictate the manner in which patients shall pay their bills, and the manner in which tax funds collected from all the people shall be used to meet the bills of doctors who provide care to those who can't afford it."

The labor representatives emphasized their endorsement of S.1320 and underlined inparticular their belief that the National Health Insurance Act assures democratic control at the community as well as at the Federal level.

"We Don't Want Charity."

The charity aspects of the Taft Bill were vigorously protested by nearly all of the witnesses. Elizabeth Magee representing the National Consumers League said, "We want the legislation which would mitigate the need for charity and institute insurance against it."

A joint statement on behalf of the National Federation of Settlements and the National Association of Consumers stated that the Settlements "as far back as 1917... passed a resolution favoring compulsory health insurance as the only self-respecting way to protect the low income families."

The National Lawyer's Guild held that "while unquestionably those who are impoverished should be provided with medical care, this care should be provided as a part of a system of medical care available to all Americans."

"The dire need of the poor for health service will not be adequately met by the Taft Bill. Nor should they be subject to the humiliation of investigation nor the degradation of a needs test" said the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Rev. Alson Smith concluded with "The principle of the bill is contrary...to the American and Christian principle of providing health insurance".

National Grange Joins Protest

One of the largest and most important farm organizations in the country, the National Grange, spokesman for over 750,000 American farmers and their families joined in enunciating the principles underlining a positive health program and in protesting the provisions of the Taft proposal. Said the Grange, "We are very strong in our belief that control of plans or programs for the payment of medical care should be largely in the hands of consumers... We also favor as much local control and administration of voluntary or government health plans and programs." The resolutions adopted by the National

Grange at its last annual meeting in November 1946 included the recommendation for "a medical cost payment system which will enable all people to secure modern medical care without undue burden."

The Grange resolutions also held that "Means tests for those unable to meet the costs of adequate medical care should be avoided if at all possible, and instead a reasonable payment should be required of every individual or family in view of their income status and benefits received." The Grange objected to S.545's provision for administration and control by organized medicine. "We fear that if a doctor of medicine fills this position of administrator, his proprietory interests in the practice of medicine might conflict with the general welfare..This program is not concerned with the techniques for diagnosis, surgery, or therapy. We want to feel sure that the people who direct a health program are concerned with the public getting the most for its money."

National Farmer's Union representative, Mrs. Jerome Evanson, speaking for 200,000 organized farm families told the Committee that only a program of national health insurance can effectively help to bring more doctors and hospital services to the rural areas of America and provide "the democratic right and privilege of paying for these services." Rural needs, she said, "cannot be met by the humiliating charity offer in the Taft Bill or by the inadequate coverage and prohibitive fees of voluntary health plans."

American Veterans Committee, "A national organization of citizen veterans," stated that the new National Health Insurance Bill" represents an admirable redraft of S.1606 in line with responsible criticisms made last year. The emphasis on local administration, individual rights, and rural welfare in S.1320 deserves-and represents-our full support."

PROFESSIONAL APPRAISAL SHARPLY CRITICAL OF S. 545

Especially significant was testimony criticizing the Taft Bill from five important professional organizations whose members are recognized authorities in the fields of medicine, public health and public welfare.

Not in The Public Interest

According to the American Public Health Association, S.545 "does not meet the criterion of a national program for medical care...The new funds provided would be sufficient to care for only 5% of the population." The establishment of an independent health agency without cabinet status and separate from education and security "would not be for the best interests of the nation's health." The APHA urged that "The public interest.. receive more adequate representation" and stated that the provision giving administrative and judicial authority to the National Medical Care Council, a part time body, "is contrary to sound administrative practices."

The APHA warned that unless such part-time bodies were limited in their functions to advise the responsible administrator, "The administration of public funds will be controlled by persons who are not responsible to the public and whose main allegiance may be to organizations and interest they represent rather than to the public welfare."

"Unprecedented" Proposal

The American Public Welfare Association told the Health Subcommittee that the Taft so-called Health Bill is "essentially a welfare measure, and is therefore, a proposal to which we could bring a useful experience..On the basis of this experience we are obliged to conclude that S.545 lacks the necessary minimum provisions to protect either the taxpayer or the recipient...The Bill itself sets no standards and specifically prohibits the Federal Director from doing so. This is virtually unprecedented in Federal grant-in-aid programs."

Means Test More Costly Than Benefits

The Association of State and Territorial Health Officers said that from their own experience the means test "imposes and extremely costly administrative machinery upon the State Agency...We have determined, for example, that in the rendering of dental care to school children, the investigation by the medical social worker, in order to determine ability to pay, would impose a greater cost for each person served than the services rendered."

Speaking for people who actually "have had the responsibility for determining eligibility for various forms of assistance in many different kinds of programs", Joseph P. Anderson, Executive Secretary of the American Association of Social Workers said "the application of the policies and procedures to determine eligibility for assistance under this program (S.545) will be cumbersome, costly and demoralizing to the recipients."

Bad Medicine?

Dr. Ernst Boas representing the Physician's Forum, a national organization of physicians who are all members of the American Medical Association, called attention to the fact that the Taft Bill contains "no single provision, direct or indirect, to encourage the maintenance of a high quality of care." He pointed out that "There is no provision for preventive or laboratory services; no definition of hospital, surgical, or medical services, so that any of these may be greatly restricted in scope. There are no prescribed standards for the participating physicians or other medical personnel; no definition of the role of specialists, no standards for hospital." The statement of the Physicians Forum concluded by stating that S.1320 "places the resources of modern medicine at the disposal of all of the people of this country and permits the physician to develop his medical abilities to the greatest degree, and to place them at the service of his patients irrespective of their financial circumstances."

Medical Care for People

"The majority of the people desire access to medical care which the proponents of this Bill (S.545) confess is not available," said Dr. John Peters. Although Dr. Peters was representing the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, it was he who told the Subcommittee that "medical care is meant for patients, not doctors," and strongly urged the adoption of the National Health Insurance Bill as the program really designed to meet all "deficiencies in medical care that the proponents of S.545 admit."

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

A "Political Sop"

Leon Henderson, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Americans for Democratic Action characterized the Taft proposal as a "liberal mask for a reactionary poll" stemming from a philosophy which "has a special affinity for doles and bread lines." He said the proposal represents an attempt to "head off a real program," National Health Insurance. Former Congressman Andrew J. Biemiller, now political Director for the ADA added that S.545 is essentially "an expression of the present political and economic desires of the American Medical Association." Biemiller held that "no self-interest group, least of all the AMA, which has bitterly opposed the establishment of a real health program, should be vested with complete and final authority" that is proposed in S.545.

A "Radical and Socialistic Measure"

"The American Medical Association may advocate ill controlled socialized medicine financed from general tax funds, but the Progressive Citizens of America prefer a conservative insurance program, "said, Dr. Allen butler, spokesman for the PCA. An appropriation from tax funds of between five - ten billion dollars, instead of $200,000,000 would be needed he indicated to carry out the stated purpose of S.545 and to assure through supported medical care to all persons of "low income."

DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination against Negro physicians from exclusion from medical societies and exclusion from hospital staffs was cited by Dr. Montague Cobb representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Referring to the Taft Bill, Dr. Cobb said, the NAACP "could not have confidence in the equitable administration of a program which could be controlled by an organization with the record of the AMA in respect to the Negro. . . The anti-discrimination clauses in the bill would be meaningless because control would be in the hands of the States without provisions for enforcement, Federal or otherwise."

The International Workers Order asked "what would the no-discrimination clause mean to Negroes in Mississippi, South Carolina or Alabama.....if they have to depend on the State Government to carry it out?

SOME COMMERCIAL INTERESTS WANT S.545

It is a significant fact that with one exception the Taft Bill has not received public endorsement by any representatives of business or industry. The Insurance Economics Society of America endorsed the principles of the Taft Bill but objected to one requirement which the Society feels would adversely affect their own economic interest -- they urged the elimination of the provision of the Taft Bill that restricts the expenditure of funds for purchase of voluntary insurance to "non-profit" insurance plans.

WITNESSES

Name	Organization	Date
John Mannix	Insurance Economics Society President John Marshall Company	6/25/47
Dr. Maurice Friedman	None	6/25/47
Dr. Ernst Boas	Physicians Forum	6/25/47
Dr. Viado Getting	Assoc. of State & Territorial Health Officers	6/26/47
Mr. Joseph W. Fichter	National Grange	6/26/47
Mr. Lloyd Halvorson	National Grange	6/26/47
Elizabeth Magee	National Consumers League	6/26/47
Mr. William Galvin	New York State Federation of Labor	6/26/47
Mr. Edward H. Weyler	Kentucky Federation of Labor	6/26/47
Dr. Shillington	Montana Medical Society	6/26/47
Mr. Patrick Thompkins	American Public Welfare Association	6/27/47
Dr. Rex Atwater	American Public Health Association (National Federation of Settlements)	6/27/47
Dr. J. P. Sanders	(National Association of Conumsers)	6/27/47
Dr. E. F. Sladek	Essex Trades Council - Newark, N.J. (AFL)	6/27/47
Mr. Leon Henderson	Americans for Democratic Action	7/2/47
Mr. Andrew Biemiller	Americans for Democratic Action	7/2/47
Mr. Russell Smith	National Farmers Union	7/2/47
Mrs. Jerome Evanson	National Farmers Union	7/2/47
Dr. John Peters	Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care	7/2/47
Rev. Alson J. Smith	Methodist Federation for Social Service	7/2/47
Mr. Joseph Anderson	American Association for Social Workers	7/2/47
Mr. Joseph Clorety - for Mr. Chat Patterson	American Veterans Committee	7/2/47
Dr. Allan Butler	Progressive Citizens of America	7/3/47
Dr. Montague Cobb	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	7/3/47
Mr. Robert Silberstein	National Lawyers' Guild	7/3/47
Mr. Ernest Rymer	International Worker's Order	7/3/47

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HEARING HIGHLIGHTS

No. IV (July 9-10-11th)

U. S. Officials Testify

Areas of Agreement

Administrator Watson Miller opened the Federal Security Agency's testimony by citing five fundamental areas of agreement that have been arrived at through public debate on the subject of national health legislation; (1) The recognition of national concern for the people's health to be backed by Federal financing; (2) The necessity for extending the availability of health services through new means; (3) The need to meet existing shortages of health personnel and facilities; (4) The necessity of a prepayment method of meeting medical costs; (5) Agreement as to the wisdom and necessity of decentralizing the administration of a national health program.

Taft Bill Unsound

The FSA Administrator's testimony conclusively stated that "our health needs cannot be met adequately through a program of the size contemplated in S.545 nor through any program operated on a means test basis."

A statement by William Mitchell, Acting Commissioner for Social Security criticized S.545 for failing to provide for the strengthening of maternal and child health programs, for proposing a matching formula that would work a hardship on the poor states and that runs counter to grant-in-aid formulas that have proved more workable. He stated that the provisions for assistance to the needy are so inconsistent with the rest of our Social Security Program as to undoubtedly "lead to serious confusion and wastes."

In Surgeon General Parron's testimony it was held that the "integration of preventive and curative services is essential," but that the Taft Bill "appears to violate the principles in its provisions relating to federal administration."

Basic Approach of National Health Insurance Bill Approved

The principle provisions of the National Health Insurance and Public Health Act, S.1320 were discussed in the agency's testimony:

The administrative provisions of S.1320 were characterized as "clearly establishing a system of local administration under state wide plans" and thereby wisely assuring decentralized administration;

The "states' rights" cry was challenged by pointing to the fact that "state health authorities who, it might be expected, would most violently react against a breach" of state autonomy had already criticized the Taft Bill for its lack of federal standards;

Administration at the Federal level by a Board as provided in S.1320 instead of by a single administrator was cited as a "desirable change" from last years national health insurance proposal;

Lay administration as opposed to purely professional control was characterized as being in the "American tradition." It was recalled that Atomic Energy Control rested with a Board, "not one member of which is required by law to be an atomic scientist", and further that half of the states do not require state boards of health to be composed primarily of doctors, that in at least four states the law does not require the state health officials to be a physician and finally that "practically all of our voluntary hospitals are governed by....lay boards;"

Voluntary Health Service Organizations under the National Health Insurance Act are, it was stated, "guaranteed broad opportunities for their participation in providing services;"

Rural Areas in particular would benefit under the National Health Insurance Act through inclusion of farm operators as "self-employed", representation on local

administrative committees and on National Advisory Council, through participation of consumer cooperatives, through payment of mileage fees to doctors, and other more detailed provisions.

Former G.O.P. Committeeman Says Insurance -- The American Way

Testifying to the fact that the Taft Bill would in no way meet the national health problem, Albert D. Lasker, prominent citizen, advertising man, and one time assistant, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said insurance is "as American as corn or apple pie." Mr. Lasker anticipated Senator Donnell's question as to whether he was an "expert" and thereby qualified to testify on the subject. He said he qualified as an "expert sufferer," "as a voter," "citizen and Taxpayer," and as one who has spent all of his life in "big business." He asserted that the problem under consideration involves distribution and that the product, medical care, "is in universal demand." The Taft Bill he stated cannot possibly provide care to more than five or ten percent of the population.

Labor United on Health Issue

American Federation of Labor testimony presented on behalf of seven million organized workers and Congress of Industrial Organization's testimony on behalf of six million organized workers unequivocably endorsed the National Health Insurance Bill S.1320 and vigorously denounced the Taft proposal for "government charity." The AFL spokesman told the Subcommittee members that "despite the testimony of some doctors before this Committee, workers are not satisfied with insurance that covers only their hospital bills and medical care they receive while in the hospital." Referring to the opposition to national health insurance he urged that the Congress not allow the "opposition of less than one percent of our population to stand in the way of what millions of workers earnestly want, namely a self-respecting method of maintaining their health and that of their families."

Presenting the testimony of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, James Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO said enthusiastically, "I could. . . fully subscribe to the statement made by the representative of the American Federation of Labor and likewise the American Federation of Labor could fully subscribe to the statement that I made here." Carey said that the National Health Insurance Bill sets forth "the most important phase of social security, the health of the people."

Co-ops For National Health Insurance

The Cooperative League of the USA representing two and one half million members of the Co-op movement urged adoption of S.1320 and gave special emphasis to the need for protecting the rights of consumers to organize and receive services through their own prepayment plans under the national health program, and to the need for protecting doctors who serve consumer owned health plans.

Horace Hansen spokesman for the League and for the Cooperative Health Federation of America, an affiliated body representing the Consumers health plans, said that S.1320 "recognized that compulsory financial participation is necessary to make any such plan workable." He described to the Subcommittee the "vicious opposition" of medical societies to efforts being made by cooperatives and other groups to secure state legislation granting them the same privileges that medical societies have secured to establish voluntary prepayment plans.

Monopoly and The AMA

Commenting in particular on the provisions of the National Health Insurance Bill S.1320, that would assure democratic and public control Dr. Michael M. Davis of the Committee for the Nation's Health pointed to the contrast in provisions for administrative control under the two bills and laid before the Subcommittee evidence of organized medicine's present "monopolistic" activities. He said that compared to the ninety medical societies controlled voluntary health plans, there are about one hundred seventy-five plans organized and sponsored by non-medical groups. The growth of plans organized by the people themselves has however been stunted because "the state and county medical societies, with the support of the AMA, has put every possible obstacle in the way of prepayment plans except those run by medical societies."

Dr. Davis introduced into the record a letter received from Judge Thurman Arnold, former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, in which Judge Arnold referred to the state legislation which gives medical societies virtual control of voluntary insurance plans as "monopolistic laws" which he deems "an unwarranted interference with private enterprise and experimentation in new ways of financing medical services." The letter concluded by expressing the opinion that if the Taft Bill were enacted, "it would substantially increase the powers and monopolistic control of organized medicine."

Does AMA Represent Doctors of America

At the close of the hearings on Friday, each of the six Senatorial sponsors of S.1320 presented supporting statements for the record. The statement of Senator J. Howard McGrath included a documentation which he said "reveals the gap between the social and economic point of view of American doctors and the publicity proclaimed by the officials of the AMA." Senator McGrath cited and quoted from the recent protest resignation of Raymond Rich Associates as public relations counsel of the AMA. This firm, engaged by the AMA in 1946, had made a survey and reported to the AMA the "urgent need that the Association take effective action on the adequate program to meet the needs of the American people and to assure the future welfare of the profession." The Rich Associates made specific recommendations for a positive program which was considered and adopted by the House of Delegates representing the members of the AMA. The Board of Trustees of the AMA, however, failed to carry out this adopted program and withheld from the House of Delegates a second report made by the public relations firm. Finally the public relations counsel resigned and made public a wire to the members of the House of Delegates in which they pointed out the AMA's failure to "seek the truth. . . , to put the public first, and to be adequate to its responsibilities."

Senator McGrath in his statement concluded - "Since we no longer depend on the leadership of the AMA in the economic and social aspects of medicine, the Congress must no longer delay action on a National Health Insurance program which will remove the financial barriers to comprehensive medical care for the majority of our people."

WITNESSES

Name	Organization	Date
Watson Miller Administrator	Federal Security Administration	July 9, 1947
William Mitchell Acting Commissioner	Social Security Administration of the FSA	July 9, 1947
Thomas Parran Surgeon General	United States Public Health Services - FSA	July 9, 1947
Katherine F. Lenroot	Children's Bureau - Social Security Administration - FSA	July 9, 1947
Edward Poss	Fraternal Order of Eagles	July 9, 1947
James Carey - Secretary - Treasurer	Congress of Industrial Organizations	July 10, 1947
Nelson Cruikshank for Matthew Woll, 2nd Vice Pres	American Federation of Labor	July 10, 1947
Horace Hansen	Cooperative League of the USA	July 10, 1947
Joseph H. Louchheim Executive Director	Committee for the Nation's Health	July 11, 1947
Michael M. Davis - Chairman Executive Committee	Committee for the Nation's Health	July 11, 1947
Albert D. Lasker	None	July 11, 1947

** ** ** **

Note:

There will be two more days of hearings, July 23 and July 24. Our next communication to you will contain a summary of the completed hearings.

Insurance, Not Charity!

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

HEALTH — Today & Tomorrow

—A series by the chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics; associate editor, *Survey Graphic*.

LOOKING OVER A BIG BATCH OF NEWSpaper clippings lately, I thought I saw double! I had just read an editorial from the *Chronicle*, of Omak, State of Washington, attacking national health insurance because it "comes high." "The cost of anything done by the government bureaucracy is usually ever increasing. In Germany in 1935, for example, there were 36,000 political employes overseeing the work of 30,000 doctors."

In another editorial from the *Herald* of Hagerstown, Maryland, compulsory health insurance "came high" again. Every word of the editorial from Hagerstown was identical with the effusion from Omak!

Among fifty-four editorials against national health insurance, twenty-three were identical. Others had part but not all of the same wording. All appeared within a few days of the time President Truman issued his special health message to Congress on May 19.

A few years ago the National Physicians' Committee, propaganda instrument of the American Medical Association, had told its supporting doctors how its public relations staff had a list of ten or twelve thousand newspapers and periodicals to which they mailed "material" whenever occasion served. The National Physicians' Committee seems to have found a market for some of its canned goods.

Taft's "Health" Bill

As I write this in July, organizations which support national health insurance and which oppose the Taft "health" bill (S.545) are appearing as witnesses before the Subcommittee on Health of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

The organizations against this bill represent much heavier voting strength than the professional groups which favored it—all branches of organized labor; the National Grange and the National Farmers Union among rural organizations; and a long list of bodies representing consumers, civic movements, Negroes, and liberal physicians. Except for one witness speaking for some insurance companies, organizations of businessmen have not appeared at all this year. It seems apparent already that if the majority party in the Senate wants to make some national health program a popular issue, a bill based on charity and a means test is not the way to do it.

Last year the hearings on the National health insurance bill were enlivened by the efforts of Senator Forrest C. Donnell, Missouri Republican, to cross-examine witnesses about the membership of their organizations and their personal connections. This year the Senator functions as a member of the majority instead of the minority party. For many witnesses whose testimony ran against his bill, his cross-questioning has become badgering, including red-baiting when opportunity seemed to offer.

European Experience

The "failure of health insurance abroad" has been flung at numerous witnesses, the missiles being one or more of the series of mis-statements common in medical society publications. Enormous administrative costs —to which the twenty-three editorials referred—are an example. "In the experience of Europe," Senator Donnell quotes, "there would be an employe of the health insurance system, outside the field of medical service, for at least every 100 persons insured." From this statement, a sixth-grader can calculate that there would have to be a million payrollers if 100,000,000 Americans were covered.

The figure of one administrative employe per 100 insured persons is a gross untruth. Last year, Dr. Frank Goldmann, Associate Professor of Public Health at Yale and an internationally recognized authority on this subject, testified that in the well-established European systems the number of administrative employes is actually about one to every two thousand persons!

The erroneous figure has blossomed out in a long succession of articles and pamphlets. It goes back to a report employed as "authoritative" by Senator Donnell, on "Sickness Insurance in Europe," published in 1938 by the late J. G. Crownhart. He was then secretary of the Wisconsin State Medical Society, which sent him on a visit abroad. Mr. Crownhart did not explain how he got his figure. His report was not documented, so that the sources of the figures and statements can not be checked.

The absurdity of the figure is apparent after very little consideration. One administrative employe for every 100 persons would mean an administrative cost of about 50 percent for salaries alone. In fact, Mr. Crownhart was incautious enough to state elsewhere in his report that the highest administrative cost which he found in any country was 17 percent and that the figure in most countries was 10 percent to 12 percent, including not only salaries but other administrative expenses.

Too often both friends and critics talk about the provisions of the National Health Insurance bill from the top down. They picture—in white or black—the officials and committees set up in Washington and in state capitals, their powers, duties and relationships. That's all very well for lawyers. For you and me and our doctors, the important thing is to understand the workings of health insurance from the ground up.

How would the scheme work for Thomas Jones, a textile mill worker who lives with his family in the town of Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina? Tom Jones comes home from work one day feeling flushed and achy. He coughs a good deal of the night and the next morning his wife thinks he ought to have a doctor. The health insurance law is in operation. Jones earns $36 a week. He pays 54 cents a week, 1½ percent of his wage, into the National Health Insurance Fund, as does his employer.

Now that Tom Jones is sick, how does he get a doctor? Does he have to write to Washington or ask a local official? No. Tom Jones calls the

doctor he had had before the law went into effect. Dr. Brown comes to see him, just as he would have come before the law was passed. But under the law Tom Jones would get no bill from Dr. Brown. Moreover, Dr. Brown can prescribe what he needs and not just what he can afford —laboratory tests, for instance, or a specialist if his illness proves obscure or takes a bad turn. Dr. Brown will be paid by the health insurance official of the area that covers Roanoke Rapids and Halifax County in which this town is located.

All a Local Matter

The federal government does not come into this at all. The National Health Insurance Board would have paid North Carolina its quota from the National Health Insurance Fund. North Carolina would have allotted the Halifax County health-service area *its* quota.

Suppose Dr. Brown thought Tom Jones had pneumonia, that he had a poor heart and might be in danger. Tom Jones or his wife, if they were anxious, or Dr. Brown, if he thought it necessary, could call in a specialist. Either of these doctors might decide to hospitalize him. The local or the state health insurance fund would pay this hospital the costs of its services to Tom Jones.

In all this, neither Tom Jones, nor Dr. Brown, nor Dr. Johnson, nor the Roanoke Rapids Hospital would have anything to do with any official or board outside of North Carolina, and rarely outside of the county.

Suppose Mr. Jones was dissatisfied, and complained that Dr. Brown had delayed twenty-four hours making his first call and then was hasty and disagreeable. A local officer or committee would reach some decision about this complaint. Hearings and appeals could be had if demanded. Suppose the trouble were between Dr. Brown and the specialist who believed that Dr. Brown had made an unpardonably bad diagnosis when he finally did get around to calling on the patient. As a purely medical dispute, it would be dealt with by a committee composed wholly of physicians.

Where would the federal government come into all this? Not at all.

How and how much would Dr. Brown and the specialist be paid? As a general practitioner, Dr. Brown would be paid by the method which the majority of these practitioners in Halifax County voted for. If, however, a physician wanted to be paid differently—for example, a salary on whole or part time instead of by fees —these doctors would have the right to negotiate this method of payment with the county health insurance agency.

How would the fee or salary rates be determined? The state health insurance agency would have worked out a fee schedule with the state medical society. This schedule, however, would be flexible enough to be adapted by local health service areas to their particular conditions. There would be no uniform national schedule of fees, of capitation rates, or of salaries for doctors.

Rating of Specialists

How would Dr. Johnson be paid as a specialist? Who would decide which doctors were entitled to be paid the higher rate due to specialists?

Here there would be standards for the qualifications of specialists laid down by the National Health Insurance Board after consultation with its advisory council. These standards would recognize the existing standards of our national boards of physicians in each specialty. The national standards would be flexible enough, however, so that if the physician had been recognized as a specialist for years by the medical profession and the public of Roanoke Rapids and vicinity, he could be paid as a specialist. The North Carolina health insurance agency would, with the advice of a professional committee, decide this. The North Carolina health insurance agency would also have to make sure that the Roanoke Rapids Hospital complied with national hospital standards and with state licensing laws before the hospital could be paid out of the health insurance fund. The same state agency would have to see that physicians were licensed under the state law to practice medicine.

The revised National Health Insurance bill of 1947 (S.1320) had its own days on the 10th and 11th of July, when the six senators who sponsored it and a few especially interested organizations explained its new features. All the essential principles of national health insurance, supplemented by federal grants-in-aid to the states for public health purposes, for care of the indignent, and so on are maintained. The law would give place to private effort but it would not permit control by private interests.

National health insurance means federal dictatorship, declared some opponents. Under it, they said, the federal government could and would run the whole show. The duties written out in the bill for state and local administration are just a smoke screen to hide a grab for power by a federal bureaucracy.

This charge is nonsense. The sponsors of the bill and every other sensible person know that it would be wholly impossible to run medical services from Washington. The mere attempt to do so would arouse universal objection. Nor could any uniform administrative pattern be defined by national authorities for all parts of this great and varied country.

Federal Standards Essential

Actually, the bill nowhere gives federal agencies power over state and local administration. It does give federal authorities the power to make and enforce certain general standards, which must be adapted to differing local and state conditions by state and local authorities.

Ought the federal government to have anything to say about standards? The sponsors of the Taft "Health" bill say No! Leave standards wholly to the states! This view however is not shared by three expert professional bodies. The American Public Health Association and the American Public Welfare Association testified that the lack of federal standards is a major deficiency in the Taft bill. This lack might result in lowering the quality of medical service, declared that distinguished group, the New York Academy of Medicine.

The important visible result, as the session of Congress ends, is the entrance of national health legislation upon the political stage. The more widespread and more effective support for the national health insurance bill this year, the breadth and vigor of the attack on the bill that was introduced to supplant or derail it, demonstrate not only that—as opinion polls have shown—the mass of Americans want some national action to make medical care more available, but also that Americans are beginning to make up their minds as to what *kind* of action they want.

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September 18, 1947

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Mr. George Mitchell
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Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Recalling from Farm Sedurity days your very real interest in the health of our people, (I was at that time a member of Dr. Mott's staff) it occurred to me that you would want to know about some of the recent developments affecting national health legislation.

Enclosed is a letter that Senator Alexander Smith, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Health has sent to the Governors of every State concerning two major pieces of national health legislation. Attached to the copy of the letter are some comments on specific paragraphs in the Senators letter.

Although I would not suggest to you any specific steps that might be taken to counter the influence of Senator Smith's letter, I am sure that you will agree that it is important that the Governor of Georgia not be mislead by its contents.

I am also enclosing some additional material which may be of interest, in relation to these two pieces of legislation. This material includes:

(1) A summary and analysis of S-545 -- the bill of which Senator Smith is a sponsor.

(2) A summary of the major provisions of S-1320.
(3) A set of "Highlights" of the hearings that were held last spring on these two proposals.
(4) A summary of Congressional (1st Session 80th Congress) activity relating to health and social security legislation.
(5) A copy of President Truman's special message to Congress on health and disability insurance.

Cordially yours,

Margaret I. Stein /m.w.

Margaret I. Stein
Washington Representative

MIS/mnw
Enclosures
as above

C C
O O
P P
Y

Princeton, New Jersey
August 7, 1947

My dear Governor:

One of the most important matters before the present Congress has been the consideration of a national health policy which will bring about a wider medical service to meet the health needs of our people.

To the end that this subject might be fully investigated, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has been studying the subject for some months. This subcommittee is composed of the following Senators: Senators Ball, Donnell, Pepper, Murray and myself as Chairman.

In the course of our investigation and hearings, two fundamentally different approaches to the matter have been presented and considered. These respective approaches are covered by bills that were introduced in the 79th Congress and by bills introduced in the 80th Congress. Extensive hearings were held last year on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill which was one of the measures introduced in the 79th Congress. Extensive hearings have been held this year on S. 1320 introduced in the 80th Congress by Senator Murray and others, which bill is the successor of the so-called Wagner-Murray-Dingell compulsory health insurance bill, and on S. 545 introduced by Senators Taft, Ball, Smith and Donnell.

1 Supporters of S. 1320 contemplate a nation-wide tax collected by payroll deductions of workers in industry and other taxes on non-pryroll citizens, in return for which tax the Federal Government assumes responsibility for the over-all medical care of all the people. Provision for certain decentralization of administration is made in the bill.

2 S. 545 on the other hand, contemplates Federal grants to the several States and challenges the States to develop their own programs for taking care of the health needs of the people within their respective jurisdictions. No special earmarked tax is proposed under the plan.

Among the important questions which enter into the consideration of the bills are:

(1) What percentage of the population in the various States is not getting adequate medical care today; and what classes -that is, the very poor, the white collar class, etc.

3 (2) What States would approve a compulsory tax plan such as S. 1320 calls for, with a Government-supervised medical service, or

4 (3) What States would prefer the S. 545 plan, leaving to the States the determination of policy - that is, compulsory or voluntary group health plans, etc.

Our subcommittee would be very much aided if we could have a statement covering the situation in your State on these matters, which
5 (I assume could be prepared by the health authorities. I should add that under either plan Federal grants-in-aid are contemplated. Under S. 1320 the Federal tax would cover the entire cost, whereas under S. 545 a matching program is contemplated. Copies of S. 545 and S. 1320 are enclosed.

Also as related to these problems, I would appreciate information as to the situation in your State with regard to the following matters:

6 ((1) How to handle the health problem in your widely scattered
(rural areas;

(2) How the new Federal aid-to-hospitals program is working.

The assistance of our forty-eight States with respect to this important matter will be greatly appreciated, and I hope you can give us an outline of the situation in your State. In making this request I am acting in the spirit of what I understand is the position of the Governors' Conference - a larger participation by the States in the formulation of important national policies.

Always cordially yours,

H. Alexander Smith
Chairman, Subcommittee on Health

HAS:W

Comments on Senator Smith letter to all Governors -- 8/7/47

(Numbers refer to marked passages in Smith letter)

1. Misleading. S-1320 contemplates a nation-wide tax program based on ability to pay and with the Federal Government making up the difference between what people can pay and the costs of modern medical care. It also contains features not mentioned in Senator Smith's letter such as provisions to assure services in rural areas, to train more doctors, to better public health services. S-1320 guarantees local administration. The people would choose their own doctors and the doctors their patients just as now. Doctors do not work for the government and no one tells them how to practice. The provisions of S-1320 have been wholeheartedly endorsed by AFL, CIO, Farmers Union, American Public Health Association, Physicians Forum, Methodist Federation for Social Service and many others.

2. S-545 would destroy the effectiveness of the United States Public Health Service; create medical monopoly; help only those willing to apply for charity medical care; provide insufficient funds to do the job and is based entirely on tax-supported hand-outs instead of on insurance contributions by the people eligible for care(as in S-1320). Under S-545 States, no matter how poor, must match federal funds or receive no aid. (S.545 is vogorously opposed by all the groups named above and by the National Grange. It is endorsed only by organized medicine and its satellites.

3. No Governor -- save perhaps Earl Warren of California, who included his approval of compulsory health insurance in his platform -- is in a position to speak for the people of his state on this issue. Moreover, the phase "government-supervised medical service" is completely misleading as applied to S-1320. Under S-1320 the federal government collects the insurance payments and allocates the funds to the states. Regarding medical care, it merely sets minimum standards to be met by state plans (as in all other health legislation). The states pay the bills from the funds allotted them and without adding their own. The people of the local communities together with their doctors actually run their own medical care plans. This is certainly not "government-supervised medical service!"

4. Again there is question as to whether Governors may as yet speak for their people on this point -- particularly since the people have not been informed that S-545 attempts to solve an admittedly national health problem on a relief basis requiring hordes of investigators and with complete disregard of both the varying financial status of our states and the mobility of our people.

5. Welfare authorities are usually much better qualified to speak on the ability of families to pay for adequate medical care than are "health authorities". And that is the point at issue. So, too, are the people themselves through their organizations. We suggest that farm organizations, welfare associations, labor groups, and ministers be asked rather than "health authorities", whose work seldom if ever brings them in touch with the problem of payingfor medical care and whose top officials are usually overly cautious to never disagre with organized medicine's propaganda machine.

6. See end of point 4, above.

7. It might be more to the point to ask the proportion of doctors to people in the rural areas, 40,30,20,10, and 5 years ago as compared with today and to aske whether S-545 or S-1320 would better reverse the alarming trend such a pointed inquiry would disclose.

SRC - Hosp. Study
NC

October 24, 1947

Mr. Kenneth E. Pohlmann
4611 30th Road South
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Ken:

It was very comforting to call you the other day and find my voice in the midst of friends who were glad to act. Thank you.

I do hope that whatever you do next you will be within reach.

Fleming is working on the business about State cooperation under the Hill-Burton Act.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

Attachment

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

4611 30th Road South
Arlington, Virginia
October 16, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Alice Johnson, at the Public Health Service, tells me that she has heard from Harold Fleming. I was delayed in finding a copy of the attached paper, which I told you in our telephone conversation I was sending you, and which you might want to turn over to him. Most of the material in it will be used in the Pace Committee report anyway, and I don't see any reason why he can't utilize it.

We enjoyed Morris's visit with us recently, and hope that it will be possible, on your next visit to town, to enjoy some of our hospitality.

I am at present looking around and hope to report to you soon on a more interesting assignment.

Sincerely yours,

Ken

Kenneth E. Pohlmann

Attachment

October 27, 1947

Dr. Charles Mitchell, Director
Health and Hospital Division
Office of the Governor
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Louisiana.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in the administration of Louisiana's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

TEXAS STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

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November 4, 1947

In reply please refer to
File No. Georgia-G

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge your letter of October 27 addressed to Dr. George W. Cox, State Health Officer.

In your letter you stated you were enclosing a copy of the September issue of your publication NEW SOUTH containing an article relative to the progress of the Hospital Survey and Construction Program in North Carolina. This publication has not reached us, and we would appreciate receiving same in order to get some idea as to what the magazine contains and the type of information which might interest your readers.

We will be happy to furnish you the necessary data at our earliest convenience after receiving the magazine.

Sincerely yours,

N. B. Roberts

N. B. Roberts, Director
Hospital Survey & Construction
Division

NBR:jw

Written again
22 Jan 48

October 27, 1947

Dr. George W. Cox
State Health Officer
State Board of Health
Austin, Texas

Dear Dr. Cox:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Texas.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary — in any form most convenient for you — of what has been done and is being done in the administration of Texas' hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

J. O. SLAUGHTER
CHAIRMAN

HENRY BOSWELL, M.D.
VICE-CHAIRMAN

OWEN COOPER
SECRETARY

Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care

216 TOWER BUILDING
JACKSON 1

D. V. GALLOWAY, M.D.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MEMBERS:
CARL BLOMQUIST
JACK M. MONTGOMERY
W. LAWSON SHACKELFORD, M.D.
FELIX J. UNDERWOOD, M.D.

November 10, 1947

NEW SOUTH,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Direc. Public Relations

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is the material that you requested concerning the Hospital Program in Mississippi. If you desire additional information, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Thank you for providing us with this opportunity to inform others of our Health Work in Mississippi.

Yours very truly,

Louise Herbolsheimer

(Miss)Louise Herbolsheimer
Health Educator

J. O. SLAUGHTER
CHAIRMAN

HENRY BOSWELL, M.D.
VICE-CHAIRMAN

OWEN COOPER
SECRETARY

Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care

216 TOWER BUILDING
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MEMBERS:
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JACK M. MONTGOMERY
W. LAWSON SHACKELFORD, M.D.
FELIX J. UNDERWOOD, M.D.

October 30, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter to Dr. Galloway in regard to information concerning Mississippi's hospital survey and planning program for the NEW SOUTH publication has been turned over to me.

We shall be very happy to send you information on what Mississippi is doing in regard to the hospital program. This information should reach you within the next week.

Thank you for considering us for your publication.

Very sincerely yours,

Louise Herblosheimer

(Miss) LOUISE HERBLOSHEIMER
Health Educator

LH/fg

October 27, 1947

Dr. D. V. Galloway
Executive Director
Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Dr. Galloway:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Mississippi.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

We realize that Mississippi has pioneered in the field of improved health facilities, and we should be most grateful for a summary — in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in Mississippi's hospital survey and planning program.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

State Government, Vol XX December 1947 No. 12 p 317 Fleming

North Carolina's Hospital Construction Program

By John A. Ferrell, M.D., Dr.P.H.*

North Carolina is now embarked upon a comprehensive program for the health of her citizens. She is preparing greatly to augment her hospital system through new construction, expansion, and improvement to be financed with state, federal, and local funds. Simultaneously, she is about to establish a four-year medical college at the University of North Carolina, in accordance with a plan for which appropriations were made by the 1947 legislature.

Foresight and planning have enabled the state to proceed rapidly with the hospital program following enactment on August 13, last year, of the federal law commonly known as the Hill-Burton Act for hospital construction. The state and federal project is administered by the Medical Care Commission of this state. Composed of twenty members, representing wide interests, it was created on March 21, 1946, by an act of the legislature which correctly anticipated and met all requirements of the Hill-Burton Act.

For the five-year period covered by this federal act, North Carolina contemplates a total expenditure of about $51 million for hospital construction, of which one-third is to be received from the national government. Tentative allocation of about $10 million already has been made for construction of eleven hospitals and three clinics in widely separated parts of the state.

Behind these accomplishments is a record of study and organization.

The North Carolina legislation—House Bill 594—was drafted and sponsored by a State Hospital and Medical Care Commission of sixty members, appointed early in 1944 by the then Governor J. Melville Broughton. This group studied the hospital resources and needs of North Carolina before presenting its program to the legislature.

The new Medical Care Commission which resulted from those preparations comprises eight members who are nominees of unofficial agencies, two who are *ex officio,* and ten who are selected by the governor to represent various interests. The governor appoints them all, for four-year terms staggered to provide for induction of four each in 1947, 1948, and 1950, and six in 1949. The commission's composition is as follows:

Members:	Nominated by:
3 Physicians	Medical Society of State of North Carolina
1 Hospital Executive	N.C. Hospital Association
1 Dentist	N.C. Dental Society
1 Nurse	N.C. Nurses Association
1 Pharmacist	N.C. Pharmaceutical Association
1 Representative	Duke Foundation

10 Members appointed by governor from the fields of agriculture, industry, labor, etc.

1 State Commissioner of Welfare, *ex officio* without voting power

1 Secretary of State Board of Health, *ex officio* without voting power

The executive secretary is the commission's full-time officer. Appointed by the commission, subject to the approval of the governor, he is authorized to employ the necessary personnel and to administer activities sanctioned by the commission, in accord with provisions of the Personnel Act.

In addition to the commission, the 1945 legislation provided for appointment of a State Hospital Advisory Council to the commission. This council consists of five members, all named for terms of four years which end July 1, 1950. Its function is to serve the commission in an advisory capacity in matters relating to hospital construction, equipment, maintenance, and operation.

The state law provided also for two studies: first, the case for a university four-year medical school, and if needed, its location; second, the needs of the counties for hospital facilities and the share of the cost that should be assumed, respectively, by the state and the counties or other local agencies.

Provision was included for the commission to pay one dollar per case per day to approved hospitals toward the cost of the care of indigents; to administer a loan fund to students of medicine who agree to practice four years in rural communities of the state; to study methods for providing training for Negro students of medicine and for loans to such

---

**John A. Ferrell, M.D., Doctor of Public Health, is Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Medical Care Commission at Raleigh.*

students; and to encourage the extension throughout North Carolina of prepaid insurance for medical and hospital care.

The 1947 legislature in March enacted a hospital licensing law to be administered by the commission. This act conforms substantially to the licensing bill recommended by the Council of State Governments, but adapted to conditions in North Carolina. Licensing, however, is mandatory only for those hospitals which seek state and federal aid. It is optional to others. The legislature also adopted a State Enabling Act, conforming closely to the bill recommended by the Council of State Governments but harmonized with North Carolina laws and conditions. This measure permits the state, counties, cities, towns, and townships, separately or jointly, to raise funds for building, equipment, maintenance, and operation of hospitals. Bond issues for hospitals can be voted by counties, and incorporated cities and towns but not by townships. These provisions apply both to hospitals that are publicly owned and to those that are owned and operated by non-profit corporations.

The 1947 legislature broadened the scope of the commission's loan fund to apply to students of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and nursing at any recognized school approved by the commission. Students accepting loans must agree, upon completion of their training, to serve at least four years in rural North Carolina communities. Moreover, unless the commission authorizes an exception, the students must have been citizens of the state for eight years.

The legislature appropriated $50,000 to the commission for administrative expenses in 1945. This was increased to $61,520 by the 1947 legislature. Toward the hospital care of indigents, each at one dollar per day, $500,000 annually was voted by the legislature in 1945. This amount was decreased to $350,000 annually in 1947. A revolving loan fund of $50,000 for students of medicine was provided in 1945. It was used only to a limited extent because the government extensively financed the training of physicians who had served with the armed forces. Although it broadened the scope of the loan program, the 1947 legislature did not increase the loan fund.

Appropriations this year for the building, expansion, and equipment of hospitals included $6,250,000 to the commission for the biennium beginning July 1, 1947, for local general hospitals, clinics, and health centers; $5,290,000 to the state university for expansion of its two-year medical school to a standard four-year medical school and toward building a 400-bed teaching hospital; $5,413,526 to the three state mental hospitals, and $1,500,000 for the purchase of Camp Butner hospital, with its 3,374 beds—a total of nearly $7,000,000; approximately $1,700,000 to the three state tuberculosis hospitals; $53,500 to the state orthopedic hospital and $300,000 for a hospital for treatment of spastic children (cerebral palsy).

The legislature made additional appropriations for the expansion of state institutions that provide domiciliary care of epileptics and the feeble minded. These institutions are excluded from the benefits of the Hill-Burton Federal Hospital Act.

The Medical Care Commission of the state was organized July 27, 1945, with James H. Clark as chairman and Dr. Clarence Poe as vice-chairman. The members were grouped, as follows, into eleven committees which reflect in general the state program:

I. Executive Committee
II. Committee on Acceptance of Gifts
III. Committee on Construction and Enlargement of Local Hospitals
IV. Committee on Contribution for Indigent Patients
V. Committee on Hospital Care Associations
VI. Committee on Legislation
VII. Committee on Medical School Expansion of University of North Carolina
VIII. Committee on Medical Student Loan
IX. Committee on Medical Training for Negroes
X. Committee on Nursing Service and Training
XI. Committee for Report to Governor and General Assembly

Following the appropriations of 1945, a survey of the state's 175 hospitals and a study of the needs for additional facilities were made during the first nine months of 1946. The data collected were analyzed and recorded in the fall of that year. Of the 100 counties in the state 33 were found to have no hospital facilities. The shortage of beds in the other 67 counties was extensive. The general hospital beds in North Carolina numbered about 9,346, or 2.7 per thousand of population, whereas the goal set by the U. S. Public Health Service calls for an average ratio for the state of 4.5, or a total of 15,003. The three state mental hospitals were designed to accommodate about 8,013 patients. Other mental hospitals, mostly privately owned, will accommodate about 265 patients. Combined, the mental beds give a ratio of about 2.4 beds per 1,000 of population, whereas the national goal is 5.0 per 1,000. The developments under way and contemplated will increase the bed ratio in the state for mental patients to 4.0 per 1,000 of population, which has been exceeded by only three or four states.

The survey showed 2,037 tuberculosis beds in

North Carolina. The standard set by the U. S. Public Health Service calls for 3,490, which means that 1,453 more must be provided. Funds now available are expected to finance about 1,000 new beds. Of course, many of the present beds in the general local hospitals—possibly 15 per cent to 20 per cent—should be abandoned. The same applies to the state-owned hospitals for mental patients and for tuberculosis patients.

Late in 1945 the commission appointed the National Committee for the Medical School Survey. It consisted of seven non-residents of North Carolina who were experienced in medical education and care. Its mission was to study the need for a university four-year medical school, and if needed, to recommend its location. In June, 1946, this committee recommended "that the Trustees of the University of North Carolina establish a four-year school of medicine situated on the Campus of the University at Chapel Hill." The General Assembly of 1947 approved the plan and made the necessary appropriations.

CONGRESS, on July 3, 1947, authorized Surgeon General Parran to enter into contractual obligations with the states for hospital construction up to $75,000,000 for the year beginning July 1, 1947, and the President approved that measure July 7. Of this amount, $3,431,550 has been allocated to North Carolina. The North Carolina Medical Care Commission's over-all five-year plan for hospital construction as required by the Federal Hospital Act was approved by Surgeon General Parran July 8. These developments enabled the commission to begin immediately the receiving and consideration of applications for aid from state and local hospitals.

The priority schedule for hospital projects was, to a large degree, prescribed by the Hospital Facilities Division of the U. S. Public Health Service. It gives highest priority to counties without hospitals and to rural regions that show urgent need of facilities.

The commission has adopted a basis for allocating state funds to county or local hospital projects. The amounts, expressed in percentages of the cost of approved projects, range from 10 per cent of state funds for the wealthiest counties to 50 per cent for the poorest. The average per capita individual income tax paid per annum during the six-year period, 1939–1944, is employed as the basis. In addition to one-third of the cost from federal funds, twelve counties will receive 50 per cent state aid and eight will receive 10 per cent; the range for eighty counties will vary between the extremes. Of the thirty-three counties having no hospital facilities, sixteen will contribute from 16.7 to 20 per cent of the cost of hospitals; fourteen will contribute from 20 to 25 per cent; and three from 25 to 30 per cent. A small reserve of state funds will be withheld with which to make adjustments in the event necessity arises.

EIGHTY-NINE existing general hospitals have been approved by the commission and seventy-five have received one dollar per day for each certified indigent hospitalized. The Duke Endowment also grants one dollar per day for the hospitalization of indigents.

Late in October this year the commission's executive committee gave its preliminary approval to proposals for construction of the aforementioned eleven hospitals and three community clinics. Of their estimated cost of approximately $10,000,000, about $3,431,000 will be met by federal funds and the balance by state and local funds. Before the letting of contracts for construction, the local communities involved are to submit detailed plans, which require approval both by the commission and by the United States Public Health Service. The commission in October also approved the sites of a number of other hospitals proposed for later construction.

A questionnaire has been sent to the hospitals of the state as a means of obtaining information not included in their charters. This will aid state and federal authorities to determine which hospitals are non-profit and eligible to receive state and federal aid.

A handbook or guide has been prepared and sent to a few leaders in each of those counties now having no hospital facilities. It is designed to aid a representative group to study the area's hospital needs and financial resources, to organize and plan a hospital project, and to raise the local share of its cost.

A pamphlet will be issued to college and high school students regarding the attractions of careers in the hospital field. Another will include all the more important state laws or abstracts of laws that relate to the building, equipment, maintenance, operation, and licensing of hospitals.

In addition to employing an executive secretary and the necessary stenographic, accounting, and clerical personnel, the commission has secured the services, on a full-time basis, of an architect, two hospital administrators, and a construction engineer. The commission has received substantial aid from the medical and technical personnel of the Duke Endowment. In its public relations activities, the Good Health Association, Inc., a voluntary agency financed by a few public spirited citizens, has rendered large and valuable service.

Constitutional Revision

(*Continued from Page 306*)

be discussed by the general membership of the Institute and only in the light of this discussion will the Council submit to the legislature the final draft with supporting studies.

The application of the Law Institute's specialized procedures to the problem of constitutional revision apparently represents a new development in the field of state government. The crystallization of issues and the intensive study of state problems involved in this Louisiana plan of pre-convention preparation should make it possible for the constitutional convention to take more intelligent and effective action than ever before in the history of the state.

Interstate Highway System

(*Continued from Page 303*)

During the past decade the federal aid highway program has been expanded to embrace activities and objectives which were not envisaged when the national government entered the field in 1916. This specifically designated Interstate System is a return to the original purpose of federal aid. We who believe in making state governments strong and improving their efficiency by interstate cooperation should be encouraged by the establishment of such a system.

Certainly if we can carry 20 per cent of all traffic on 1 per cent of the roads, the wise thing to do is to build that system as rapidly as possible. Only by making every dollar do its utmost, can we provide safe highways for our people.

Federal Aid to Education

(*Continued from Page 312*)

ernment in the administration of federal grants-in-aid usually develops, and logically so, into a situation where the state's concept of education must agree with that of the federal authorities.

Conclusion

The administration in any degree of elementary and secondary education in this country is not within the competence of the federal government and is not a proper subject for a permanent program of grants-in-aid on the basis envisaged in S.472. Even while recognizing the nationwide concern in the improvement of educational opportunity in America, the potential by-products of federal intervention through a program such as that proposed in S.472 are so much a threat to local self-government and home-rule that not even the so-called "national interest" or "general welfare" is adequate justification for the adoption of such a proposal. There are other and better ways, in the long run, to accomplish the ends desired, one of the most evident being the equitable division of tax sources in order that state and local governments may be better able to help themselves.

Legislative Council Upheld in Washington

The Washington Supreme Court on October 15, handed down a decision upholding the legality of the state's new legislative council.

The council, created by the 1947 legislature, was challenged on the contention that the service of a legislator upon it would violate the state constitution, which prohibits members of the legislature from filling a "civil office" created during the terms for which they were elected.

A number of other states have similar constitutional or statutory provisions. Washington is the first state in which the applicability of this provision to legislative councils has been tested in court. The constitutional validity of the council was questioned by the state auditor, who declined to honor expense vouchers for members of the new body. The council's chairman, in turn, applied for a writ of mandamus to compel the auditor to honor the vouchers.

In granting the writ, the Supreme Court ruled:

"The statute . . . which created the legislative council does no more than make available new machinery and new methods by which the members of the committee may keep themselves informed upon specific problems, and that statute does not impose upon the members of the council who are members of the legislature any new office or trust. The additional duties which are imposed upon the legislative members of the council are no different in purpose and kind from those which they already perform."

Six justices joined in the majority decision. Two dissented. A single justice wrote a separate opinion concurring in the result reached by the majority but dissenting from certain parts of its opinion.

With Washington, twenty-two states now have established legislative councils or comparable organizations to study subjects of importance to the legislatures. The most complete of these employ continuing research staffs, the accumulated data of which are available for use during and between legislative sessions.

In a number of states, including Washington, the legislative council also functions as the commission on interstate cooperation. It has the power to cooperate with the Council of State Governments and with legislative councils or committees in other states.

SRC Public Health Study
Hosp Study

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Office of the Governor
Atlanta

M. E. THOMPSON
GOVERNOR

SARA ROBINSON DAVIS
SECRETARY

January 13, 1948

Honorable George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Acknowledgment is made with thanks for your letter of January 8th and for your courtesy in sending to me the pamphlet having to do with the Public Health Program in North Carolina.

Very soon we hope to have a preliminary program in Georgia which will launch a study of the health situation in our State, and I am sure that in this study, we will benefit much from North Carolina.

Kind regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

M. E. Thompson

M. E. Thompson,
Governor

MET:acg

January 22, 1948

Mr. N.B. Roberts, Director
Hospital Survey & Construction Division
Texas State Department of Health
Austin 2, Texas

Dear Mr. Roberts:

In your letter of November 4, 1947, you wrote that you would be able to furnish us with information on the hospital survey and construction program in Texas after you had received a copy of the September issue of our publication NEW SOUTH which contained an article on North Carolina's hospital and health program. We trust that you have received the copy which we sent you. We are now preparing for publication an article on the health and hospital programs of the various Southern states, and we would like very much to include a summary of Texas' activities in our survey.

In addition to a summary of the State Plan and construction program, we would appreciate any information you could give us on methods Texas has adopted in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and(3) provide medical care for those low-income groups unable to pay the cost.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Disease is not race conscious; but rare even in the North are scenes like this one in Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, where Negro and white doctors work together. Above left to right: Dr. Roland B. Scott, Dr. Blanche Bourne and Dr. Althea Kessler.

The Color Line in Medicine

By HENRY F. and KATHARINE PRINGLE

Negroes are less healthy than whites, and die sooner—but why? One big reason is the shortage of Negro doctors. Here is the candid and shameful story of how segregated education—and prejudices—perpetuate a wrong and spread disease among us all.

THE Federal Government, the states and the cities of this vast, rich nation spend many millions of dollars every year to improve public health. Yet, with tragic imprudence, we are doing very little to strengthen one of the weakest links in this endless chain of money and effort. We are perpetuating, through prejudice, a critical shortage of Negro doctors—a situation which contributes heavily to the high rate of Negro mortality and results in the spread of disease through colored and white populations alike. For contagion knows no color line.

Only 4000 Negroes are now practicing medicine, as compared with 176,000 white physicians, and it is estimated that more than 5300 more are needed to care for the increasing Negro population. The national average today is one colored doctor to every 3337 Negroes, although the accepted minimum standard is one to 1500. In Mississippi the ratio is one to 18,527.

"One important reason for this acute shortage of skilled medical men," declared the recent report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "is the discriminatory policy of our medical schools in admitting minority students."

Discrimination against Negro students is common in the North as well as the South, and it is not limited to the medical colleges. Only two of our seventy-seven medical schools freely admit Negro applicants, and these are Negro institutions. Many hospitals, vital to the training of all physicians, close their doors to the colored medical graduate.

PHOTOGRAPHY BY OLLIE ATKINS

Yet every day mothers and babies die for lack of proper treatment. Meanwhile, the Negro's life expectancy is ten years less than the white man's.

The widespread notion that Negroes, as a race, are especially prone to disease is no longer held by any competent scientist. Negroes get sick because of poverty and neglect, exactly like all other members of the human race. Generations of bad housing, improper food and economic insecurity do not produce hardy men and women, but there is no proved racial susceptibility. More Negroes get tuberculosis and pneumonia, contract venereal disease and other ills because, in the main, they live under worse conditions and because they do not receive adequate medical care. Then they spread infection.

The physicians of the United States, through their prejudice and lack of foresight, must accept part of

January 24, 1948

the responsibility. But they are not, of course, wholly to blame. Their attitude is merely the reflection of a deep-seated national prejudice which has always been written large across the dark history of the Negro people.

Some 10,000,000 of our 13,000,000 Negroes live in seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia and must attend segregated schools. In the capital, Negro teachers receive salaries equal to those in the white schools, but this is rare. In Georgia and South Carolina in 1943–44 they were paid at about half the white teachers' scale. Nearly everywhere the Negro schools are overcrowded and underequipped. The swollen mortality rate among colored Americans can be traced in part to poor teaching in the grade schools, to inability to finish high school, to the unquestioned fact that the doors of many universities are closed to Negroes. Thus it is that medical-school deans can protest, whether it is true or not, that they do not admit more Negroes because not enough qualified students apply.

When they offer this excuse, the medical deans have a case, but it is far from foolproof. This was demonstrated in strange ways during the last war. Selective Service, reaching down into all layers of the American population, did more than uncover illiteracy. In some cases it found unsuspected genius.

One day, during the war, Dean Joseph L. Johnson, of the College of Medicine of Howard University in Washington, D.C.—one of the two Negro medical schools in the country—was called to the telephone. An Army officer in command of the training unit at Howard told him he had eleven men requesting admission to the medical school. All were A students. Places existed for only four of them. The officer said that he found it absolutely impossible to pick the four, and would the dean come over and help him? Dean Johnson agreed. He spent the entire day with the young Negroes.

"I'd have been glad to swap any seven students in the medical school if I could have taken the whole batch," he later reported.

The point is that one of those boys came from an Alabama plantation and had quit high school at the end of his second year. Another had been working as a laborer in a motor plant. Drafted at eighteen, they had been given the usual intelligence and aptitude tests. Their marks were so astonishingly high that they had been ordered back to school and college, in order to be trained for commissions. The supply of Negro doctors is desperately short today because it never enters the mind of many a brilliant young Negro that a professional career might be open to him.

Negroes who do achieve college shrink from medical training because of the hardships ahead. It is tough for anybody, white or black, to get a medical education. All the schools are flooded with applications and can accept only a fraction. But for the Negro it is infinitely more difficult than for the white boy, because of his race. Unless he is a most exceptional student he will not be admitted even to the Howard Medical School or to the other Negro institution, Meharry Medical College, at Nashville, Tennessee. He is absolutely barred from Southern schools. His chance of getting into a so-called white medical college outside of the South is remote. Only eighty-five colored students are currently enrolled in twenty Northern and Western schools, as against 25,000 whites. About fifteen Negroes are graduated from these schools each year.

To get a realistic picture of the difficulties which confront the Negro seeking a medical education, we invented a boy whom we called Walter J. Simpson and wrote letters on his behalf to the medical schools of Cornell, Yale, Harvard, the University of Chicago and Stanford University. We had "Simpson" say he was seventeen years old and about to finish high school at the top of his class. "Simpson's" letter continued, in part:

> All my life, for as long as I can remember, it has been my burning ambition to become a doctor. My teachers have, at times, encouraged me. I have done well in science and mathematics and I am not afraid of work. I hope I don't sound foolish, but I would like to do some good in the world.
>
> My hope has been to get my bachelor degree, and then enroll in a medical school. But lately everybody has been discouraging me. They say that very few members of my race are admitted to the established medical schools. They tell me that if I am admitted, which is not probable, no hospital-training facilities exist. . . . Maybe I had better be content with my lot, and learn some trade.

The letter from the imaginary candidate closed with an appeal for frank advice. We supplied a Washington address at which replies could be received. None came from either Harvard or Cornell. The registrar at the Yale Medical School said briefly, but accurately enough, that only an applicant with everything in his favor has a chance. A letter from Chicago also pointed to the rigorous competition for sixty-five openings out of 1000 aspirants. The single encouraging answer was written by Dean L. R. Chandler, of the Stanford School of Medicine, who urged "Simpson" to enter college, work hard "and, if you have a high attainment, continue with your ambition.

"I am sure that you will not find it impossible at all," Doctor Chandler continued, "as all medical schools are looking for superiority."

They don't appear to be looking with any diligence so far as Negroes are concerned. Dean Charles S. Burwell, of the Harvard Medical School, told us that no discrimination whatsoever exists there. Four Negroes—one a girl—are studying medicine. Normally, only six or seven Negroes apply each year, Dean Burwell said, and one or two are accepted. It is undeniably true that the number of unusually able colored youths who seek admission is small compared with today's flood of whites. So the excuses of Northern educators are persuasive.

In the light of the pitifully small numbers graduated in recent decades, however, the medical deans are not wholly convincing. In Philadelphia, the Jewish Community Relations Council has completed an exhaustive survey into all phases of racial and minority discrimination in the city's professional colleges between 1920 and 1947. This survey discloses that only eighteen Negroes have been graduated from all five of the medical schools in twenty-seven years. The record is:

University of Pennsylvania Medical School	9
Temple University Medical School	8
Woman's Medical College	1
Hahnemann Medical College	0
Jefferson Medical College	0

At Hahnemann, however, a change in the administration brought about the admission of two Negroes last fall.

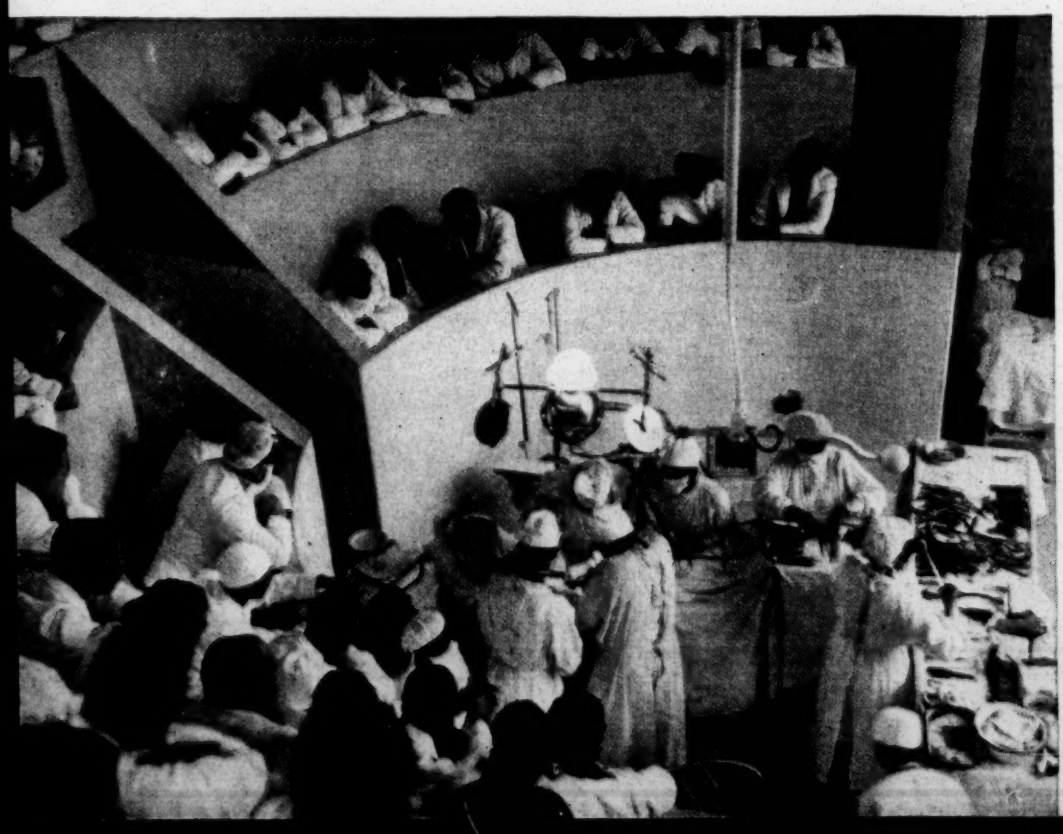
The showing in New York City medical schools is hardly better than in Philadelphia. A New York state law specifies that no educational institution claiming to be nonsectarian and enjoying tax exemption shall discriminate against "race, color or religion." Naturally, there have been emphatic denials that Negroes are barred for any reasons except character and scholarship. Charges of discrimination have continued, however, and in September, 1946, the City Council began an investigation. Between 1920 and 1945, the investigation revealed, fewer than fifty Negroes were graduated from the city's medical colleges. At no time had more than three Negroes at once been admitted to any single school. The investigating committee could find no Negro enrolled at Cornell University College of Medicine at any time between 1920 and 1942.

The committee had difficulty in learning the facts about Cornell and Columbia. Dr. Dayton Edwards, chairman of Cornell's admissions committee, testified at a hearing in October, 1946, that records of applicants, Negro or white, were no longer preserved. They were now destroyed after a year. Dean Willard C. Rappelye, of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia, gave similar testimony. The college authorities had thus blocked any possible way of determining the fitness of the Negro candidates.

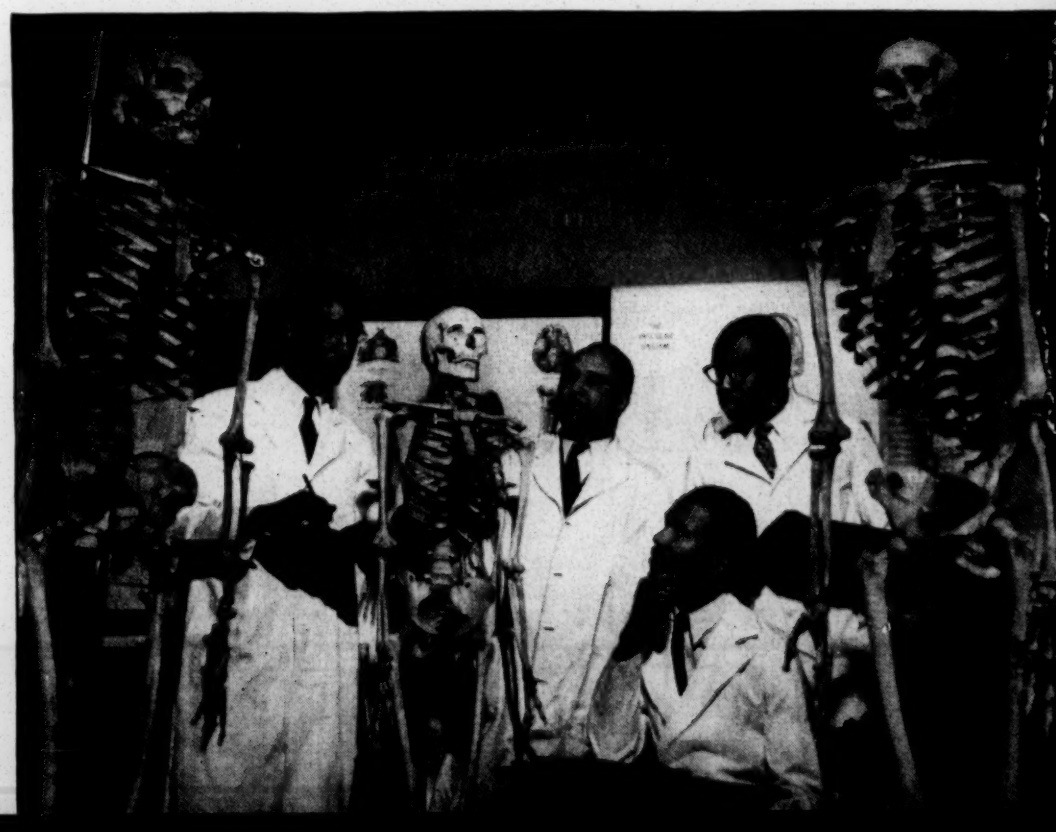
The young Negro who crashes the very tangible barriers, whether racial or not, soon learns that his struggle to become a skilled physician has just started. The lower economic status of his race makes the cost of a medical education a fearful burden. It is almost impossible to carry the heavy academic load and earn money after classes. Yet a large percentage of Negro medical students do just that. One morning during the war Dr. Charles R. Drew, among the ablest surgeons in the country and medical director of Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, was making ward rounds with his third-year students. Freedmen's, a Negro institution, provides training facilities for Howard's College of Medicine. Doctor Drew noticed that one of his brightest students was almost asleep on his feet.

(Continued on Page 69)

Negro medical students watch surgeons of their own race operate in Freedmen's Hospital. Few places in the U. S. will open facilities to them later.



Dr. M. Wharton Young (center) lecturing in Howard University. The only other Negro medical school in the country is Meharry College, in Nashville.



THE COLOR LINE IN MEDICINE

(Continued from Page 16)

"I had to take a job in the navy yard," the boy explained. "It's from midnight until eight in the morning."

The Negro medical student learns, as he masters his technical and difficult subject, that it is useless to apply for an internship at many hospitals in the North as well as in the South. He discovers the shocking fact that at Gallinger Hospital in Washington, D. C., a tax-supported institution where 70 per cent of the patients are Negroes, colored doctors are excluded. With few exceptions, the openings available to the Negro student for his essential year of hospital training are in one or another of the country's fourteen Negro hospitals approved for internships. At present these hospitals and half a dozen or so others provide a sufficient number of internships for the number of Negro medical graduates. But if the young physician wishes later to specialize, he will discover that hospital residencies—the chief avenue to specialization—are incomparably more difficult to obtain. If he practices in the South, he will find that he cannot treat his patients in the "white" hospitals, even in the segregated wards.

We have spent almost two months visiting white, black and biracial medical colleges and hospitals. We have talked with white doctors. We have seen many of the leading Negro physicians, some of whom are making outstanding contributions to their calling. We have consulted public-health experts and studied the records. The resulting picture is as complex and contradictory as any in the long, tragic history of race prejudice. Nobody is happy about the shortage of colored doctors and the resulting lowered health of an entire race. Even the most race-conscious Southerner doesn't want babies to die.

In one Southern city we saw the white superintendent of a large public hospital with a heavy Negro case load. He seemed a typical Southerner. We asked why there were no Negro staff physicians or interns to treat the colored patients.

"If I had my way," he said, "I'd open the doors tomorrow. I say that as a hospital man. Some of our colored doctors, denied hospital facilities, are improperly trained. Now, take an appendicitis case in some cabin in the country. First, the sick Negro probably doesn't call a doctor for a week. His appendix ruptures. Then his doctor makes a wrong diagnosis and treats him with cathartics for a week. At that point he's brought here. If we save him, he'll probably occupy a bed for six months instead of a few days. If all our Negro doctors had been educated thoroughly, things like that wouldn't happen. We could use that one bed for maybe fifty other patients. I'd get credit for handling more patients at lower costs. My board would say I was a smart hospital man."

It must be emphasized, however, that the problems of Negro medical education and care are almost as poignant in the North as in the South. Negroes constitute 10 per cent of the population, but only 1 per cent of the hospital beds in the country is open to them. It is virtually impossible, even in New York and many other Northern cities, for the Negro with means to obtain a private room in any hospital. We were told about a distinguished Negro whose wife was pregnant a decade ago. There was no shortage of hospital rooms then. But her obstetrician tried in vain to find her private accommodations in Manhattan. She could have her baby in a ward, he was told.

We don't mean, of course, that such intolerance is typical of all hospitals or all doctors. Both in the South and in the North white physicians treat Negroes. Emergencies are taken care of.

At this point, although it may seem strange, our story shifts to the Pacific Ocean. Among the officers on board a naval vessel during the war was a young man from Montclair, New Jersey, one of the wealthier suburbs of New York. The lieutenant liked books—good ones—but he found that most of his fellow officers were content with comic books. One day, on deck, he noticed a Negro mess attendant deep in a volume of Shakespeare. By the time their tour on the ship was over, the two were close friends. The lieutenant had not been home from the war long when the strange predicament of the Negro doctors in Montclair came to his attention. There were seven of them. Four were veterans. All were fully qualified. But none was permitted to treat his cases in any of the three Montclair hospitals. The lieutenant, possibly wondering what he had been fighting a war about, decided to do something. He persuaded the Montclair chapter of the American Veterans Committee to undertake an investigation. In due course, a report was compiled. It states:

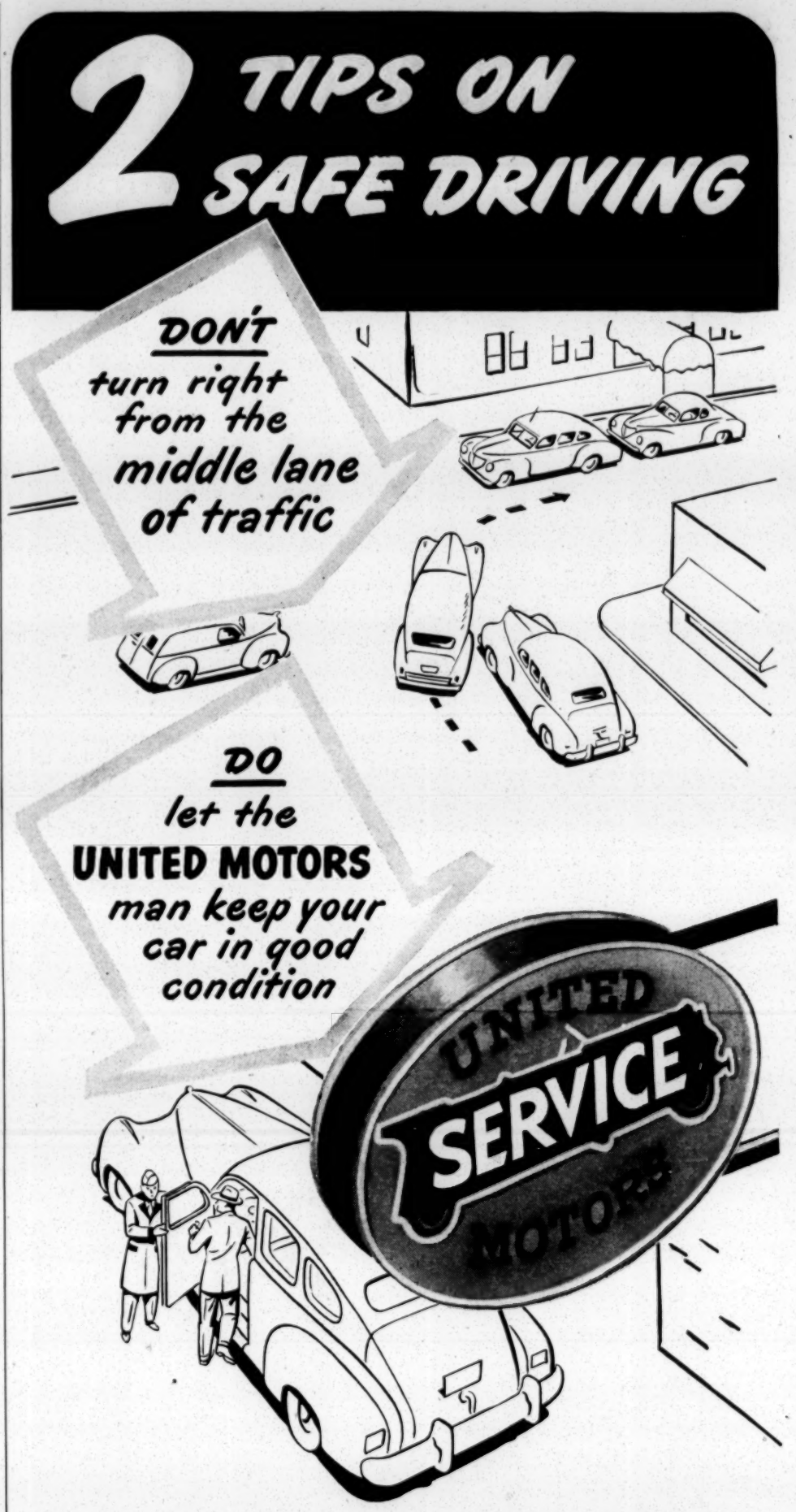
"Negro doctors, unable to treat their patients in hospitals, lose these patients to white doctors who can. Negro patients treated in clinics have no contact with Negro doctors, so they tend to return subsequently to white doctors. Or, if a Negro does go to the hospital and can pay for private service, he must still have a white doctor."

A new height of absurdity for a Northern community, it appears, has been achieved in Montclair. Negro doctors, attempting to call on their patients, have been told by hospital authorities to "come back during visiting hours." This is not uncommon in the South.

"The most calamitous effect on the community of this policy," the AVC study concludes, "is a failure to recognize that the low standards of Negro health that this system perpetuates directly affect the health of the entire community. A communicable disease is no respecter of the walls of segregated living areas."

The Negro physician who must surrender his hospitalized patient to a white doctor is gravely handicapped. In progressive North Carolina, we learned, there are thirteen Negro hospitals. These are in urban communities, however. A colored doctor we heard about, practicing 130 miles from Winston-Salem, sends his patients this long distance to the excellent Kate Bitting Reynolds Memorial Hospital for surgery. This municipal hospital for Negroes is staffed by colored physicians and surgeons. If the rural practitioner sent his cases to a hospital closer to home, he would very likely lose them permanently to a white doctor. The patient's reasoning is that the white man must be a better doctor. Why else would he have been turned over to him? Ill again, the patient does not bother with the Negro physician.

Gloomy as the picture is almost everywhere in the United States, yet there are bright spots. One is Cleveland, Ohio, whose City Hospital has



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"I met New England

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"Joe," said I, looking at his Massachusetts badge, "I didn't think you folks ever got so far from home. What d'ja do, hitch up the old surrey, take a steam train and go down Boston way and get yourself some new store clothes? You'll have quite some time telling your grandchildren 'bout that trip you made way out to Californiay."

Joe laughed. It was full bellied and the crinkly lines around his eyes deepened pleasantly.

"Well, Frank," said he at last, "Dad didn't much want me to come because he didn't want to tie up the company plane. You see we've got a plant—out around Quincy way—not Illinois—but *Massachusetts*, and seems like an idea of my brother's has 'caught on' and right now the plant is really humming. Guess we're pretty lucky to get an idea like this one but then we Yankees have been getting ideas for 300 years.

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"You don't have to sell me, Joe," I interrupted, "right now we're planning a factory site in New England."

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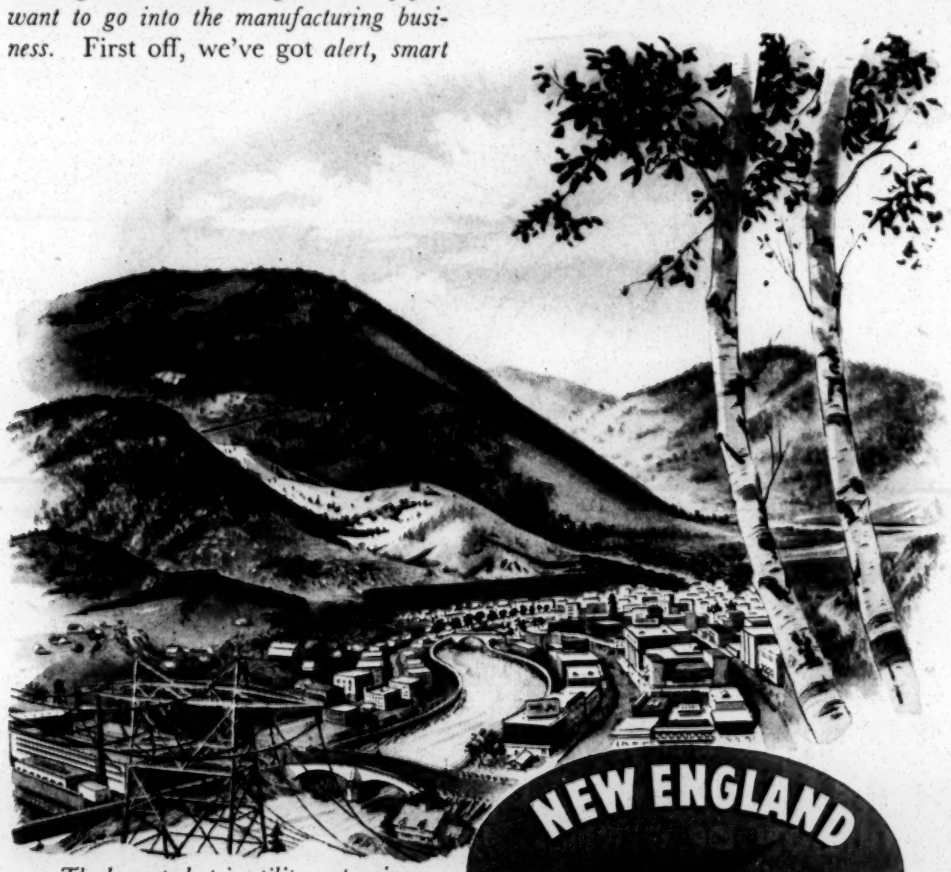

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trained thirty Negro interns in the past several years and where six Negroes teach at Western Reserve Medical School. Many of the strictly Negro institutions do admirable work despite their handicaps. Big, modern Homer G. Phillips Hospital in St. Louis deserves special mention. So do smaller ones like Lincoln Hospital in Durham, North Carolina.

Two bright spots are Howard University Medical School and Meharry Medical College. About 85 per cent of all the Negro doctors now in practice were graduated from one or the other. Between them they turn out some 140 doctors a year. They are first-class institutions, which easily stand comparison with other medical schools. But neither can even remotely handle the masses of young men and women who seek admission. Howard had 1341 candidates last fall and accepted seventy-four. Of the total number applying, it is believed that 200 were fully qualified. Dean Johnson, Doctor Drew and their colleagues at Howard wonder sadly whether the other 125 found places anywhere else or whether they forthwith abandoned their medical aspirations. Meharry took sixty-five out of more than 800 applicants.

Howard is Federally supported. Even so, most of the boys and girls who finish its medical course do so after great hardship. Tuition is $315 a year, which is low. But the cost of living in the capital is high. Dean Johnson estimates that total expenses run above $2000 annually and that 88 per cent of the students work part or even full time. Many wait on table for the traditional pay of one dollar and one meal a day. They have coffee and rolls for their two other meals. The briefest possible visit to Howard—or to Meharry—provides an absolute answer to the cruelly false theory that the Negro, given a chance, is incapable of acquiring a higher education.

Howard Medical School is fortunate in enjoying the facilities of Freedmen's Hospital, which adjoins it. Nearly 50 per cent of today's Negro physicians received their clinical training at Freedmen's. For years it was the only place which would accept them. We were shown through it by Charles E. Burbridge, the alert and affable young Negro superintendent. It seemed in every way superior to many white hospitals. The children's ward was bright and gay. The corridors and wards were clean. Like Howard, Freedmen's is a Federal institution. Its budget has been increased from $450,000 in 1939 to $2,200,000. It has 552 beds, including a separate building for tubercular patients. Some 70,000 patients each year are treated in its clinics.

The deep significance of Freedmen's Hospital to the future of Negro medicine is that it is a first-rate teaching institution. Doctor Drew and his colleagues are fully aware, of course, that the modern specialist cannot be produced by four years of medical school followed by one of internship. He must have additional years of postgraduate training. Too few Negroes go on to specialize, Doctor Drew believes. Some feel they cannot afford to. But in many cases they do not, because—save for Freedmen's and perhaps a dozen other hospitals—they have nowhere to prepare adequately for the required Specialty Board examinations. To date, only ninety-two Negroes have passed these severe tests. Of these men, twenty-seven are on the Howard faculty and Freedmen's staff. Five others have taken the first part of their board examinations.

The Washington Metropolitan Health Council sponsored a survey last year of hospitals and health conditions in the capital. Of Freedmen's the council's report said that the medical care was "of a high professional grade and the administrator is far-sighted and well informed. . . . The institution is impressive in spirit, its volume of work and its many evidences of progressive, forward-looking policies."

Freedmen's has one white doctor on its attending staff, but the rest are Negroes. Any qualified doctor, whatever his race or color, may treat his patients there, and more than 100

(Continued on Page 72)

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

"Yes, it's been my ambition to own a fine library ever since I was a poor struggling clerk in a chain grocery. Now *here's* a volume . . ."

(Continued from Page 70)

white physicians do so. Ironically, the Health Council's investigation disclosed that in 1945 the infant mortality at this fine Negro hospital was only half the rate at Gallinger, where Negro doctors may not treat their patients.

Meharry Medical College was founded in 1876, nine years after Howard. Originally a Methodist institution, it has had a troubled history due to lack of funds. But in the past ten years it has undergone a renaissance. Its present quality is largely the work of Dr. Edward L. Turner, who became president in 1938. Doctor Turner pulled together an able faculty and established entrance requirements comparable with those of the best medical schools. When he left in 1945 to become dean of the medical school at the University of Washington, Doctor Turner was succeeded by Dr. M. Don Clawson, a dental educator of international experience.

Located farther south than Howard, Meharry's problems are aggravated. Its top administrative posts have always been filled by whites. Dr. Murray C. Brown, director of medical studies and medical director of Meharry's Hubbard Hospital, explains that it is still necessary for white administrators to front for the college in its relations to the white community. But six Negroes sit on the board of trustees, and one of them, Matthew S. Davage, is a member of the finance and executive committees. Mr. Davage is so greatly respected that the committees have been known to postpone decisions in the event of his absence. Under the white administrators, Negro deans head Meharry's medical, dental and nursing schools.

Since 1876, Meharry has graduated almost 3000 students and more than 1200 dentists. Nine out of ten Negro dentists, incidentally, are trained at Howard or Meharry; as with physicians, their number is woefully small. More than half Meharry's students come from the South. Hardly a fifth of them can afford all their fees and expenses. About a third are on grants whereby the Southern states provide their Negro citizens with "equal opportunities."

Meharry is still building a faculty; at the moment, only three board-certified specialists are on its full-time staff. But the college is alive with enthusiasm, a sense of dedication and a fine scientific approach. On the faculty are a number of relatively young men who are viewed in medical circles as of great potential distinction. They include Dr. Matthew Walker in surgery, Dr. Thomas A. LaSaine in preventive medicine, Dr. Edward Perry Crump in pediatrics, Harold D. West in biochemistry and Dr. Clifton O. Dummett in dentistry. The rising quality of the Meharry faculty has aroused the sympathetic co-operation of the near-by Vanderbilt University Medical School staff, on whom Meharry is now able to draw in setting up research programs and for guest lectures.

Meharry's financial problems remain acute, however. Funds from the great foundations are nearly used up. Meharry's alumni—few of them affluent—have contributed the amazing sum of $450,000. But the school's annual budget has grown to more than $1,000,000, of which the students can contribute only $150,000. There is real danger that it may have to shut its doors unless some new plan of support is adopted. A plan has been offered and was tentatively approved by the Southern Governors' Conference of last fall. It provides for Meharry to become a regional institution, a kind of medical TVA, as President Clawson has described it, financed by fixed contributions from all the Southern states which seek to send students there. The number of entering students would in time be increased from 65 to 100, but admission standards would be maintained and even raised.

To us, the proposal seemed a good one for an immediate need. But to many a Negro, particularly in the North, the idea of Meharry as a regional college carries its connotation of heartache. For it seems like an implied endorsement of educational segregation. It offers a way for the Southern states to obey the letter of the Fourteenth Amendment while, at the same time, perpetuating separate educational systems for whites and blacks. Those who favor the plan claim that there is no other practical course.

On the one hand, as most objective Negroes will admit, the hope of an early death to educational segregation in the South is a barren dream. On the other, to establish a segregated medical college in each Southern state is quite impractical. For one thing, qualified faculties could not be found. Moreover, say the regional plan's proponents, the color line is gradually being breached, as witness the growing cordiality between Vanderbilt and Meharry. The best way in which Meharry can contribute to race harmony is to produce 100 top-flight doctors a year—men and women who might become specialists and demonstrate their knowledge and skills all over this broad land. Intolerance, they insist, fades in the light of great achievement.

A regionally supported Meharry, it is further argued, would be able to bring pressure on the Southern states to improve their colored grade schools, high schools and colleges. Meharry's influence has already accomplished this at Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial College, a state institution for Negroes.

These arguments are convincing to the staff at Meharry. A specific philosophy of realistic adjustment to environment has been developed at this struggling, exciting medical school on the edge of Nashville.

"We try to teach the students not to bump their heads against stone walls," Meharry's president has declared. "We try to teach them to be a little thick-skinned."

It is an unhappy fact that most white Americans are guilty of at least a little prejudice toward Negroes, however they may deny it or be ashamed of it. We can testify that it breaks down utterly in the presence of the distinguished men and women who are the leaders of the Negro medical profession. Their achievements alone would demand it. But so would their graciousness, their culture, their lack of bitterness. Take a man like Dr. Louis T. Wright, who is chief of surgery at Harlem Hospital in New York, one of the few hospitals in the country where Negroes can train for specialty status. Doctor Wright has five Negroes and five white doctors on his staff. He is a diplomate of the American Board of Surgery and the author of many scientific papers. He wrote the chapter on skull fractures in Scudder's textbook of surgery.

Doctor Wright, like all his Negro colleagues, rose to eminence the hard way. He was graduated from Harvard Medical School. When, in 1919, he was finally taken on in a clinic at Harlem Hospital, four white doctors walked out, announcing that they would not work "with a nigger doctor." One white physician on the staff met Doctor Wright at nine o'clock every morning for a solid year without saying a word to him. Yet Doctor Wright looks back on his struggle with amusement rather than anger. And Harlem Hospital's staff is now biracial throughout because of his efforts.

Then there is Dr. George D. Cannon, also of New York, who attended Rush Medical School at the University of Chicago and was stricken with tuberculosis part way through the course. This aroused his interest in chest diseases. After completing his internship he obtained a residency at Waverly Hills Sanitarium, a tubercular hospital of Louisville, Kentucky. He was, of course, allowed to care only for the Negro patients.

In Louisville, as everywhere, a number of Negro children were in grave danger of contracting tuberculosis. Doctor Cannon knew they could be helped if they were built up with food and rest in a preventorium. The hospital authorities agreed to give him space for this project, but said they had no beds. The youthful physician then got money for the beds from a Louisville philanthropist. He was resting on the hospital lawn one day when a truck appeared with the beds. But, to his mortification, they were taken into the white pavilion. Old beds, dirty and broken, were given him for the colored children.

"I used to get so angry that I would cry," Doctor Cannon remembers.

Dr. William Hinton, of Boston, is another leading Negro doctor. He is a lecturer in bacteriology at Harvard Medical School and head of bacteriology at the Boston Dispensary. The Hinton test for the detection of syphilis is rapidly replacing the Wassermann test. Still another eminent Negro doctor is Dr. Peter Marshall Murray, of New York, who was graduated from Howard Medical School in 1914 and now specializes in gynecology.

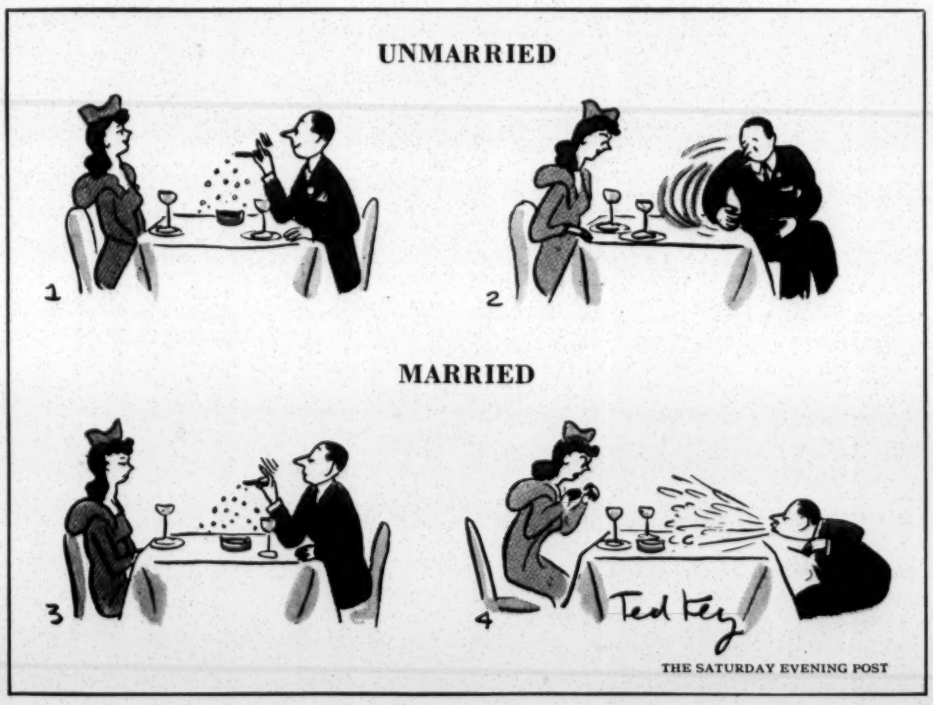
The Negro doctors in the South and in the national capital who cannot join the American Medical Association because of their color may, however, contribute to its journal and to other medical journals. Many of them do so. According to Dr. W. Montague Cobb, of Howard, who is preparing a bibliography of their contributions, at least one Negro has published one article or more in a leading journal in every field of medical knowledge. Doctor Cobb's survey lists more than 2200 titles by some 650 doctors. But those among them who live in the South cannot read their papers, as is the custom, before white scientific societies. They are barred from the valuable conventions of the AMA and of state and county medical groups.

The present rate of output of Negro doctors is just about replacing the ones who die or retire. And the number of deaths and retirements will increase, because a large percentage of Negro physicians are more than fifty years old. The eighty-five Negro medical students now in Northern and Western schools constitute the largest enrollment in history, due principally to the G. I. Bill of Rights. To the outsider, the struggle to increase their ranks might seem hopeless. But it doesn't seem so to Doctor Drew, of Howard. He admits that it will cost millions to expand plants and equipment, but this will be a low price for cutting the Negro death rate and reducing disease. Right now, he believes, Howard and Meharry should be enabled to admit 100 students each to the freshman class. If forty of the white schools would then admit two more students each than they do now, another 100 a year could start their training.

Doctor Drew has no doubt that 300 colored young men and women fully able to meet the stiffest standards at any school can be found. But they will not be found until there is some central clearing agency for applications. Today a qualified Negro may apply to half a dozen schools and then get discouraged. Doctor Drew's mind keeps going back to the 125 applicants who seemed up to specifications and yet could not get into Howard last fall. Some brilliant youth in Arizona may be equipped to meet the entrance requirements at Harvard or Cornell, yet it may never occur to him to try. In four to five years, under the system Doctor Drew envisages, he thinks that 600 candidates annually could be discovered; in a decade, 1000.

The medical director of Freedmen's Hospital thinks it conceivable that Negroes will someday be accepted even in the Southern medical schools. The relationship between white and colored doctors is getting better year by year. It all depends, he feels, on producing enough good Negro physicians. Although other friends of the Negro race, perhaps less patient, may disagree, it seemed to us that Doctor Brown, of Meharry, wisely summed up a complex situation.

"The issue," he said, "is education, not race. If we take care of education, race will take care of itself." THE END



C. H. OVERMAN
Director and
Secretary to Commission

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STATE IMPROVEMENT COMMISSION

P. O. Box 149
TALLAHASSEE

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Chairman

F. E. BAYLESS
Vice Chairman

GEO. W. GIBBS, SR.

H. H. BASKIN

ROBERT L. BANNERMAN

January 24, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

In response to your request of January 22nd you will find attached a copy of our Bulletin No. 2, which will give you a summary of our Florida Hospital Plan, together with other pertinent information concerning our hospital program. There is also attached a copy of a memorandum stating the progress of our program through January 8th of this year.

The State of Florida has no medical or dental school. Through our grants-in-aid program, we are encouraging the development of more and better nursing schools.

Our program aids local communities in financing construction of hospitals and health centers through Federal grants. There is no aid for the maintenance of hospitals. There is no State aid for the construction of hospitals.

Our efforts to provide medical care for low income groups are restricted to our hospital program formulated under the Federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act, and our efforts to promote Blue Cross and Blue Shield throughout the State.

Yours very truly,

Robert G. Carter

Robert G. Carter, Supervisor
Hospital Planning Division

RGC/hm

Encls.

January 22, 1948

Mr. Robert G. Carter, Supervisor
Hospital Planning Division
Florida State Improvement Commission
P.O. Box 149
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Carter:

The publication which you sent us in November, "Florida's Coordinated Hospital Program and the Federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act," has been most helpful to us in preparing a summary of the health and hospital programs in the Southern States. We are now preparing an article for publication in NEW SOUTH, and since we would like very much to include a correct and complete summary of Florida's activities, we need a bit more information.

We would appreciate very much whatever you could tell us about methods that Florida has adopted in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and (3) provide medical care for those low-income groups unable to bear the cost.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

C. H. OVERMAN
Director and
Secretary to Commission

FLORIDA
STATE IMPROVEMENT COMMISSION

P. O. Box 149
TALLAHASSEE

GOV. MILLARD CALDWELL
Chairman

F. E. BAYLESS
Vice Chairman

GEO. W. GIBBS, SR.

H. H. BASKIN

ROBERT L. BANNERMAN

November 1, 1947

Add'l info requested, 22 Jan 48

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of October 27th, addressed to our Director, Mr. Overman, has been referred to this Division for reply.

In response to your request for information on the development of Florida's hospital program under the Federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act, we are enclosing a copy of our Bulletin No. 2, dated October 27, 1947, which was prepared for distribution to interested parties in the State. The bulletin gives a brief summary of the conclusions reached as a result of our hospital survey, and an outline of the provisions of our State Hospital Plan.

If you should desire more detailed information concerning the program, we shall be glad to send you a copy of our State Hospital Plan or other data which might be helpful to you in preparing your survey of progress in the Southern States.

Yours very truly,

Robert G. Carter

Robert G. Carter, Supervisor
Hospital Planning Division

RGC/MR
enc.

October 27, 1947

Mr. C. H. Overman, Director
State Improvement Commission
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Overman:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Florida.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you --of what has been done, and is being done, in the administration of Florida's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

State Board of Health

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M. L. WHITNEY, M.D.

State Department of Health

State of Oklahoma

3400 NORTH EASTERN
OKLAHOMA CITY 5, OKLAHOMA

Commissioner
G. F. MATHEWS, M.D.

January 26, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

In reply to your letter of January 22, 1948 wherein you have requested information concerning methods which Oklahoma has adopted to meet the need for additional medical personnel, aid to local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and providing medical care for the low-income groups, may we advise that no definite steps have been taken for solving any of these three problems as a direct part of the Hospital Construction in this department.

The outline of the State Plan will be forwarded to you at an early date.

Yours very truly,

G. F. Mathews

G.F. Mathews, M.D.
Commissioner of Health

PAS:pc

January 22, 1948

Dr. G.F. Mathews
Commissioner of Health
State Department of Health
Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Mathews:

In your letter of November 5, 1947, you wrote that you were in the process of summarizing in publication form the Oklahoma hospital construction plan. We are now preparing for publication an article on the health and hospital programs of the various Southern states, and we would like very much to include a summary of Oklahoma's activities in our survey.

In addition to a summary of the State plan and construction program, we would appreciate any information you could give us on methods that Oklahoma has adopted in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and (3) provide medical care for those low-income groups unable to pay the cost.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

State Board of Health

CHAS. R. ROUNTREE, M.D., PRESIDENT
CHAS. ED. WHITE, M.D., VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. R. L. LOY, SECRETARY
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OTHO R. WHITENECK, D.D.S.
M. L. WHITNEY, M.D.

State Department of Health

State of Oklahoma

3400 NORTH EASTERN
OKLAHOMA CITY 5, OKLAHOMA

Commissioner
G. F. MATHEWS, M.D.

November 5, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated October 27, 1947, requesting information on the status of the Hospital Construction Program in Oklahoma.

May we advise that we are now in the process of summarizing our work in publication form, and we will be glad to supply you with this information when it becomes available.

Yours very truly,

G.F. Mathews, M.D.
Commissioner of Health

GFM:pc

Written again 22 Jan 48

October 27, 1947

Dr. Grady F. Mathews, Commissioner
State Health Department
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Mathews:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Oklahoma.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in the administration of Oklahoma's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

State of Alabama

Department of Public Health

Montgomery 4, Alabama

D. G. GILL, M. D.
STATE HEALTH OFFICER

January 27, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

We are enclosing herewith a copy of the booklet "On Our Way" which is a summary of State and Federal legislation and the Alabama Master Hospital Plan.

This booklet was prepared to help community leaders understand the hospital program and work to solve their hospital needs. This is the only publication that we have available at this time and it will give you a summary of Alabama's hospital needs.

Yours very truly,

H. F. Singleton

H. F. Singleton
Hospital Administrator

HFS:e

Encl.

January 22, 1948

Mr. H.F. Singleton
Hospital Planning Division
Department of Public Health
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Singleton:

In your letter of November 13, 1947, you wrote that you were preparing a summary for us of Alabama's health and hospital program. We are now preparing for publication in New South our article on the health and hospital programs of the various Southern states, and we would like very much to include a summary of Alabama's activities in our survey.

In addition to a summary of Alabama's hospital survey and plan, we would appreciate whatever information you could give us on methods Alabama has adopted in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and (3) provide medical care for those low-income groups unable to pay the cost.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

October 27, 1947

Dr. D. G. Gill
State Health Officer
State Board of Health
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gill:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Alabama.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in your State in the administration of your hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

R. H. HUTCHESON, M. D.
COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC HEALTH

STATE OF TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
NASHVILLE 3

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R. B. WOOD, M.D., KNOXVILLE

January 27, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of January 23, 1948. With reference to your inquiries, the following is submitted:

1. The Tennessee State Plan was approved by the State Hospital Advisory Committee on September 4, 1947, and by the Surgeon General, U. S. Public Health Service, on October 2, 1947.

2. The measures which Tennessee is planning to adopt:

a. The need for additional medical personnel is realized by all in the State of Tennessee, and careful consideration is being given to this need. However, no definite plan has been adopted as yet toward meeting this need.

b. The State of Tennessee has not adopted and is not planning to adopt any measures involving aid to local communities in constructing and maintaining hospitals and health centers.

c. Other than the provisions contained in the regulations for preparation of the State Plan, Section 53.63, "Hospital Services for Persons Unable to Pay Therefor", no measures have been adopted.

Very truly yours,

R. H. Hutcheson
Commissioner

RHH:CCD:lt

January 23, 1948

Dr. R.H. Hutcheson, Commissioner
Tennessee Department of Public Health
420 Sixth Avenue North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Hutcheson:

The publications which you sent us containing information on the Tennessee hospital survey and construction program have been of great help to us in preparing our summary of the health and hospital programs in the Southern States. We are now preparing our article for publication in NEW SOUTH, and since we want to be sure that we include an accurate and complete summary of Tennessee's activities, we are writing to request a bit more information.

We would appreciate very much whatever information you could give us on the following:

1. The present status of the Tennessee Plan -- i.e., whether or not it has been approved by the State Legislature and by the U.S. Surgeon General.

2. The measures which Tennessee has adopted, or is planning to adopt, in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance

of hospitals and health centers, and (3) provide medical care for those income groups unable to bear all or part of the cost.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

R. H. HUTCHESON, M. D.
COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC HEALTH

STATE OF TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
NASHVILLE 3
420 6th Avenue, North

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R. B. WOOD, M.D., KNOXVILLE

October 30, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 27 requesting a summary of what has been and is being done in the administration of the Hospital Survey and Construction Program for Tennessee. I am forwarding under separate cover a report by the State Department of Public Health entitled "Hospital and Health Department Facilities and Needs in Tennessee", consisting of five chapters and foreword. The Department of Public Health is now having this printed in one volume, with index. The fifth chapter contains the State plan for hospital construction.

I am also sending under separate cover the explanation and discussion of the plan as given before the State Hospital Advisory Committee on September 4. The Survey and Construction Program was approved by the U. S. Public Health Service on October 2, 1947. You are at liberty to use any or all of this material as you wish.

I trust this gives you the information you desire.

Very truly yours,

R. H. Hutcheson
Commissioner

RHH:CCD:lt

October 27, 1947

Dr. R. H. Hutcheson, Commissioner
State Department of Public Health
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Hutcheson:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Tennessee.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done and is being done in the administration of Tennessee's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

ARKANSAS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH

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T. T. ROSS, M. D.
STATE HEALTH OFFICER

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J. P. PRICE, M. D.

January 29, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

In accordance with your request of January 22, we wish to advise you that the State Plan for hospital construction in Arkansas was approved by the Surgeon General on December 4, 1947.

We are at the present time re-writing this publication for general distribution and a copy will be supplied you at an early date.

As regards other information requested in your communication, please be advised:

(1) The State of Arkansas, as you no doubt noted in the publication entitled "Hospital and Health Services in Arkansas", made a thorough study of the economic, social, and hospital and health needs of the entire state and on the basis of this study we developed for our State Plan ten hospital regions and thirty-nine hospital districts taking into complete consideration in the establishment of these regions and areas, highways, natural barriers, public transportation, habit and custom.

After having established the areas, the population was determined and the area analysed for the purpose of classifying them either base, intermediate, or rural areas.

The Federal formula, as provided in Public Law 725 was applied to the areas on the basis of the analysis, thus determining the needs of that particular community in so far as physical hospital plants were concerned. An actual door to door survey was made of every hospital and related institution in the State of Arkansas for the purpose of classifying the beds contained therein as being either acceptable or non-acceptable. The results of this survey along with the results of the determination of total need gave us the percentage of need already met in each of the hospital areas in so far as acceptable hospital beds were concerned, on this basis the hospital

areas were assigned priority rating beginning with the lowest percentage of need met and continuing on through the list, with the priority bracket being broken down in units of 15% thus giving five priority brackets.

On the basis of the priority as established for each of the hospital areas Federal funds are alotted for hospital construction. It is to be noted, however, that certain variations were made for the purpose of establishing in relative low priority areas additional beds for research purposes, teaching and training purposes and special purposes such as additional beds for the care and treatment of children, etc.

(2) There has been no outstanding progress made to supply additional medical personnel except an enlarged recruitment program for nurses training and practical nurses training and a move by the State Medical School, which is to assign to rural areas graduate medical students for a portion of their intern training period, and the proposed establishment in the near future within the State Medical School of training facilities for X-ray and laboratory technicians.

Other plans are in formative stages but have not reached a point worthy of mention.

(3) No plans have been made so far by the State to aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers. It is our understanding that such a proposal is on foot for presentation to the next session of State Legislature which meets in January 1949.

(4) There is nothing new in proposals to provide medical care for those low income groupes unable to bear the cost with the exception of our State Welfare Program which is inadequate.

If we can provide additional information or be of service to you at any time, please advise.

Sincerely,

Moody Moore

Moody Moore, Director
Division of Hospitals

MM/rsb

January 22, 1948

Mr. Moody Moore, Director
Division of Hospitals
Arkansas State Board of Health
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Moore:

The publication which you sent us in November, "Hospital and Health Services in Arkansas", has been of great help to us in preparing a summary of the health and hospital programs in the Southern States. We are now preparing the article for publication in NEW SOUTH, and since we would like very much to include a complete summary of Arkansas' activities, we would like to aske you for a little additional information.

In your letter of November 3, 1947, you stated that the official State Plan would be submitted for approval to the Surgeon General immediately upon completion of the public hearings then being held. Has the Plan now been approved by the Surgeon General so that the program can get under way?

We would also appreciate whatever information you could give us on methods that Arkansas has adopted in order to (1) set up a priority system for the receipt of financial aid, (2) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (3) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers,

and (4) provide medical care for those low-income groups unable to bear the cost.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

ARKANSAS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH

LITTLE ROCK

T. T. ROSS, M. D.
STATE HEALTH OFFICER

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November 3, 1947

Additional info requested, 22 Jan 48

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge yours of October 27, addressed to Dr. T. T. Ross and referred to the writer for reply.

We have read with interest, the September issue of your monthly publication entitled "NEW SOUTH" , and are taking the liberty of using excerpts from this publication for newspaper releases. If this is out of line, please advise.

In the State of Arkansas, the hospital survey has been completed and a copy is enclosed for your information. We have revised certain portions of this survey and have completed our State Plan as required by Public Law 725 for participation in Federal Funds. At the present time, public hearings are being held throughout the State. Immediately on completion of these hearings, our official State Plan will be submitted to the Surgeon General for approval.

Also, under the authority of Act 85 of 1947, State of Arkansas, we are in the process of inspecting, regulating and licensing all hospitals and related institutions, using the same standards for those hospitals as exist as will be used for those hospitals built with Federal funds.

If additional information is needed or if this office can be of service to you please advise.

Sincerely,

Moody Moore

Moody Moore, Director
Division of Hospitals

MM/rsb

Enclosure

October 27, 1947

Dr. T. T. Ross
State Health Officer
State Board of Health
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Dr. Ross:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Arkansas.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in the administration of Arkansas' hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

L. J. ROPER, M.D.
COMMISSIONER

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

RICHMOND, 19

January 29, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

Your letter of January 23, 1948 relative to the activities of Virginia and her hospital and health program has been received. I shall attempt to answer your questions as listed and in the event that this information does not fully cover what you have in mind, I suggest that you contact Mr. Ronald B. Almack, Director, Bureau of Hospital Survey and Construction in Richmond.

Answer to question #1: We developed a priority system which takes into consideration a number of definite factors which influence the need for medical and hospital facilities, among them the population to be served, the remoteness of the area, the present utilization rate of existing facilities and the ratio of bed needs based on the population of the hospital area. These factors were adjusted on a formula adopted by the State Advisory Hospital Council and in reality seven of the nine areas in A Priority are rural areas which at the present time have no hospital facilities at all, the remaining two being intermediate hospital areas whose existing facilities are in dire need of replacement. Our priority system in keeping with Federal Law, places the greatest emphasis however in rural areas.

Answer to question #2: The Virginia Hospital Plan has been approved by the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, as of December 26, 1947 and no approval is required by our State Legislature.

Answer to question #3 (a and b): Although not within the scope of our official activities, great strides have been made by the Virginia Council on Health and Medical Care in presenting the facts to the people and attending to newspaper releases. A bill has been presented to the current session of the legislature requesting funds for the construction of hospitals and health centers for those areas which are not economically capable of matching two-thirds of Federal money. A certain number of medical scholarships have also been made available in the teaching institutions, ~~for~~ and it is anticipated that this number of scholarships will increase materially this year.

Answer to question #3 (c): Virginia is one of the few states, to my

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

L. J. ROPER, M.D.
COMMISSIONER

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

RICHMOND, 19

knowledge, which through its' State Health Department has a successfully operated Medical Care Program for its' indigent in which on a matching basis with the localities, hospital bills are paid on the basis of a cost contract with the various hospitals. This has been a highly successful undertaking. I think probably Maryland is the only other State operating in this manner. Attention has also been given to our experiment in medical care for all the population of a particular area through the medium of Blue Cross.

The writer would very much appreciate a copy of the summary you are preparing when it is available for distribution. I am forwarding a copy of this letter to the Commissioner of Health, Dr. L. J. Roper, and also to Mr. Ronald B. Almack, the present Director of Hospital Survey and Construction Program.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A. G. Howell, Consultant
Bureau of Hospital Survey
and Construction

AGH/jcj

January 23, 1948

Mr. A.G. Howell, Consultant
Bureau of Hospital Survey and Construction
State Department of Health
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Howell:

Your article in "Southern Hospitals" on Virginia's hospital survey and construction program, which you sent us in November, has been most helpful to us in preparing our summary of the health and hospital programs in the Southern States. We are now preparing our article for publication in NEW SOUTH, and since we would like very much to include a complete and correct summary of Virginia's activities, we are writing you for a bit more information.

We would appreciate very much any information that you could give us on the following:

1. The kind of priority system set up by the Virginia Plan in order to insure financial aid to those communities with the greatest needs.

2. Present status of the Virginia Plan -- i.e., whether or not the Plan has been approved by the State Legislature and the U.S. Surgeon General.

3. Methods adopted by Virginia in order to (a) meet the need for additional medical

personnel, (b) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and (c) provide medical care for those income groups unable to bear all or only part of the cost.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SOUTHERN HOSPITALS

DEVOTED TO THE INTEREST OF SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY

CLARK-SMITH PUBLISHING COMPANY

CHARLOTTE 1, N. C.

5 Nov., 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have under date of Nov. 4 a communication from Mr. A. G. Howell, consultant to the Bureau of Hospital Survey and Construction for Virginia, in which he asks that we permit you to reprint his article which appeared in October SOUTHERN HOSPITALS.

You hereby have our approval for such reprinting, and under separate cover we are forwarding you a copy of that particular issue.

Yours very truly,

Andrew Hewitt

Andrew Hewitt,
Managing Editor

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE HOSPITAL ASSOCIATIONS OF
ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, KENTUCKY, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, NORTH CAROLINA, OKLAHOMA, SOUTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, VIRGINIA, WEST VIRGINIA, SOUTHEASTERN HOSPITAL CONFERENCE, CAROLINAS-VIRGINIA HOSPITAL CONFERENCE

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

L. J. ROPER, M. D.
COMMISSIONER

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

RICHMOND, 19

Add'l info requested - 23 Jan 48

November 4, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of October 27, 1947 addressed to Dr. L. J. Roper has been referred to me for reply.

In the October issue of "Southern Hospitals" published in Charlotte, North Carolina, there appeared an article which I think would probably meet your request. I am taking the liberty to write my friend, the editor of that magazine and ask him if he will permit a recopy in your publication, should this meet with your approval. You will no doubt hear from "Southern Hospitals" in a short time.

Thank you for your letter and the opportunity to discuss Virginia's hospital program through your magazine.

Very sincerely yours,

A. G. Howell, Consultant
Bureau of Hospital Survey and
Construction

AGH/jcj

~~Hill Information Request~~

October 27, 1947

Dr. L. J. Roper, Commissioner
State Department of Health
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Roper:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you has head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Virginia.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done and is being done in the administration of Virginia's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

State of Georgia
Department of Public Health

T. F. ABERCROMBIE, M. D., DIRECTOR
ATLANTA

January 30, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

In reply to your inquiry of January 23, regarding methods Georgia has adopted, or is planning to adopt, to meet certain problems:

(1) Additional medical personnel
  (a) Emory University will increase the enrollment in the School of Medicine by 20% this coming September - increase from 60 to 72.
  (b) We do not have information in this office regarding any contemplated enrollment increases at the University of Georgia Medical School. Such data could be obtained from Dr. G. Lombard Kelly, Dean, School of Medicine, University of Georgia, Augusta, Georgia.

(2) There is no State aid as of this date which may be used to aid in the construction of hospitals or public health centers.

(3) At the present time, there is no medical care program in the State of Georgia, however, the following programs border on this principle:
  (a) Emergency Maternity and Infant Care
  (b) Vocational Rehabilitation
  (c) Crippled Children's Service.

Very truly yours,

James M. Sitton

James M. Sitton, Administrative Officer
Division of Hospital Services

JMS:sdp

January 23, 1948

Mr. John E. Ransom, Director
Division of Hospital Services
Georgia Department of Public Health
State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ransom:

The article which you sent us on Georgia's health and hospital program has been of great help to us in preparing our summary of the health and hospital plans of the various Southern States. We are now preparing our article for publication in NEW SOUTH, and since we would like to include a complete and correct summary of Georgia's activities, we are writing to request a bit more information.

We would appreciate very much whatever information you could give us concerning the methods which Georgia has adopted or is planning to adopt in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and (3) provide medical care for those income groups unable to bear all or part of the cost.

Thank you very much for you help.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

S.R.C., - ~~Measurement Studies~~
Hospital Study
(South)

October 27, 1947

Dr. T. F. Abercrombie, Director
State Board of Public Health
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Abercrombie:

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in the administration of Georgia's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

WE WANT A LEAGUE, OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE, WITH EVERY WELL-WISHER OF KENTUCKY AND HER PEOPLE

STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH OF KENTUCKY

P. E. Blackerby, M. D.,
State Health Commissioner

January 30,1948

620 South Third Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Attention: Jane P. Simpson,
Research Assistant

Gentlemen:

Your letter of January 23, 1948, has been received.

The answers to your questions are as follows:

(1) A large scholarship loan fund as been established to assist in the education of the medical students. The State Legislature is now considering a number of plans for the purpose of providing financial assistance to the medical school in Louisville.

(2) Under present Kentucky Laws, the State cannot assist in the financing of local hospitals. The Legislature is studying a number of bills to alter this condition.

(3) There are no provisions in this State for assisting in the medical care of the low income groups, with exception of the responsibility that is placed on Counties to provide for the indigent and infirm.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. Atkinson

W. B. Atkinson, M.D.,
Director, Division of
Medical, Hospital and
Related Services

WBA:glb

January 23, 1948

Dr. W.B. Atkinson, Director
Division of Medical, Hospital and
Related Services
State Department of Health
620 South Third Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Atkinson:

The October issue of the State Health Department Bulletin containing information on Kentucky's Hospital Survey and Planning Program has been most helpful to us in preparing our summary of the health and hospital programs of the various Southern States. We are now preparing the article for publication in NEW SOUTH, and since we would like very much to include a correct and complete summary of Kentucky's activities, we are writing for a bit more information.

We would appreciate very much whatever information you could give us on the methods which Kentucky has adopted in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and (3) provide medical care for those income groups unable to bear all or part of the cost.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

WE WANT A LEAGUE, OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE, WITH EVERY WELL-WISHER OF KENTUCKY AND HER PEOPLE

STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH OF KENTUCKY

P. E. Blackerby, M. D.,
State Health Commissioner.

November 13, 1947

620 South Third Street,
Louisville 2, Kentucky.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

As per our letter to you under date of November 3, 1947, we are sending you under separate cover a copy of the State Department of Health Bulletin, which gives the progress of Kentucky's Hospital Program.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. Atkinson

W. B. Atkinson, M.D., Director
Division of Medical, Hospital
and Related Services

WBA:glb

WE WANT A LEAGUE, OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE, WITH EVERY WELL-WISHER OF KENTUCKY AND HER PEOPLE

STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH OF KENTUCKY

P. E. Blackerby, M. D.,
State Health Commissioner.

November 3, 1947

620 South Third Street,
Louisville 2, Kentucky.

Addl info requested 23 Jan 48

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

In reply to your letter of October 27, 1947, to Dr. Blackerby requesting information in regard to Kentucky's Hospital Survey and Planning Program, may we say that the progress of this program is being published in the October issue of our State Health Department Bulletin. When the Bulletin is off the press we shall be glad to mail you a copy of it.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. Atkinson

W. B. Atkinson, M.D., Director
Division of Medical, Hospital
and Related Services

WBA:glb

October 27, 1947

Dr. P. E. Blackerby, Commissioner
State Department of Health
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Blackerby:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in Kentucky.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in the administration of Kentucky's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

State Board of Health
of South Carolina

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BEN F. WYMAN, M.D.
STATE HEALTH OFFICER
Columbia 10, S. C.

February 7, 1948.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Under separate cover we are forwarding a copy of the South Carolina State Plan for the construction of hospitals and other health facilities under Public Law 725.

In reply to the questions listed in your letter of January 22, the following information is furnished:

(1) The South Carolina State Legislature has appropriated the sum of $3,100,000 for the construction of a teaching hospital at the South Carolina Medical College located at Charleston, South Carolina.

(2) The State Legislature, during its 1947 session, appropriated funds to assist counties in building hospitals and/or health centers. Each county in the state was given a sum of $20,000 plus $5,000 for each member of the State Legislature. This money may be used to construct a hospital, public health center or to pay for the hospital care of indigent patients. This was a one year appropriation and is not to be continued without new legislation.

(3) While the State matches Federal funds made available for the care of certain types of patients, such as the treatment of Crippled Children, the rehabilitation of adults who have diseases or other disabilities which prevent gainful employment, and for the treatment of patients suffering from cancer as well as the operation of State Tuberculosis Sanatorium and State mental hospital, there is no state appropriation for the general care of low income groups.

We trust this is the information you desire.

Very truly yours

C. L. Guyton

C. L. Guyton, M. D., Director
Hospital Division

January 22, 1948

Dr. C.L. Guyton, Director
Hospital Division
State Board of Health
Columbia 10, S.C.

Dear Dr. Guyton:

In your letter of December 8, 1947, you wrote that the State Plan of Hospital Construction for South Carolina was in the process of completion and that you hoped to be able to furnish us with a summary of the Plan in the near future. We are now preparing for publication in New South our article on the health and hospital programs of the various Southern states, and we would like very much to include a summary of South Carolina's activities in our survey.

In addition to a summary of the State Plan and construction program, we would appreciate any information you could give us on methods South Carolina has adopted in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of hospitals and health centers, and (3) provide medical care for those low-income groups unable to pay the cost.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

State Board of Health
of South Carolina

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December 8, 1947.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of December 4 addressed to Dr. Wyman has been referred to this Division for reply.

The State Plan of Hospital Construction for South Carolina is being developed and should be finished by January 1, 1948. As soon as it has been approved by the Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service we hope to give it wide publicity. At that time we shall furnish you a summary of the State Plan and the construction program which we hope to carry out in South Carolina during the five years that funds are available under Public Law No. 725, the Hill Burton Act.

Very truly yours

C. L. Guyton

C. L. Guyton, M. D., Director
Hospital Division

Written again
22 Jan 48

October 27, 1947

Dr. Ben F. Wyman
State Health Officer
State Health Department
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Wyman:

The United States Public Health Service has referred us to you as head of the state agency directing the hospital program in South Carolina.

In the September issue of our monthly publication NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed, we discussed the progress of North Carolina under the Hill-Burton Act. This information was warmly received by our subscribers, and we have had requests for a similar check-up of progress in the other Southern States.

Would you be kind enough to furnish us with a summary -- in any form most convenient for you -- of what has been done, and is being done, in the administration of South Carolina's hospital survey and planning program? We shall be most grateful for any information you may give us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

STATE OF LOUISIANA

DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS

BATON ROUGE

ROBERT L. PETTIT
DIRECTOR

March 16, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

On January 1, 1948 the Department of Institutions assumed responsibility for the administration of Public Law 725. Mr. Mitchell, of the Governor's Office has, therefore, forwarded to us your letter of January 23, 1948 in which you requested information concerning various phases of Louisiana's Hospital and Health Center Program, for inclusion in your publication New South.

Special committees are presently investigating the problems of tuberculosis, mental and chronic disease facilities, and problems of hospital licensing in Louisiana. These studies are expected to be completed in the near future and are to be submitted to the Director of the Department of Institutions for approval.

Louisiana's State Plan has been accepted and approved by the Surgeon General.

The state is encouraging professional training to meet the existing need for additional hospital personnel. There are in Louisiana two Schools of Medicine, one a part of Louisiana State University, the other connected with Tulane University, both of which use the facilities and abundant clinical material of New Orleans Charity Hospital; two accredited schools for Laboratory Technicians; three Schools of Nursing; a School for X-Ray Technicians and one approved School for Hospital Dietitians. Numerous privately owned, accredited schools are located throughout the state, and expansion is being encouraged through the provisions of Public Law 725 allowing construction of training facilities in conjunction with hospitals.

At present, Louisiana law prohibits financial aid for the construction and maintenance of privately owned, pay hospitals. Moreover, no public funds collected by political sub-divisions or municipalities may be expended for hospital construction unless the unit is to be primarily for charity purposes. At present, there is in the state a great deal of sentiment in favor of the creation of special hospital districts, similar to drainage districts, with the power to tax themselves for the construction of non-profit pay hospitals which would, of course, be controlled by a governing board representative of the hospital district. It

is entirely possible that legislation for some such arrangement as this will be presented to the Legislature by private groups interested in hospital construction.

Financial aid for Public Health Centers is derived from various sources including contributions from the State, Parish, Federal Appropriations and local contributions from groups such as the School Board and Police Jury. At present, the formula for state appropriations to Parish Health Centers is being revised, and for that reason we cannot say exactly on what basis funds are allotted to each local health unit.

I hope that I have included information that will be helpful to you in your publication. If I can be of further service, please let me know.

Yours very truly,

C. H. Callahan

C. H. Callahan
Hospital Survey Consultant

January 23, 1948

Mr. Charlie Mitchell, Director
Health and Hospital Division
State of Louisiana, Executive Department
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The material which you sent us in November, the State Plan for Hospital and Health Center Construction and "Social Aspects of Hospital Planning in Louisiana", has been most helpful to us in preparing our summary of the health and hospital programs in the Southern States. We are now preparing an article for publication in NEW SOUTH, and since we would like very much to include a correct and complete summary of Louisiana's activities, we are writing to request a bit more information.

In your letter of November 4, 1947, you wrote that special committees had undertaken study of the problems of tuberculosis, mental and chronic disease facilities and of hospital licensure. Have those special studies now been completed and plans drawn up? Also, has Louisiana's Plan been approved by the Surgeon General?

We would also appreciate very much anything you could tell us about methods that Louisiana has adopted in order to (1) meet the need for additional medical personnel, (2) aid local communities in financing the construction and maintenance of

of hospitals and health centers, and(3)provide medical care for those low-income groups unable to bear all or part of the cost.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

addl info requested, 23 Jan 48

STATE OF LOUISIANA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
BATON ROUGE

JIMMIE H. DAVIS
GOVERNOR

CHARLIE MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

November 4, 1947

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have your letter of October 27, 1947 requesting information regarding the progress made by Louisiana in the development of a program for hospital and health center construction. We appreciate the opportunity to place before your readers information regarding this State's health activities.

Following the passage of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act Louisiana undertook a complete survey of all existing hospital and health center facilities. Proceding upon information obtained in this inventory as well as that supplied by various agencies cooperating in the project with the Health and Hospital Division, the latter Agency proceded with the development of the State Plan.

Upon completion of our inventory it was found that a greater part of the information contained in our files dealt with general hospitals. We did not feel that the rather limited material regarding Tuberculosis, mental and chronic disease facilities provided a sufficient basis for intelligent planning. Special Committees were therefore appointed to contimue a study of the problems of providing adequate facilities in these three categories. Other study groups were also appointed to investigate the problem of standards of hospital and health center construction and equipment. A committee appointed by the Louisiana State Hospital Association, another by the Louisiana State Medical Society and a third appointed by the Health and Hospital Division are presently studying the problem of hospital licensure in accordance with Public Law 725. It is felt that these three committees, after their preliminary work as separate bodies has been completed, will

Special studies completed?

be able to meet and to co-ordinate their respective findings in the submission of an acceptable draft of a hospital licensure law for consideration by the State Legislature at its next regular meeting.

We are forwarding separately a copy of the State Plan for Hospital and Health Center Construction. We have also enclosed a copy of a recently published work by Dr. Homer L. Hitt and Alvin L. Bertrand of the Department of Rural Sociology of the Louisiana State University. This latter work, "The Social Aspects of Hospital Planning in Louisiana", compiled by the authors in cooperation with the Health and Hospital Division presents a very striking picture of health conditions in this State as well as the socio-economic factors which will condition any program developed to solve Louisiana's health problems.

If the material as we have submitted it to you is not in a form most suitable for publication in the NEW SOUTH, please let me know and we will be glad to submit the information contained in the State Plan and Dr. Hitt's work in a summary fashion.

Yours very truly,

Charlie Mitchell

Charlie Mitchell, Director
Health and Hospital Division

1 copy of May '48 New South (Hospital Construction and Health issue) sent to each hospital on attached list. No accompanying letter.

Hospitals (100 or more beds)

Alabama

Anniston Memorial Hosp. (105)
Anniston, Ala.
Baptist Hosp. (118), Birmingham
Jefferson & Hillman Hospitals (560)
Birmingham
Norwood Hosp. (175), B'ham
St. Vincent's Hosp. (125), B'ham
South Highlands Infirmary (150), B'ham
Holy Name of Jesus Hosp. (120), Gadsden
City Hosp. (265), Mobile
Mobile Infirmary (150), Mobile
Providence Hosp (117), Mobile
St. Margaret's Hosp. (138), Montgomery
Citizens' Hosp (100), Talladega

Ark.

St. Edward's Mercy Hosp (145), Fort Smith
Sparks Memorial Hosp (100), " "
St. Joseph's Hosp (144), Hot Springs
Baptist State Hosp (300), Little Rock

Mound Park Hosp (160), St P'burg
St. Anthony's Hosp (100), " "
Tampa Municipal Hosp (298), Tampa
Good Samaritan Hosp (120), W. Palm Beach

Georgia

Phoebe Putney Memorial Hosp (160), Albany
Ga. State Tuberc. Sanat. (380), Alto
Crawford W. Long Memorial Hosp. (269), Atlanta
Ga. Baptist Hosp (185) "
Grady Hosp (625) "
Piedmont Hosp (132) "
St. Joseph's Infirmary (138) "
University Hosp. (340), Augusta
Columbus City Hosp (300) - Columbus
Emory Univ. Hosp (231), Emory, Ga.
Macon Hosp (300), Macon
St. Joseph's Hosp (125), Savannah
Warren A. Candler Hosp (127) "
John D. Archbold Memorial Hosp (110), Thomasville

Kentucky

Berea College Hosp (117), Berea
St. Elizabeth Hosp (312), Covington

William Booth Mem. Hosp (103), Covington
Speer's Mem. Hosp (100), Dayton
Good Samaritan Hosp (265), Lexington
St. Joseph's Hosp (234) "
Ky. Baptist Hosp (160), Louisville
Ky. State Tub. Sanat. (110) "
Louisville Genl Hosp (581) "
Norton Memorial Infirmary (144) "
St. Anthony's Hosp (141) "
St. Joseph Infirmary (300) "
SS. Mary + Elizabeth Hosp. (160) "
Owensboro-Daviess County Hosp (110) - Owensboro
Riverside Hosp (114) - Paducah

Louisiana

Baptist Hosp (172) - Alexandria
Our Lady of the Lake Sanitarium (160) - B. Rouge
Lafayette Charity Hosp (253) - Lafayette
Charity Hosp. of La. (2698) - New Orleans
Hint - Goodridge Hosp. (100) - "
Hotel Dieu Hosp (285) - "
Southern Baptist Hosp (374) "

Touro Infirmary (383) - New Orleans
Huey P. Long Charity Hosp (283) - Pineville
Shreveport " " (613) - S'port

Mississippi

King's Daughters' Hosp. (118), Greenville
Miss. Baptist. Hosp (190) - Jackson
Miss. State Tub. Sanat. (450) - Sanatorium

NC

Asheville Mission Hosp (114) - Asheville
Charlotte Mem. Hosp (470) - Charlotte
Duke Hosp. (554) - Durham
Watts Hosp (200) - "
Highsmith Hosp (120) - Fayetteville
N.C. Orthopedic Hosp (160) - Gastonia
Goldsboro Hosp (106) - Goldsboro
Wesley Long Hosp (106) - Greensboro
High Point Mem. Hosp (122) - High Point
Rex Hosp. (300) - Raleigh
Park View Hosp (110) - Rocky Mount
Rowan Mem. Hosp. (120) - Salisbury
Davis Hosp (130) - Statesville

Community Hosp (125) - Wilmington
James Walker Mem. Hosp (275) - "
City Hosp (192) - W-Salem
Frate B. Reynolds Mem. Hosp (205) , "
NC Baptist Hosp (200) , "

Oklahoma

Western Okla. State Hosp (138) - Clinton
Muskogee Gen. Hosp (108) - Muskogee
Okla. Baptist " (110) - "
Okla City Gen. Hosp (100) - O. City
St. Anthony Hosp (375) "
University Hosp (200) "
Hillcrest Mem. Hosp (358) - Tulsa
St. John's Hosp (270) - "

S.C.

Anderson County Hosp (113) - Anderson
Roper Hosp (330) - Charleston
St. Francis Xavier Infirmary (111) - "
Columbia Hosp. of Richland County (460) Columbia
S.C. Baptist Hosp (109) - "
McLeod Infirmary (195) - Florence

Greenville Gen. Hosp (324) - Greenville
St. Francis Hosp (118) - "
Tri-County Hosp (132) - Orangeburg
Spartanburg Gen. Hosp (293) - Sp'burg
Tuomey Hosp (170) - Sumter.

Tenn.

Baroness Erlanger Hosp (440) - Chattanooga
Fort Sanders Hosp (200) - Knoxville
Knoxville Gen. Hosp (285) "
Baptist Mem. Hosp (480) - Memphis
John Gaston Hosp (489) - "
Methodist Hosp (250) - "
St. Joseph Hosp (280) - "
Hubbard Hosp., Meharry Med. Coll. (168) - Nashville
Nashville Gen. Hosp (300) - "
Protestant Hosp (110) - "
St. Thomas Hosp (200) - "
Vanderbilt Univ. Hosp (341) - "

Texas

Northwest Tex. Hosp (150) - Amarillo
Brackenridge Hosp (237) - Austin
Baylor Univ. Hosp (428) - Dallas
Parkland Hosp (368 - "

Missouri Pacific Hosp (125), L. Rock
St. Vincent's Infirmary (200) " "
University Hosp. (210) " "
Davis Hosp (120), Pine Bluff
Ark. Tuberc. Sanatorium (1155),
State Sanatorium
St. Louis Southwestern Hosp (150), Texarkana

Florida

Fla. State Hosp. (5510 mental), Chattahoochee
Broward Gen. Hosp. (111), Ft. Lauderdale
Alachua County Hosp (116), Gainesville
Brewster Hosp (105), J'ville
Duval County Hosp (225), "
St. Luke's Hosp (177), "
St. Vincent's Hosp. (228), "
Dade County Hosp (157), Miami
James M. Jackson Memorial Hosp (500), Miami
(City Hosp.)
St. Francis Hosp (175), Miami
Orange Gen. Hosp (233), Orlando
State Tuberc. Sanat. (400), "
Pensacola Hosp. (189), Pensacola

Methodist Hosp (208) - Dallas
St. Paul's Hosp (270) - "
El Paso City-County Hosp (192) - El Paso
City-County Hosp (166) - Ft. Worth
Harris Mem. Methodist Hosp (279) - "
St. Joseph's Hosp. (226) - "
John Sealy Hosp (489) - Galveston
Hermann Hosp (250) - Houston
Jefferson Davis Hosp. (500) - "
Medical + Surgical Hosp (215) - San Antonio
Green Mem. Hosp (225) - " "
Santa Rosa Hosp (352) - " "
Scott + White Hosp. (210) - Temple
Wichita Gen. Hosp. (135) - Wichita Falls

Va.

Alexandria Hosp (165) - Alexandria
Arlington Hosp (115) - Arlington
Memorial Hosp. (170) - Danville
Dixie Hosp (145) - Hampton
Rockingham Mem. Hosp (154) - Harrisonburg
Lynchburg Gen. Hosp (150) - Lynchburg

Riverside Hosp (200) - Newport News
Norfolk Gen. Hosp (342) - Norfolk
Hosp. of St. Vincent de Paul (255). "
Leigh Mem. Hosp (150) — "
Norfolk Community Hosp (143) — "
Petersburg Hosp (100) - Petersburg
King's Daughters' Hosp (202) - Portsmouth
Maryview Hosp (150) — "
Medical College Hosp. (587) - Richmond
John-Willis Hosp (132) "
Sheltering Arms Hosp (103) - "
Stuart Circle Hosp (103) - "
Jefferson Hosp (150) - Roanoke
Lewis-Gale " (172) - "
Roanoke " (105) - "
Univ. of Va. Hosp (525) — Charlottesville
Winchester Mem. Hosp. (164) - Winchester

SRC - Hosp Study - Southern States

June 3, 1948

Dr. John A. Ferrell, Executive Secretary
North Carolina Medical Care Commission
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Ferrell:

You may recall that in the September, 1948, NEW SOUTH we discussed North Carolina's hospital construction program in an article entitled "What North Carolina Did about Public Health." The response from interested persons was so great that we thought it would be helpful to do an article on what the other Southern States are doing to implement the Hill-Burton Act. The enclosed April NEW SOUTH attempts to do this.

I am sure you will be interested to see how North Carolina's program compares with that of the other states in the region.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enclosure

SRC - Hosp. Study - Southern States

June 3, 1948

Mr. H. F. Singleton
Hospital Administrator
Department of Public Health
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Singleton:

It is a pleasure to send you the enclosed copy of our recent study of hospital construction and medical care in the Southern states. You will be interested to see how Alabama ranks with the other states in the South.

The information you so kindly gave us on Alabama's hospital construction program was most useful in making this study. We appreciate your cooperation very much.

Please feel free to use this article in any way you find helpful. Additional copies can be supplied at five cents (5¢) per copy.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Enclosure: May '48 New South (5 copies XX to John E. Ransom, Georgia Dept. of Public Health)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 16, 1948

To Officers of Hospital Associations in
Southern States

Dear Sir:

Our Council is confident that the enclosed small leaflet on hospital construction and health will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : May '48 New South
SRC (Fleming)

SRR - Hosp. Study

OFFICERS OF THE STATE HOSPITAL ASSOCIATIONS

Alabama

President - H. F. Singleton, Anniston - Anniston Memorial Hospital 400 E 10th St
President-Elect - Harry W. Smith
Vice-President - Katherine White Spunner
Secretary - Clyde L. Sibley, Birmingham 708 Tuscaloosa Ave.
Treasurer - D. O. McClusky, Jr., Tuscaloosa

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no directory ~~President - E. C. H. Pearson, West Palm Beach~~
President-Elect - James T. Pate, Jacksonville - 2111 River Blvd
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President - J. B. Franklin, Thomasville
President-Elect - George R. Burt, Atlanta 538 E. Pdel Ave.
Secretary-Treasurer - F. M. Walker, Atlanta Fred M. 1801 W. Anderson Ave. S.W.

Kentucky

President - Rev. C. A. Towell, Covington
President-Elect - Rev. Thomas B. Ashley, Pikeville
First Vice-President - John B. Buschmeyer, Louisville 4304 Lower Park Dr.
Second Vice-President - Charles Hatcher, Owensboro
Executive Secretary - Glenn M. Reno, Louisville 712 W. Woodlawn
Treasurer - Arden E. Hardgrove, Louisville 231 W. Oak St

Louisiana

President - Dr. Lewis E. Jarrett, New Orleans 3516 Prytania
President-Elect - Dr. Herman Harold, Shreveport
Secretary-Treasurer - R. E. Blue, Shreveport 2831 James Ave.

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no directory President - Dr. W. H. Parsons, Vicksburg
President-Elect - John W. Gill, Vicksburg
Vice-President - Fred Vane, ~~Corinth~~ Edwards
Secretary - Grace Golden, Vicksburg

OFFICERS OF THE STATE HOSPITAL ASSOCIATIONS
(Continued)

North Carolina

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President-Elect - Dr. C. T. McKeithen, Pinehurst
Secretary-Treasurer - Sample B. Forbus, Durham

Oklahoma

President - Homer Goltry, Enid
President-Elect - Kenneth Wallace, Chickasha
Vice-President - Paul Smith, Norman
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President - Rev. George Lewis Smith, Aiken
President-Elect - J. M. Daniel, Columbia
First Vice-President - T. B. Stevenson, Walterboro
Second Vice-President - Rev. W. M. Whiteside, Columbia 1329 Hampton
Third Vice-President - W. W. Lowrance, Sumter
Secretary-Treasurer - Allen D. Howland

Tennessee

45 President - Henry H. Miller, Nashville Hillwood Drive
President-Elect - Walter Hilgern, Madison College
wrong dir 12 First Vice-President - Lawrence Dean, Memphis (wrong dir entry)
Second Vice-President - E. L. Crozier, Chattanooga 114 Woodland Ave.
45 Treasurer - L. Beeby Stow, Nashville Mrs. 2000 Church St
38 Secretary - Dr. A. F. Branton, Chattanooga Erlanger Hosp.

Texas

President - C. J. Hollingsworth, Lubbock
President-Elect - Julian H. Pace, Waco
Vice-President - Pat Morrison, Abilene
no directory Treasurer - William H. Pigg, Austin

Virginia

President - A. G. Howell, Franklin
Vice-President - W. D. Earngey, Jr., Norfolk W(P) 1026 Hanover ave
39 Secretary - M. Haskins Coleman, Jr., Richmond 207 E. Franklin St.
Treasurer - Kenneth Williams, Richlands.

West Virginia

no directory ~~President - Alva J. Williamson, Charleston~~
~~President-Elect - James L. Foster, Bluefield~~
~~Vice-President - J. Lindberg, Fairmont~~
no directory ~~Secretary-Treasurer - J. Stanley Turk, Wheeling.~~

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 17, 1948

To Editors of Medical Journals in
the Southern States

Dear Sir:

Our Council is confident that the enclosed small leaflet on hospital construction and health will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: May 8 '48 New South
SRC (Fleming)

Dr. P. E. Blackerby, Ed.
Kentucky Medical Journal
620 South 3rd Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. Shaler Richardson, Ed.
Journal of the Florida Medical Association
P. O. Box 1018
Jacksonville, Florida

Dr. J. H. Musser, Ed.
New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal
1430 Tuland Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. J. M. Northington, Ed.
Southern Medical ans Surgery
306 North Tryon Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dr. W. M. Johnson, Ed.
North Carolina Medical Journal
Winston Salem, North Carolina

Dr. W. H. Anderson, Ed.
The Mississippi Doctor
Booneville, Mississippi

Dr. W. R. Brooksker, Ed.
Journal of the Arkansas Medical Association
610 1st National Bank Building
Fort Smith, Ark.

Dr. M. P. Rucker, Ed.
Virginai Medical Monthly
1200 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. M. Y. Dabney, Ed.
Southern Medical Journal
1020 Empire Building
Birmingham, Alabama

To-The Editor
Journal of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama
519 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr/ Edgar D. Shanks, Ed.
Journal of the Medical Association of Georgia
478 Peachtree
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Holman Taylor, Ed.
Texas State Journal of Medicine
1404 West El Paso Street
Fort Worth, Texas

The EDITOR
~~Dr. Elsie G. L'Esperance~~, Ed.
Journal of the American Medical Women's Association
136 4th Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

Letter returned

Dr. H. H. Shoulders, Ed.
Journal of the Tennessee State Medical Association
508 Doctors Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. J. P. Price, Ed.
Journal of the South Carolina Medical Association
Florence, South Carolina

Dr. L. J. Moorman, Ed.
Journal of the Oklahoma State Medical Association
210 Plaza Court
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

SRC - Hosp Study - S. States

June 21, 1948

Mr. George Bugbee, Secretary
American Hospital Association
18 East Division Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bugbee:

At the suggestion of Dr. Michael M. Davis of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, I take pleasure in sending you three copies of the latest issue of our small publication, New South.

You will see that it gives a round-up of the progress thus far in the planning work of the Southern states in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : 3 copies
May '48 New South

GSM:eb

SRC Hosp. Study
Southern States

June 21, 1948

Dr. Vane M. Hoge
Hospital Facilities Division
United States Public Health Service
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Hoge:

At the suggestion of Dr. Michael M. Davis of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, I take pleasure in sending you twelve copies of the latest issue of our small publication, New South.

You will see that it is a round-up of the progress thus far in the planning work of the Southern states in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

It was Dr. Davis's thought that perhaps you might wish to distribute these copies to the members of your staff and to the Advisory Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures : 12 copies
May '48 New South

GSM:eb

SRC - Hosp. Survey - Southern State

TO: Chief of Health Officer of each of the 13 Southern states.

June 17, 1948

Chief Health Officer of
The State of Texas
State Capitol
Austin, Texas

My dear Sir:

At the suggestion of Dr. Michael M. Davis, Chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, I have the honor to send you a copy of the Southern Regional Council's latest small pamphlet.

You will see that it provides a round-up of the progress made thus far by each of the Southern states in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: May '48 New South
SRC (Fleming)

SRG: Hosp. Study
S. States

June 21, 1948

Dr. Michael M. Davis, Chairman
Committee on Research in
Medical Economics
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Dr. Davis:

That was exceedingly kind of you to provide us with a list of persons to whom it would be well to send a copy of our issue of New South containing a survey of progress made by the Southern states in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

We are carrying through on each one of your suggestions.

We already had sent a copy to Dr. Fishbein. His reply, received a day or so ago, said that he hoped to carry a condensation of the article in a forthcoming issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Committee On
Research in Medical Economics
Incorporated
1790 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Michael M. Davis, Chairman
Nathan W. Levin, Treasurer
Paul Kellogg, Secretary

Telephone—Circle 5-4660

Morris Llewellyn Cooke
Channing Frothingham, M.D.
Walton H. Hamilton
Nathan W. Levin
Harry A. Millis
Claude W. Munger, M.D.
Joseph Halle Schaffner
George Soule
Fred M. Stein
Ruth Taylor

June 10, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Some suggestions occur to me for the circulation, in professional quarters, of your excellent pamphlet. They are noted on a separate sheet. If we can be of any further service, do let me know.

Cordially yours,

Michael M. Davis

Michael M. Davis

MMD:EE
Enc.

RECEIVED
JUN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

SUGGESTIONS FOR DISTRIBUTION of NEW SOUTH, May 1948, Vol.3, No.5

done

12 copies to Dr. Vane M. Hoge, Hospital Facilities Division, U.S. Public Health Service, Washington 25, D.C., for distribution to members of the staff and to the Advisory Council.

The Presidents, Secretaries, and Editors of the State Medical Journals of each of the Southern states.

The State Health Officers of each of the Southern states.

The Presidents and Secretaries of each of the state hospital associations in the Southern states.

3 copies to the American Hospital Association, George Bugbee, Secretary, 18 East Division Street, Chicago 10, Ill.

The editors of the following magazines: The Modern Hospital, 919 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Ill.; Hospital Progress, St. Louis, Mo.; Hospital Management, 100 East Ohio St., Chicago 11, Ill.; Medical Economics, Rutherford, N.J.; ~~Journal of the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.~~;Journal of the American Public Health Association, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

If facilities permit, ask the U.S. Public Health Service for the names of the Chairmen, and if possible, the members of the State Hospital Advisory Councils administering the Hospital Survey and Construction Act for the Southern states only. Mail a copy to each person on this list, if obtained.

SRC - Hosp Study
S. States

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS THE
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
REFER TO: HF-SS

June 28, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of June 21 to Dr. Scheele concerning members of the various State Hospital Advisory Councils administering the Hospital Survey and Construction Act has been referred to me for reply.

I do not believe that the lists which we would be able to send you would answer all of your purposes. Although we have the names of these individuals, we do not have all of their complete addresses. The States are required only to advise us what groups they represent so that it can be shown that the Advisory Councils comply with the provisions of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act.

I am enclosing a copy of a list of the official State Agencies administering the hospital program. I think you would find it more helpful if you addressed a request to each State for a complete list and correct addresses of its Advisory Council. In addition, many States have various Advisory Subcommittees. We do not know the membership of all of these Subcommittees. I think it would be helpful to you if at the time you address your letter to the State Agencies you could also request the names and addresses of members of the various Subcommittees assisting them with the Hospital Survey and Construction Program.

I regret that we do not have the complete lists you wish. If the suggestions contained in this letter do not provide you with the answers you need, we would be delighted to furnish you with the names of the various Council members with the addresses which we do have.

Sincerely,

D B Wilson

D. B. Wilson, Surgeon
Chief, Office of Special Services
Division of Hospital Facilities

Enclosure

RECEIVED
JUN 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

State Agencies Officially or Tentatively Designated to Administer Hospital Survey and Planning Programs

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
Alabama	State Board of Health Montgomery, Alabama	Dr. D. G. Gill State Health Officer
Alaska	Territorial Department of Health Juneau, Alaska	Dr. C. Earl Albrecht Commissioner
Arizona	State Department of Health Phoenix, Arizona	Dr. J. P. Ward Superintendent
Arkansas	State Board of Health Little Rock, Arkansas	Dr. T. T. Ross State Health Officer
California	State Department of Public Health San Francisco, California	Dr. Wilton L. Halverson Director
Colorado	State Division of Public Health Denver, Colorado	Dr. R. L. Cleere ~~Secretary~~ EXEC. DIRECTOR
Connecticut	State Department of Health Hartford, Connecticut	Dr. Stanley H. Osborn Commissioner
Delaware	State Board of Health Dover, Delaware	Dr. Edwin Cameron Executive Secretary
District of Columbia	D. C. Health Department Washington, D. C.	Dr. George C. Ruhland District Health Officer
Florida	Florida State Improvement Commission Tallahassee, Florida	Mr. C. H. Overman Director
Georgia	State ~~Board~~ DEPT. of Public Health Atlanta, Georgia	Dr. T. F. Sellers Director
Hawaii	Territorial ~~Board~~ DEPT. of Health Honolulu, Hawaii	Dr. C. L. Wilbar, Jr. President
Idaho	State Department of Public Health Boise, Idaho	Mr. L. J. Peterson Administrative Director
Illinois	State Department of Public Health Springfield, Illinois	Dr. Roland R. Cross Director

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
Indiana	State Board of Health Indianapolis, Indiana	Dr. Lee E. Burney Commissioner
Iowa	State Department of Health Des Moines, Iowa	Dr. Walter L. Bierring Commissioner
Kansas	State Board of Health Topeka, Kansas	Dr. F. C. Beelman Secretary and Executive Officer
Kentucky	State Department of Health Louisville, Kentucky	Dr. P. E. Blackerby Commissioner
Louisiana	State Department of Institutions Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Mr. ~~Robert L. Pettit~~ JESSE H. BANKSTON Director
1/Maine	State Bureau of Health State Department of Health and Welfare Augusta, Maine	Mr. David H. Stevens Commissioner
Maryland	Maryland State Health Department Baltimore, Maryland	Dr. Robert H. Riley Director
Massachusetts	State Department of Public Health Boston, Massachusetts	Dr. Vlado A. Getting Commissioner
Michigan	Office of Hospital Survey and Construction Lansing, Michigan	Mr. James L. Dack Director
Minnesota	State Department of Health St. Paul, Minnesota	Dr. A. J. Chesley Secretary and Executive Officer
Mississippi	Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care Jackson, Mississippi	Dr. D. V. Galloway Executive Director
Missouri	Division of ~~Public~~ Health Department of Public Health and Welfare Jefferson City, Missouri	Dr. R. M. James Director

1/ Correspondence should be addressed: Mr. David H. Stevens
Commissioner
State Department of Health and Welfare
Augusta, Maine
Attention: Dr. Dean Fisher
Director of Health

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
Montana	State Board of Health Helena, Montana	Dr. B. K. Kilbourne Executive Officer
Nebraska	State Department of Health Lincoln, Nebraska	Dr. W. S. Petty Director
Nevada	State Department of Health Carson City, Nevada	Dr. ~~Fred S. Loe~~ D. S. HORLEY State Health Officer
New Hampshire	State Health Department Concord, New Hampshire	Dr. John Samuel Wheeler State Health Officer
New Jersey	State Department of Institutions and Agencies Trenton, New Jersey	Mr. Sanford Bates Commissioner
New Mexico	State Department of Public Health Santa Fe, New Mexico	Dr. James R. Scott Director
New York	New York Joint Hospital Survey and Planning Commission Albany, New York	Dr. Robert T. Lansdale Chairman
North Carolina	North Carolina Medical Care Commission - P.O. Box 1880 Raleigh, North Carolina	Dr. John A. Ferrell Executive Secretary
North Dakota	State Department of Health Bismarck, North Dakota	Dr. Russell O. Saxvik Acting State Health Officer
Ohio	State Department of Health Columbus, Ohio	Dr. J. D. Porterfield Director
Oklahoma	State Health Department Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	Dr. Grady F. Mathews Commissioner
Oregon	State Board of Health Portland, Oregon	Dr. Harold M. Erickson State Health Officer
Pennsylvania	State Department of Welfare Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	Mr. Charlie R. Barber Secretary of Welfare
Puerto Rico	~~Insular~~ Department of Health San Juan, Puerto Rico	Dr. Juan A. Pons Commissioner
Rhode Island	State Department of Health Providence, Rhode Island	Dr. Edward A. McLaughlin Director

State	Agency Name and Address	Chief Executive Officer
South Carolina	State Health Department Columbia, South Carolina	Dr. Ben F. Wyman State Health Officer
South Dakota	State Board of Health Pierre, South Dakota	Dr. Gilbert Cottam Superintendent
Tennessee	State Department of Public Health Nashville, Tennessee	Dr. R. H. Hutcheson Commissioner
Texas	State ~~Board~~ DEPT. of Health Austin, Texas	Dr. George W. Cox State Health Officer
Utah	State Department of Health Salt Lake City, Utah	Dr. W. W. Bigelow Acting State Health Commissioner
Vermont	Vermont Hospital Survey and Construction Commission Montpelier, Vermont	Mr. Charles W. Capron Executive Secretary
Virginia	State Department of Health Richmond, Virginia	Dr. L. J. Roper Commissioner
Washington	State Department of Health Seattle, Washington	Dr. Arthur L. Ringle Director
West Virginia	State Department of Health Charleston, West Virginia	Dr. N. H. Dyer Commissioner
Wisconsin	State Board of Health Madison, Wisconsin	Dr. Carl N. Neupert State Health Officer
Wyoming	State Board of Health Cheyenne, Wyoming	Dr. C. M. Anderson State Health Officer

March 15, 1948

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. Public Health Service
Division of Hospital Facilities

June 21, 1948

Dr. Leonard A. Scheele
Surgeon General of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Dr. Michael M. Davis of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics very kindly wrote me the other day that he thought it would be well if copies of the enclosed small pamphlet could be sent to the Chairmen and the members of the State Hospital Advisory Councils administering the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, for the Southern states only. Dr. Davis thought that the Public Health Service might find it possible to provide us with the names and addresses of these individuals for the sole purpose of sending them a copy of the leaflet.

As we already have available the names of the Chairmen and Council members for Oklahoma and South Caroline, we request this information for the following states only:

Alabama	Mississippi
Arkansas	North Carolina
Florida	Tennessee
Georgia	Texas
Kentucky	Virginia.
Louisiand	

It will be observed that the leaflet is a fresh, factual survey of the planning work of the several Southern states in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

We should like to send a copy to each of the persons whom Dr. Davis suggested, and should be grateful for the Public Health Service's kindness in providing us with the appropriate addresses.

Very truly yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: May '48 New South

GSM:eb

SRC - Hosp. Study - Southern States

State Board of Health

CHAS. R. ROUNTREE, M.D., PRESIDENT
CHAS. ED. WHITE, M.D., VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. R. L. LOY, SECRETARY
T. H. McCARLEY, M.D.
A. G. REED, D.O.
ARNOLD A. SAWALLISCH, B.S.ENG.
V. C. TISDAL, M.D.
OTHO R. WHITENECK, D.D.S.
M. L. WHITNEY, M.D.

State Department of Health

State of Oklahoma

3400 NORTH EASTERN
OKLAHOMA CITY 5, OKLAHOMA

Commissioner
G. F. MATHEWS, M.D.

July 2, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the pamphlet of the Southern Regional Council. We have been much interested in the progress made by the southern states with the Hill-Burton Act.

Sincerely yours

G. F. Mathews, M.D.
Commissioner of Health

GFM.mm.

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Hosp Study - S States

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS THE
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
REFER TO: HF-SS

June 29, 1948

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 21, enclosing twelve copies of the May 1948 issue of New South.

In accordance with Dr. Michael Davis' suggestion, we have forwarded a copy of this publication to each member of the Federal Hospital Council and are distributing the remaining copies among the office staff.

Sincerely,

V. M. Hoge, Medical Director
Chief, Division of Hospital Facilities

SRC - Hosp. Study, Southern States

TOURO INFIRMARY

NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.

TELEPHONE CH. 2881

ALBERT J. WOLF, President
MONTE M. LEMANN, 1st. V. Pres.
LEO S. WEIL, 2nd. V. Pres.
ROY M. SCHWARZ, Secretary
HAROLD S. WEIL, Treasurer

FOUNDED BY JUDAH TOURO 1852

JOHN C. MACKENZIE, M.D., D.P.H.
Director
JOSEPH W. HINSLEY
Assistant Director

June 23, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 25
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell

I have for acknowledgment your favor of June 16th in which you enclosed a leaflet on hospital construction and health.

For your kindness in forwarding this to me please accept my grateful appreciation.

Sincerely yours

John C. Mackenzie

John C. Mackenzie, M. D.
Director

JCM/a

Sent to:

The Editor
Medical Economics
Rutherford, New Jersey

The Editor
The Modern Hospital
919 N. Michigan Ave.
Chicago 11, Ill.

The Editor
Journal of the American Public Health Association
1790 Broadway
New York, New York

The Editor
Hospital Progress
St. Louis, Missouri
1438 South Grand

The Editor
Hospital Management
100 East Ohio Street
Chicago 11, Ill.

June 22, 1948

The Editor
Hospital Management
100 East Ohio Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Sir:

Our Council is confident that the enclosed small leaflet on hospital construction and health will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: May '48 New South

SRC - Hosp. Study - 3. States

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 21, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to acknowledge receipt of and to thank you for sending me the summary of cooperation by the Southern States with the Hill-Burton Act.

Very truly yours,

Joseph L. Johnson

Joseph L. Johnson,
Dean.

June 16, 1948

Dr. Hugh Wood, Dean
School of Medicine
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wood:

It occurred to us that you would find of interest the enclosed summary of cooperation by the Southern states with the Hill-Burton Act.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

SRC - Hosp. Study - 1948

OFFICE OF
THE GOVERNOR

GOVERNMENT OF
THE VIRGIN ISLANDS OF THE UNITED STATES

CHARLOTTE AMALIE, ST. THOMAS

June 15, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

In the absence of Governor Hastie, I acknowledge your letter of June 10, 1948 with enclosed copy of the Southern Regional Council's magazine on the subject of Hospital Construction and Health in the Southern States.

We are glad to have this information, and I am referring it at once to our Commissioner of Health.

Sincerely yours,

Morris F. de Castro,
Acting Governor.

cc: Commissioner of Health.

SRC - Hosp. Study - South

YALE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

HISTORICAL LIBRARY
C.-E. A. WINSLOW

333 CEDAR STREET
NEW HAVEN · CONNECTICUT

June 15, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the interesting summary of cooperation by the Southern States in the Hill-Burton problem.

Sincerely yours,

C-E A Winslow

C.-E. A. Winslow

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Southern Regional Council

I. Sanger

SRC - Hosp - Sick

MEDICAL COLLEGE OF VIRGINIA
MEDICINE DENTISTRY PHARMACY NURSING
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

June 14, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northwast

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am indeed indebted to you for your good note of June 9 which came during my absence from the city. I shall find the summary of cooperation by the Southern states with the Hill-Burton Act of great help.

With cordial wishes and appreciation

Sincerely yours

W. T. Sanger
President

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Southern Regional Council

1 copy of May 48 New South sent to each officer below (No letter) 28

SRC - Hosp. Study Southern States

EMORY UNIVERSITY

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

THE A. W. CALHOUN MEDICAL LIBRARY

June 14, 1948

Mrs. Elizabeth Britton
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

all Doctors

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Charleston

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In your reply please refer to these initials	MF

Mr. George
Southern
Room 432,
Atlanta 3,

Dear Mr.

Than
with the
in the Sou
tion of th

ZW

(1) ~~HCF~~ (2) Commendation File

SRC - Hosp. Study, Southern States

The Journal of the
American Medical Association
535 North Dearborn Street
Chicago 10

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JUN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 11, 1948

Mitchell
onal Council, Inc.
Auburn Avenue, N.E.
orgia

nell:

a for your letter of June 8 together
int on "Hospital Construction and Health
rn States." We hope to make a condensa-
for use in our general news columns.

Sincerely yours,

Morris Fishbein

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

J ~~Singer~~
SRC - Hosp - South

IN REPLYING, ADDRESS THE
U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
REFER TO: HF-C

June 11, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 7 to the Surgeon General enclosing copy of your publication, the "New South."

We have found the publication very interesting and instructive and would appreciate receiving a copy of future editions.

Sincerely,

V. M. Hoge

V. M. Hoge, Medical Director
Chief, Division of Hospital Facilities

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CHAN GURNEY, S. DAK., CHAIRMAN
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~~correspondence~~
SRC - Hospital Study
South

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

June 11, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 9th with enclosure regarding the Hill-Burton Act, and I want to thank you for sending me the leaflet.

I am glad to have the leaflet and shall read it with much interest.

I shall be pleased to receive from time to time any information regarding hospital and public health center construction under the Act or any other matters.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Lister Hill

LH:ews

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Southern Regional Council

SRC - Hosp. Study - Southern

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

June 10, 1948

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

RECEIVED
JUN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I received the copy of "New South", and I greatly appreciate it.

I am indeed interested in what the South is doing with its Health and Hospital programs.

Sincerely yours,

D. S. Pankratz

D. S. PANKRATZ, M. D.,
Dean

DSP:clh

Sent
To attached list of Deans
of Medical Schools

SRC - Hosp. Study
S. States

Dr Hugh Wood

June 8, 1948

Dr. Roy R. Krake, Dean
Medical College of Alabama
University of Alabama School of Medicine
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. Krake:

It occurred to us that you would find of interest the enclosed summary of cooperation by the Southern states with the Hill-Burton Act.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: May '48 New South

[redacted] Med. Colleges in South (Deans)

(1a)

1) Medical College of Alabama
✓ Univ. of Ala. School of Medicine
Birmingham (Roy R. Kracke) Dean

2) School of Medicine, Univ. of Ark.
✓ Little Rock (Byron L. Robinson)

3) School of Medicine, Emory Univ.
✓ Emory, Ga. (Hugh Wood)

4) School of Medicine, Univ. of Ga.
✓ Augusta, Ga. (G. Lombard Kelly)

5) School of Medicine, Univ. of Louisville
✓ Louisville, Ky. (John W. Moore)

6) College of Medicine, Howard Univ.
✓ Wash., DC (?) (Joseph L. Johnson)

7) School of Med., Louisiana State Univ.
✓ New Orleans (Vernon W. Lippard)

8) ✓ School of Medicine, Tulane Univ.
New Orleans (M. E. Lapham)

9) ✓ School of Medicine, Duke Univ.
Durham, N.C. (W.C. Davidson)

10) ✓ Bowman Grey School of Medicine
Wake Forest College (C.C. Carpenter)
Winston-Salem, NC

11) School of Medicine, Univ. of Okla.
Okla. City (J.P. Gray)

12) Medical College of the State of S.C.
Charleston, S.C (Kenneth M. Lynch, Pres.)

13) Meharry Medical College
Nashville, Tenn. (M. Don Clawson, Pres.)

14) School of Medicine, Univ. of Tenn.
Memphis, Tenn. (O.W. Hyman)

15) School of Medicine, Vanderbilt Univ.
Nashville, Tenn. (E.W. Goodpasture)

16) College of Medicine, Baylor Univ.
Houston, Tex. (Walter H. Moursund)

17) Southwestern Medical College
Southwestern Medical Foundation
Dallas, Tex. (E.H. Cary, Pres.)

18) School of Med., Univ. of Texas
Galveston, Tex. (Chauncey D. Leake)

19) Medical College of Virginia,
Richmond, Va. (William T. Sanger, Pres.)

20) Dept. of Medicine, Univ. of Va.
Charlottesville, Va.
(Harvey E. Jordan)

Schools of "Basic Medical Sciences" (2 yrs.?)

1) School of Medicine, Univ. of Miss. University, Miss. (D.S. Pankratz)

2) School of Medicine, Univ. of N.C. Chapel Hill, N.C. (W.R. Berryhill)

SRC - Hosp. Study - Southern States

EARL K. LONG
GOVERNOR

STATE OF LOUISIANA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
BATON ROUGE

June 5, 1948

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Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 2nd enclosing leaflet on the progress of our Southern States with regard to the Hill-Burton Act.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in forwarding this information to me.

Sincerely,

Earl K. Long

Governor of Louisiana

L:cp

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State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J. STROM THURMOND
GOVERNOR

WM. LOWNDES DANIEL, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 5, 1948

Honorable George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please accept my thanks for your letter of June 2, 1948, enclosing a copy of "New South" containing a summary of the progress of various Southern states in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending this to me, and I am glad to have the information contained therein.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

J. Strom Thurmond

J. Strom Thurmond
Governor

JST:SWS

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STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
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FIELDING L. WRIGHT
GOVERNOR

WILLIAM B. FONTAINE
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

ALEX McKEIGNEY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

June 4, 1948

RECEIVED
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Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On behalf of Governor Wright I acknowledge receipt of your letter with enclosed leaflet, which I am sure that the Governor will find both interesting and instructive.

Sincerely yours,

Alex McKeigney

Executive Secretary

AM:kag

SRC-Hosp. Study—Southern States

BEN LANEY
GOVERNOR

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

June 4, 1948

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JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Thanks very much for yours of June 2nd, enclosing summary of progress in the various Southern States in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

Yours very truly,

Ben Laney

Ben Laney
Governor

SRC-Hosp. Study - Southern States

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STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

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O. H. FINNEY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
KENNETH J. GRIFFITH
LEGAL ADVISER
MRS. MABEL AMOS
RECORDING SECRETARY

June 4, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This acknowledges with appreciation the leaflet giving a summary of progress thus far in the various Southern States in cooperating with the Hill-Burton Act.

Sincerely yours,

O H Finney, Jr.

O. H. FINNEY, JR.

OHF:V

SRC - Hosp. Study - Southern States

WILLIAM M. TUCK
GOVERNOR

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 4 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for the leaflet giving a summary of progress in the various southern states in reference to the Hill-Burton Act.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Wm. M. Tuck

Wm. M. Tuck.

wmt-fls

SRC-Hosp Study - Southern States

NATIONAL FARM LABOR UNION

AFFILIATED AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

512 Victor Building 726 9th Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Phone: REpublic 6613

Office of the President

June 4, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
JUN 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Thank you very much for the pamphlet you sent to us recently. We shall be glad to use it.

Sincerely,

H. L.

H.L. Mitchell
President

HLM:dd

Sent to Governors of Va., N.C., SC., G a., Florida,
Ala., Miss., La., Tex., Okla., Ark., Tenn., Ky.

SRC - Hosp. Study - Southern States

June 2, 1948

The Honorable James E. Folsom
Governor of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

My dear Governor Folsom:

The enclosed leaflet gives a summary of progress thus far in the various Southern states in cooperation with the Hill-Burton Act.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure
: May '48 New South
GSM:eb

SRC - Hosp Study - Southern

Distribution
Hospitals
Med Schools
Med Societies
Press
Governors
Etc.

May 31, 1948

Dr. John T. Givens
1108 Church Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Dr. Givens:

You will recall our telephone conversation today.

I am mailing copies of the enclosed to officials of each of the several white State Medical Associations.

I think the leaflet can be of real value to members of your group. It is based on information obtained by the Council through direct correspondence with the various State officials who are preparing the State plans under the Hill-Burton Act.

I am sending you a hundred copies of the pamphlet under separate cover.

The Council would be greatly obliged if you would be good enough to send these out to each of your component societies.

I enclose also for your own information a leaflet descriptive of the Southern Regional Council. You will note that Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., is one of our valued officers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Separate cover:
100 cys May '48 New South

Enclosures: May '48 New South
Fleming pamphlet

1 Trucks
2. Taxi
3. Car for Hire
4 Drive-Un-Self
5 LAWS
6. City Ambulance